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THE
LUTHERAN QUARTERLY.

CONDUCTED BY

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THE LUTHERAN QUARTERLY.

JANUARY, 1903.

ARTICLE I.

THE DOCTRINE OF JUSTIFICATION IN ITS RELATIONS.

By PROFESSOR J. W. RICHARD, D.D.

(Concluded from Volume XXXII, page 486.)

III.

THE RELATION OF JUSTIFICATION TO THE MEANS OF GRACE.

In Article V of the Confession it is said: "For obtaining this grace God has instituted the office of preaching, and has given the Gospel and the sacraments, by which as by means, he gives the Holy Ghost, who works faith where and when he will, in those who hear the Gospel, which teaches that by the merit of Christ, not by our own merit, we have a gracious God, if we believe it." Or according to the Latin text: "That God not for the sake of our own merits, but for the sake of Christ justifies those who believe that for Christ's sake they are received into favor."

The clear implication, if not express declaration, is that in and of ourselves we do not have the faith that justifies. Such faith is wrought in us by the third person of the Trinity, but wrought through means that appeal to our rational and spiritual apprehension, viz., through the preaching of the Gospel and the administration of the sacraments.

As these means are not identical in character, it is proper to consider each apart from the other.

1. *The Word of God as means for working faith.*

The Word of God has always been regarded by Lutherans as the primary, the chief, the absolutely indispensable means of grace. The Word is not only the source of our knowledge of God in Christ Jesus, and of the promises of salvation, and of the way of salvation; but it is the special instrument of the Holy Ghost for working contrition and faith. As divinely revealed truth in the form of *law*, it exposes and convicts of sin, creates a sense of responsibility, and acquaints us with the fact of our moral impotence. In this preliminary way the law can be regarded as a means of grace. But it cannot by itself work faith. It finally works wrath and drives men to despair.

But as divinely revealed truth in the form of *Gospel*, as the revelation of God's love, and as the promise of pardon, the Word of God is especially the primary, the chief, the absolutely indispensable means of grace (Rom. 10 : 8); or it may be regarded as the chief instrument used by the Holy Ghost in leading men to appropriate the grace of God contained in the promises of the Gospel. As divinely revealed, and therefore authoritative truth, the Word is fitted to command the attention and respect of men. That it fails to do this in so many instances is not the fault of the Word itself. The reason must be sought in the darkened understanding and perverted moral sensibility.

As the Word of truth, this Word of God is taken by the Spirit of truth, who comprehends the deep things of God, and testifies to the spirit of man, as his instrument for illuminating the mind of man, for working in the recesses of man's heart, and for guiding him in the way of all truth. And it is in the form of the preached Word reflected through sanctified personality, and witnessed to by the experience of salvation, that it exerts its greatest power. Hence it can and must be said that "The chief means of grace in the Church is the Word of preaching, which through its testimony in regard to sin (Law) and in regard to grace (Gospel) is fitted to work the penitent obedience of faith, and to serve the Holy Ghost to that end in proportion as it is a true expression of the salvation in Christ,

that is, as it is scriptural.”* Christ himself was a preacher, and he commanded his apostles to go into all the world and preach the Gospel. On the day of Pentecost they founded the Church through preaching, and they regarded preaching as more important than baptizing (1 Cor. 1 : 17). Preaching was also the chief instrumentality by which the Church was kept from utter stagnation and spiritual deadness in the Middle Ages, and it was the mighty force that promoted the Reformation of the sixteenth century.

Luther declared that “the Word is an almighty power, so powerful a thing that it can do everything, achieve everything, bring Christ and the forgiveness of sins—we speak of the external Word preached orally by you and me.” And it was especially this oral or preached Word, in distinction from the written Word, that Luther regarded as the Word of God. He says: “Faith comes out of preaching, and preaching from the Word of God.” “God will give his Spirit to no one without the Word and the office of preaching, which he appointed solely to preach Christ.” “Hence upon whom the office of preaching is bestowed, upon him is conferred the highest office in the Church. He may also baptize, administer the Lord’s Supper, and discharge all pastoral duties, or if he do not thus wish he may abide in preaching alone, and leave to others baptism and other subordinate duties, as Christ did, and Paul, and all the apostles.” He declared that “God has nothing to do with us, except through some means, and that is his Word.” And from nothing did he pray more earnestly than to be delivered from dreams, visions, and angels. When he was attacked by the fanatics, who boasted of visions, dreams and revelations, and sought to instruct him, he replied: “I have not desired such revelations, and should they come before me, I would not believe them. I have earnestly prayed God to give me a true and clear knowledge of the Holy Scriptures. I have the Word. Therefore I know that I am in the right way, and that I cannot easily be deceived or fall into error.”*

* Luthardt, *Dogmatik*, 10th ed., p. 341.

† Walch, 2 : 1919.

We thus see how our central Principle fixes our attention upon, and binds our thought to the Word of God as the instrument by which justifying faith is wrought in the heart, and as a means by which we are safeguarded against the vagaries and deceptions of men. He who would know the will of God in regard to his salvation must consult the Word of God; and he who would understand that word in its fullest import, and in its adaptation to his spiritual needs, must hear the voice and testimony of the believing ministry. It is to this end that God has instituted the office of public preaching and teaching in the Church; or as the *Form of Concord* states the matter: "For this reason God, through his infinite goodness and mercy, causes his divine and eternal law, and his marvelous counsel concerning our redemption, namely, the holy and saving Gospel concerning his eternal Son, our only Saviour and Redeemer, Jesus Christ, to be publicly preached. Through this preaching he gathers for himself an eternal Church from among the human race, and works in the hearts of men true repentance, the knowledge of sin, and genuine faith in Jesus Christ, the Son of God." Again: "Through this instrument, namely, preaching and the hearing of the Word, God works in us, softens our hearts, draws man, so that through the preaching of the law he perceives his sins, and the wrath of God, and feels true fear, contrition and sorrow of heart. And through preaching and meditation on the Holy Gospel which promises the most gracious remission of sins in Christ, a spark of faith is kindled in him, he accepts the forgiveness of sins for Christ's sake, and consoles himself with the promise of the Gospel; and thus the Holy Ghost, who works all these things, is sent forth into the heart"* (Gal. 4 : 6).

It is thus true, as Thomasius says: "Justifying faith has its most immediate object in the Word of the Gospel, for it is especially faith in the promise of grace, in the testimony of God's grace in the preaching of Christ. But this object is likewise its *Principle*; for through it justifying faith arises in

* *New Market Translation*, pp. 620-1.

the heart. The Word has called and enlightened the justified person. On the one hand it awoke in him the knowledge of sin, and a sense of the need of salvation; and on the other, a longing for salvation, and trust in the Saviour. If external events and circumstances have contributed to these ends, yet always was it the *Word* preached and heard that moved him to appropriate redemption.”*

In corroboration of this explanation of the genesis of faith we appeal to the experience of the Christian, who is distinctly conscious of the influence of the Word alone as the ruling factor in his conversion, according to Rom. 10 : 17 : “Faith cometh of hearing, and hearing by the Word of Christ.” This “Word of Christ” works on the deepest principles of life, the spiritual intuitions, as over against the natural (psychical) susceptibilities, which are of the earth, earthly. As Law, this divine Word works contrition, which according to the Lutheran teaching is, if not a part of faith, at least one of its necessary presuppositions.† As Gospel, this divine Word works the *fides specialis*, by which each one believes that his own sins are pardoned for Christ’s sake. Here now we have evangelical, that is, justifying faith, or justification by faith. This is our central Principle, but the principle of this Principle is the Word preached and read.

2. *The sacraments as means of grace.*

It is not in the words of our thesis (Art. V), neither is it taught anywhere in the Divine Word, that faith is wrought in its primary instance through a sacrament. It is not a doctrine of the Confessions, neither is it a teaching of the Scriptures, that infants receive faith through baptism, though “through baptism they are presented to God and become acceptable to him.” In the thirteenth article, which treats of the *use of the sacraments*, it is said that “the sacraments are signs and testimonies of the will of God towards us, instituted for the purpose of exciting and strengthening faith in those who use them.” It is not said that they were instituted for the purpose

* *The Luth. Confession in the Consequence of its Principle*, p. 25.

† Müller’s *Die Symb. Buecher*, Stuttgart, 1860, p. 615.

of working faith in its primary instance. But it is said that the sacraments "require" faith and are properly used when they are received by faith, and strengthen faith. "In the case of adults it is the *continuation, increase and sealing* of faith that is wrought through the sacraments, just as a person is said to acquire a thing when he daily obtains and acquires the continuation, special increase and sealing of that thing."*

That the Holy Ghost is imparted through the Christian sacraments, and that he operates graciously through the sacraments, results from the fact that a sacrament is a *visible word*, a picture that signifies the same thing that is preached by the Word. Luther called the sacraments *efficacia gratiae signa*, and symbols that awake faith, signs and promises of the forgiveness of sins. In the Apology, sacraments are described as "external signs, which God has enjoined, and with which are connected the promise of grace." But a sacrament is not a mere sign. It is a rite, a ceremony, that embodies a fact, and a principle, inasmuch as its constituting, informing power is the divine word. *Verbum accedit ad elementum, et fit sacramentum*. The word added, however, is not primarily, much less exclusively, the word of institution. Augustine's oft-quoted and much abused dictum is based on John 15 : 3,† and has reference to the Gospel in its broadest sense as the preaching of the Christian faith, which the receiver of the sacrament must believe. The great church Father does not in any sense speak here of the Lord's Supper, though doubtless the principle of the word added holds in regard to this sacrament as it does in regard to baptism. As a visible word, a sign, a seal, a symbolized truth, the sacrament is well fitted to work on the imagination of the intelligent receiver, and to enlist that powerful faculty in the interest of the gospel; and as by the very words of institution the truth is directed to the individual, the sacrament is specially adapted to impress the individual with the fact that the Lord comprehends him in the number of the elect ones; though it is by no means to be conceded that the Word

* Carpzov, *Isagoge*, p. 249.

† Migne, *Patrologia*, XXXV, p. 1840.

preached is addressed only to all promiscuously, and to no one in particular. On the contrary, the Word directs its message also to each individual. "He that hath ears to hear, let him hear." "Whosoever will let him come."

Moreover, it is only through the Word read and spoken, that the sacraments become intelligible, and can act as instruments for imparting the Holy Ghost. For until the Word, in the broad sense of the divine message of salvation, and of the revelation of grace on account of Jesus Christ, has been proclaimed and inculcated, and even spiritually apprehended, the sacraments remain dark enigmas. This is implied in the order of the Catechism: First the Law, then the Gospel, then the Christian Experience, and then the Sacraments—first the sacrament of initiation, and then the sacrament of confirmation. But "without the operation of the Word in creating faith, the relation in which baptism places a person remains purely an objective one, and the gift, which it puts into the heart, remains a treasure hid in a field. Without the appropriating personal faith, despite baptism and the Lord's Supper, there results no personal justification, and the sacramental mediation of grace is gradually withdrawn without being able to unfold its blessings, or it finally becomes a judgment upon the recipient. Hence the Word holds the chief place in the economy of salvation. If anyone be deprived of the sacrament not by his own fault, he can be in some way saved by grace through faith alone."*

The priority and superiority thus accorded to the Divine Word as means of grace, as compared with the sacraments, is fully justified by the Divine Word itself, which is represented not merely as a guide to salvation, but as a creative power of God for salvation to all who believe it (Rom. 1 : 16) as spirit and life (John 6 : 63), as an incorruptible seed, through which men are born again (Peter 1 : 23); as the bread by which man lives (Matt. 4 : 4); as the sword of the Spirit by which the world is to be overcome (Eph. 6 : 17; Heb. 4 : 12; Rev. 19 :

* Thomasius, *Person und Werk*, II, 358.

15). Behind this Word stands God himself, and through it he speaks to us, and treats with us. It must result therefore that wherever the Word of God is preached, it becomes a savour from death unto death, or a savour from life unto life (2 Cor. 2 : 4-16). It is the great deciding means of grace.

No such creating, life-giving, conquering power is ascribed to the sacraments. In the entire twenty-one epistles, which are intended to expound the Gospel to the churches or to individuals, scarcely a dozen references are made to baptism; and Paul declares that Christ did not send him to baptize, but to preach the Gospel (1 Cor. 1 : 17); and in all these same epistles only a few verses of one are devoted to an exposition of the Lord's Supper (1 Cor. 10 : 16-18; 11 : 23-26). It is evident therefore that the Church has given a prominence to the sacraments as means of grace not warranted by the New Testament; and it is a demonstrated fact of history that this excess of prominence given to sacraments has wrought against "the eternal principle of Christianity." Too much and too often has the Church exalted the virtue and efficacy of sacraments at the expense of repentance and faith; nor is the Lutheran Church entirely free from this condemnation. Nevertheless, as instituted and ordered by the Lord, the sacraments dare not be overlooked, since they are the ordinary, but by no means the absolutely necessary, way to salvation; nor is grace necessarily bound objectively to the administration of the sacraments. *Crede et manducasti* is a commonplace in Lutheran teaching. And it was the distinct and unvarying teaching of the Lutheran Reformers, and it is likewise the teaching of the Lutheran Confessions, that sacraments are *subordinate* to the *Word*—to "the *Word of God preached and heard*," as Rohnert says; and the old Lutheran teaching laid heavy emphasis on repentance and faith. The Word works repentance and faith. The sacraments require repentance and faith as the conditions of their saving efficacy.

Through these two kinds of means, the Word and the Sacraments, which bear relation to each other as *primary and secondary*, the Holy Ghost works faith in those who hear the Gospel, and

use the sacraments aright, that is, with faith in the promise of grace. Hence it can be said that faith, looked at from the side of the divine instruments through which it is wrought by a divine Agent, is the gift of God. It does not originate in the natural man, because the natural man receiveth not the things of the Spirit, neither can he know them. As trust in the promises of the Gospel, as confidence of heart in Him who is the Heart of the Gospel, it is a supernatural energy created by the Spirit of God, who takes the things of Christ and shows them to men, and causes men to understand their supernatural import, and to be convinced of their reality as the supreme good, and then by the application of motives leads them to surrender themselves to the conviction that the grace of God contains and offers the highest good; and when this conviction is followed by the high resolve to surrender ourselves to God in love and obedience we have Christianity in the living experience of salvation.

But this conviction, wrought by the Holy Ghost through means, is not a mere passivity. It is the highest intellectual, spiritual and moral energy of which the soul is capable; and the resolve to surrender is the soul's own act. Under the conviction, wrought by a supernatural power, but wrought in a rational and free agent, capable of arresting or promoting the progress of the conviction, the hearer of the Gospel assents to the heavenly message as true in general, and then consents to it as true for himself in particular.

This is that confidence of the heart, that *fides specialis*, that appropriates the merits, benefits and satisfaction of Christ, and that at the same time renews the heart, and gives beauty for ashes, the oil of joy for mourning, and the garment of praise for the spirit of heaviness. By the "grace, assistance and operation of the Holy Ghost," the hearer of the Gospel is led to believe in God as his Father, and to accept Christ as his Saviour. In this way God's sovereignty is upheld—"Where and when he will"—and man's freedom of volition as known in consciousness and in the experience of salvation, is sacredly guarded. The hearer of the Gospel message has *repented*, and

has *turned again*, and has *believed on the Lord Jesus Christ*. Hence faith is the gift of God; and it is also an act of personal self-determination, so that the Christian can say: "I am saved by grace," and Christ can say: "Thy faith hath saved thee" (Luke 7 : 50). Under the "grace, assistance and operation of the Holy Ghost" there is spiritual origination in man, as over against the carnal (Gr. psychical) sensibility.

"Where then is the glorying? It is excluded. By what manner of law? Of works? Nay; but by the law of faith. We reckon therefore that a man is justified by faith apart from the works of the law" (Rom. 3 : 27-28).

Works are excluded. Faith is the instrument, the *organon apprehensivum*, the open hand, by which the illumined and quickened soul lays hold on the grace of God. But in the final decision it is the soul itself that opens the hand and receives the gift of God. Faith has its law, and that law includes the act of choice. And inasmuch as faith lays hold on the grace of God in Christ it may be called the *causa instrumentalis* of Justification. But at the same time that faith appropriates the righteousness of Christ it fills the subject of justification with the grace of Christ, unites the subject of grace with the Object of grace, forms the root of a new life, and directs the entire human personality in the way of the Lord. "For ye are all the sons of God, through faith in Christ Jesus" (Gal. 3 : 26).

IV.

THE RELATION OF JUSTIFICATION TO THE CHRISTIAN LIFE.

I. It must never be forgotten that Justification has a subjective as well as an objective side. The believer is not only declared *justus*, but is *justus*, and is rightly called *holy*, not indeed because he is freed from all taint of sin, but because a life of holiness has been begun in him. He is generically a saint. He must be classed with those who have washed their robes, and made them white in the blood of the Lamb (Rev. 7 : 14). "As many as received him, to them gave he the right to become children of God, even to them that believe on

his name, which were born, not of blood, nor of the will of the flesh, nor of the will of man, but of God" (John 1 : 12-13).

This divine birth is the inseparable attendant of Justification, which is not only the forgiveness of sins and adoption into sonship, but is a principiant forgiveness that acts on man's ethical nature, and makes him righteous, because it brings the renewing of the Holy Ghost and the living Christ into the heart. Hence the order of salvation is, *first*, Justification, and, *then*, Regeneration. In one place in the Apology Melancthon, seemingly at least, identifies the two. But the *Form of Concord* sets them in proper relation, and clearly distinguishes the one from the other. The reverse order could not be reconciled with the unquestioned Lutheran principle that we are justified by faith alone, without merits, works or righteousness of our own. The reverse order would also involve the absurdity that God regenerates a sinner before he justifies him, that is, while he is under condemnation. But it is involved in the whole Lutheran conception of Justification that God's work for man precedes God's work in man. God must pardon a man's sins, and give the assurance of his love, before the man can truly love God, and feel the new spiritual emotions of gratitude and love; for the former conditionates the latter, not only in the order of logical priority, but in the relation of cause and effect, just as thinking is prior to and the cause of thought. But as thought and thinking cannot be separated from each other in fact, so Regeneration and Justification cannot in fact be separated from each other. Where the one is, the objective fact, there the other is, the subjective experience. Where the pardon of sin is, the work of God for us, there Regeneration is, the work of God in us, the result inseparable from the cause, and a sure sign that faith is true and living. "All this takes place not in separate and successive moments of time, but *uno ictu temporis*. Faith and Justification are verily the cause and ground of love and sanctification, the latter the effect and result of the former, taking place not in chronological succession, but in a succession of reality. Were it otherwise, if love were subsequently added to faith, then faith would not in and of it-

self be the living power of love; but it would be first made alive through the superadded love, and we should be carried back again from the idea of the Protestant *fides viva*, and brought into the idea of the Catholic *fides formata*.”*

Again: “Faith justifies before God, in so far as the righteousness of Christ is imputed to it, which covers sin and takes away debt, not in so far as the righteousness of Christ is infused into the subject, and is stamped upon it as its own subjective holiness and righteousness. Faith justifies without asking whether sin has been rooted out of the heart and destroyed or not, but because it is covered, forgiven, not reckoned, not regarded from the side of God.”†

This, beyond question, is the Lutheran position. In the passage already quoted from the *Loci* Melancthon declares: “When God pardons sins, he at the same time gives the Holy Ghost, who begins new virtues. * * * The new virtues follow reconciliation.”‡ And in his celebrated letter to Brentz, in 1531, he writes: “You imagine that men are justified by faith, because by faith we receive the Holy Ghost, and afterwards are justified by the fulfilling of the law, which is effected by the Holy Ghost. This supposition places righteousness in our work, in our purity or perfection, albeit such perfection ought to follow faith. But turn your eyes wholly from renovation and the law to the promise and to Christ, and know that we are justified on account of Christ, that is, that we are accepted before God, and find peace of conscience not on account of that renovation. Such renovation is not sufficient. We are justified by faith alone, not because it is the root, as you write, but because it lays hold on Christ, on account of whom we are accepted.”§

Again, in opposition to Osiander: “Our churches concede that we ought to be renewed, and that God is the cause of such renewal, and dwells in the saints. The indwelling is as

* Philippi, *Symbolik*, p. 342.

† *Ibid*, p. 338.

‡ C. R., 21 : 742.

* § C. R., 2 : 501.

follows : The Son gives the word of consolation. In this word is seen the will of the Father. At the same time he sends the Holy Ghost into hearts, who comforts the heart, and kindles love and devotion and all the virtues. But a person does not have reconciliation and remission on account of this renewing. But pardon and reconciliation, which are justification by faith for the sake of the Mediator, God and man, must be received first. When such faith beholds the Mediator we come to God and are justified, that is, accepted, not on account of our renewing; but righteousness is imputed to us on account of the Mediator.”*

Equally clear is Luther. In the *Preface to the Epistle to the Romans*, he says : “Faith is a divine work in us, which changes and regenerates us (John 1 : 13). It slays the old Adam, makes new creatures in heart, disposition and spiritual strength, and brings with it the Holy Ghost. Faith is a living, active, mighty thing. * * * By faith the believer is weaned from sin, and conceives an affection for the divine law; by this he gives God the glory, and renders due honor to his name.” “Faith brings with it a host of splendid and glorious virtues, and is never alone. Hence the one is not to be confounded with the other; and what is of faith alone, is not to be assigned to virtues and works. Faith is like a mother from whom springs and is born this growth of splendid virtues. Hence where faith is not first, you will seek in vain for the virtues themselves.”† “These are the two parts of Justification. The first is the grace revealed through Christ, that through Christ we have a reconciled God, and that sin can no more accuse us, but conscience by faith in the mercy of God is brought to quiet. The second is the gift of the Spirit with his gifts, who illumines against the filth of the spirit and flesh, that we may be defended from the machinations of the devil.”‡

“The two parts must exist together in a Christian, and be urged in Christian teaching: First *faith*, namely, that by the

* C. R., 8 : 195.

† Walch, 1 : 1430.

‡ *Op. Ex.*, 19 : 49. See p. 109.

blood of Christ we are redeemed from sin and have forgiveness. Secondly, if we have this, *that we then are to become different persons and walk in a new life.* * * * There are two things, the forgiveness of sins and the mortifying of the same, and both must be urged against those who confuse and pervert this order by false doctrine.”*

The same relation is exhibited in the Apology: “Because faith brings the Holy Ghost and begets a new life in hearts, it must follow that it produces spiritual emotions in the heart. Therefore after that we have been justified and renewed we begin to fear God, to love, to thank and to obey God ”

We must be in Christ and be clothed upon by his righteousness before Christ can dwell in us and destroy the root of sin. Only in this way can Justification have its true significance and exert its power in Christian teaching and life.

Beginning with Calovius, the dogmaticians reversed this order, thrust Justification out of its central position, and postponed it to regeneration. A hard and dry orthodoxism now entered. Justification was looked upon rather as a doctrine to be believed, than as an experience of salvation to be enjoyed. In a word, Lutheranism had become very un-Lutheran; the active principle of its system had degenerated into a dogma. As a result Christian life declined, and the conscious fellowship with God in Christ was undervalued.

Luthardt has returned to the old order: Both in his *Dogmatik* and in his *Glaubenslehre*, he discusses *Faith*, and *Justification* before he takes up *Regeneration*. Rohnert has the order: *Faith, Justification, Vocation, Illumination, Regeneration and Conversion*. In treating the *Ordo Salutis*, he says, exactly in accord with the oldest teachers, and with the Confessions: “As we have seen, Justification by faith forms the real central act of divine grace by which the sinner becomes a child of God, and receives personal participation in the redemptive work of Christ. With Justification there takes place at the same time a moral change of the person by the power of the Holy

* Erl. Ed., 8 : 264.

Ghost. This entrance into a state of grace, and the inner change of the justified connected therewith, take place according to a distinct order, called the order of salvation." That order places "Justification absolutely in the foreground, and postpones *vocare, convertere, regenerare et sanctificare*."*

2. Since Justification gives fellowship with God and a new heart, two things must follow: (a) Where there is fellowship with God there must be peace of conscience and delight in the service of God. As the believer's righteousness is the righteousness of Christ, which is perfect, and which is in no sense the result of human merit, it follows that such righteousness must satisfy all sense of guilt, and every accusation of conscience. This result of Justification has been most beautifully presented by Melancthon in the Apology: "Faith alone pacifies the heart, which obtains rest and life when it freely and confidently relies on the promises of God for the sake of Christ. But our works can never pacify hearts; for we continually find that they are impure. Consequently it must follow, that through faith alone we become acceptable to God and are righteous when we are satisfied in our hearts that God will be merciful to us, not on account of our works and our fulfillment of the law, but by grace alone for Christ's sake." It is this confidence in the grace of God for the sake of Christ, or because of the obedience and righteousness of Christ, that gives the soul the sense of freedom from condemnation, and that quiets the conscience in the hour of temptation. Christ has so united himself with the believing soul in spiritual marriage, "that whatever Christ possesses, that the believing soul may take to itself, and boast of as its own, and whatever belongs to the soul that Christ claims as his." "For Christ is everlasting peace, consolation, righteousness, and life; and to these the terror of the law, heaviness of mind, sin, hell, and death, must needs give place. So Christ living and abiding in me, taketh away and swalloweth up all evils that vex and afflict me. This union or conjunction, then, is the cause that I

* *Dogmatik d. Ev. Luth. Kirche*, pp. 341-5.

am delivered from the terror of the law and sin, am separate from myself, and translated unto Christ and his kingdom, which is a kingdom of grace, righteousness, peace, joy, life, salvation and eternal glory.”*

(b) As faith regenerates the heart and gives the Holy Ghost, the justified person must do works acceptable to God. The new power of love and obedience, the new principle of life within the soul, will strive against sin, and will bring forth the fruits of faith. They will also prompt to the keeping of the law, and to the service of needy and suffering humanity. Luther’s famous paradox: “A Christian man is the most free lord of all and subject to none; a Christian man is the most dutiful servant of all, and is subject to every one,” expresses the true Christian life-ideal. Faith frees the Christian from the bondage of the law, and from rites and ceremonies instituted by men; but it quickens the conscience, animates the sense of duty, and warms the heart with love to God and to man. As a living, acting, energizing principle reigning in the regenerate heart, it impels the Christian by an inner necessity of his new nature to do the will of God from the soul (Eph. 6 : 6). “O, what a living, busy, active, mighty thing is faith. Therefore it is impossible for it not to be constantly doing good. It does not inquire whether good works are to be done, but before the question is asked, it has done them, and is always doing them. The person who does not do good works is destitute of faith, gropes and looks about for faith and good works, and knows not what faith and good works are, though he prates a great deal about both.”†

Christian good works consist in serving one’s calling with faith in God, and with love to one’s neighbor. Hence the Christian must stand in his place, wait on his calling, and do good to others as he has opportunity. “Faith is the actor, love is the act. Faith brings man to God, love brings him to man. By faith he becomes acceptable to God; by love he does good to men.” Any work, therefore, that makes our fellowmen

* *Commentary on Galat.*, Chap. II, v. 20.

† *Preface to Romans*, Erl. Ed., 63 : 125.

happier and better is a good work in the Christian sense, provided it proceed from faith.

But we must not carry this principle of faith so far as to maintain that the veracity, honesty, and beneficence of non-Christian people, "are only splendid vices." God is a Being of moral discernment, and must approve truth, virtue, and beneficence wherever found, though virtues and works can never make anyone righteous before God, or procure the pardon of sins. The judge is just, and he shall render unto every man according to his deeds (Matt. 16 : 27). We have only to maintain the twofold principle that no conformity to the letter of the law can make man righteous before God, and that out of faith will arise the keeping of the law according to its spirit. Hence Justification does not abrogate the law; it gives power to obey the law out of love.*

V.

THE RELATION OF JUSTIFICATION TO THE DOCTRINE OF THE CHURCH.

I. Faith unites us with Christ, and makes us members of his body, so that as believers we and Christ live one life. "For me to live is Christ" (Phil. 1 : 21). Faith also brings the Holy Ghost into our hearts, who sanctifies and cleanses us from sin. And as all believers are united to Christ, their common Head, and have the Holy Ghost, the Sanctifier of all, so they come to be united to each other, and to have a like generic holiness. Hence they constitute the company of believers, the *congregatio sanctorum*, the *societas fidei et Spiritus Sancti in cordibus*, who have "one Lord, one faith, one baptism, one God and Father of all, who is over all and through all, and in all" (Eph. 4 : 5). This goodly company, thus united under the same headship, is the congregation of all believers scattered throughout the earth, whose essential quality is holiness. To this congregation belong only those who are first united to Christ and have the Holy Ghost dwelling in them. "Ye were washed, ye

* See Erl. Ed. (Latin) 3 : 305.

were sanctified, ye were justified in the name of the Lord Jesus Christ, and in the Spirit of our God" (1 Cor. 6 : 11). In other words, this congregation is a spiritual body. And as it is scattered throughout the earth, or exists wherever the Gospel is preached and the sacraments are administered, it is an object of faith: "I believe a holy Catholic Church." "And this Church alone is called in Scripture the Body of Christ; because Christ is its head, and sanctifies and strengthens it through his Spirit; as Paul says (Eph. 1 : 22-23): 'And gave him to be Head over all things to the Church, which is his body, the fulness of him that filleth all in all.' Therefore, they in whom Christ effects nothing through his Spirit, are not members of Christ."* And yet this holy Catholic Church is not an impersonal institution, an idealistic conception. But it is composed of living persons to whom the attribute or predicate "holy" can be applied—a "living body," "living members," "a spiritual people," "the pillar of truth," "the household of God," "the bride of Christ"—the people who "believe that they are received into grace and that their sins are pardoned for the sake of Christ, who by his death makes satisfaction for our sins"—whom God "*accounts justos et sanctos.*" Primarily this holiness is the imputed righteousness of Christ, but it is also the personal sanctity of love to God and to fellow Christians: "Thus Paul enjoins love in the Church, which cultivates harmony and which, as there is need, bears the imperfections of brethren, and overlooks trifling errors, in order that the Church may not be divided into schisms, factions and heresies."† In this Church is the "communion of saints." As all true believers have a common Heavenly Father, a common Lord, a common faith, so they all have *eo ipso* a common hope, a common joy, and a common right to the means of grace by which the Holy Ghost comforts hearts and sustains faith. Hence a seat in the Sanctuary and a seat at the Lord's Table should be open to everyone who professes "this faith," and has been baptized, for "through bap-

* *Apology*, VII and VII.

† *Apology*, III.

tism we are first taken into the community of Christians.”* And as we can no more easily discern who has “faith and the Holy Ghost in the heart,” than we can discern who is destitute of these internal qualities, except where the life is openly ungodly and impenitent, so is it the duty of “the congregation of all believers” to admit to her communion, and to “the feast of love,” all who name the name of the Lord and depart from unrighteousness (2 Tim. 19). “For ye are all sons of God, through faith in Christ Jesus. For as many of you as were baptized into Christ did put on Christ. There can be neither Jew nor Greek, there can be neither bond nor free, there can be no male and female; for ye all are one in Christ Jesus. And if ye are Christ’s, then are ye Abraham’s seed, heirs according to promise” (Gal. 3 : 26-29).

2. Our principle also requires us to affirm the unity of the Church. There are many churches in the sense of local organizations, or confraternities of believers, or aggregations of local organizations of believers into national or international groups of churches having different ceremonies and different views in regard to many doctrines; yet there is only one Church in the sense of “the body of Christ,” and of “the pillar and ground of the truth.”

To this “body” belong multitudes whose knowledge is limited and distorted; who build on the “pillar, wood, hay, stubble;” but they have a faith that as really appropriates Christ and brings the Holy Ghost, as does the faith of those who are the stewards of the mysteries of God; for the quality of faith is not determined by its magnitude. A weak, ignorant, and erring Christian “shall suffer loss, but he himself shall be saved; yet so as through fire” (1 Cor. 3 : 15). And “for the true unity of the Christian Church it is sufficient that the Gospel be preached therein according to its pure intent and meaning, and that the sacraments be administered in conformity with the Word of God” (Art. VII). But the Gospel is rightly preached where it is taught “that God, not on account of our merits,

* *Larger Catechism*, IV, *ad initium*.

but on account of Christ, justifies those who believe that for Christ's sake they are received into grace" (Art. V); and the sacraments are rightly administered, when Baptism and the Lord's Supper are administered according to the institution of Christ.

These are the marks of the Christian community, and it must be conceded that only in rare instances have they been so darkened and perverted that they ceased entirely to be "instruments through which God moves hearts to believing."* But wherever there are believing hearts, there are members of Christ the Head, who stand "on the chief cornerstone; in whom each several building, fitly bound together, groweth into a holy temple in the Lord" (Eph. 2 : 21). Hence, looked at from the standpoint of Justification by faith, it is evident that there can be but one holy Catholic Church. Since the Church in its essential characteristics is composed of those alone who are "holy," and since there is only one way by which men can become "holy," it must follow that there cannot be two or more churches, since the principle of classification is identical and invariable. From this it follows that the attribute of unity cannot "be predicated (1) of any *particular* Church, but of the *universal* Church, as no particular Church can claim that it is the one Church. It is one thing *to be the one Church*, and a different thing *to be of the one Church*. The whole Church is one. Our Church is of the one. (2) Among the various causes of this unity and on account of which the Church is called one, is the *one true* formal cause, *namely, that aggregation by which many by agreement in faith according to the truth, and by harmony of will according to Christ, have a communion by means of which many members of the same body are one, because all connected with the head have and receive from the same head, the same life, the same feeling and affection; just as many children in the same family are one because by the bond of consanguinity and love they are united to their parents.* The one formal ground of this unity is *consent in regard*

* *Apology*, VII and VIII.

to the teaching of the gospel and the administration of the sacraments. (3) Though this consent must be confined especially to the chief fundamental articles, since in secondary matters consent is not always required, especially if there be no *negation* and no *heretical and positive dissent*.”*

But as this congregation of saints and true believers actualizes itself in “living members,” in “a spiritual people,” so it manifests itself openly in organizations, constitutions, assemblies, in the public preaching of the Gospel and the administration of the sacraments. The essential Church thus creates the empirical Church, which shows the attribute of visibility. Men can see the Church, can locate it, can say, *Here is the Church*. This is the Church broadly so-called, and embraces all those who profess faith in Christ, and by Baptism have united themselves to the body of which Christ is the head. The one distinguishing attribute, “holiness,” is applied synecdochically to all who profess to have united themselves with the one only Source of “holiness.” In this empirical Church there are, doubtless, many hypocrites and false Christians. Those have communion with the saints in the external relations and blessings of the Church. They are in the Church, though not of the Church; yet they must be included in the Church as it appears on earth, which “is like unto a net, that was cast into the sea, and gathered of every kind” (Matt. 13 : 47).

“Now although the wicked, and ungodly hypocrites, have fellowship with the true Church in external signs, in name and office, yet, when we would strictly define what the Church is, we must speak of the Church called the body of Christ, and having communion not only in external signs, but also holding faith and the gifts of the Holy Ghost.”† Faith and the gifts of the Holy Ghost are Justification according to its two sides.

* Carpzov, *Isagoge*, p. 303.

† *Apology*, VII and VIII.

RESTITUTIO VATUM; OR, THE RETURN OF THE POETS
TO OUR HIGHER SCHOOLS.

BY PROFESSOR W. H. WYNN, PH.D., D.D.

Twice the whole current of modern history has been changed by agencies distinctively literary in their kind. In literature, therefore, in spite of the empirical ideas that prevail concerning it, we have a moral force that is actually in the lead of social progress, whether we regard it so or not. By literature we mean that class of writings that appeal to the more sensitive and imaginative aptitudes of the human mind, with the view of kindling aspiration and emotional glow-getting at the poetry of the situation, whatever that may be, and putting it in the lead. The arts of persuasion are not appealed to; logic is altogether set aside. Men are to be swept onward to the battle of life, not by the elaborate system-building of parliamentarians and economists, but by the martial strains that are filling the air with enthusiasm, and the flutter of the dear old flag beckoning them to the front. If we must define an influence so subtle, we should say that literature is the essential poetry of human life, couched in impassioned symbol, and winged with words that sing.

Now in all great world-movements this influence is first in the order of time. For example, the Religious Reformation—or Revolution, as Guizot prefers to call it—of the sixteenth century, the parent of all other revolutions, civil and religious, of modern times, was itself the offspring of the Renaissance, and the Renaissance was but restored Greek literature startling the inert mind of Europe to a new birth. The Reformation was carried, not by the labored system-building of Melanchthon or Calvin, but by Erasmus' Greek Testament and Luther's German Bible—Erasmus a most exquisite literary artist, and Luther a poet and prophet combined.

An illustration nearer our own time is in the French Revolution, the far-up fountains in which it originated, and the recondite agencies that brought it to a head. There was much pretentious logic abroad; much philosophy falsely so called

There was a crushing problem in finance to be solved—the utter bankruptcy of the leading state of Europe to be relieved. It was the age of economics, and there was a great show of science and civic wisdom as to how the incubus of feudalism was to be thrown off, and society be reorganized from its base up. Two classes of writers maneuvered on this field—the statesmen, the financiers, the economists, on the one hand; the idealists, the dreamers, the literary class, on the other.

In the end Rousseau prevailed—a poet in all except the contrivances of verse. His *Contrat Social* was, indeed, a dream, a story, a romance, and poor France, in its attempt to realize it, was bathed in blood. But in the end that dream did revolutionize the world. It lurks to-day in the folds of our American flag, flaunting a fair promise of free institutions to all the world. Rousseau was no economist, no logician, not even a statesman well versed in European politics, as Burke was, in England, or Montesquieu, his own countryman of almost contemporary fame. He was a dreamer, a prophet, a poet, as I have said, with the power of incantation through his mother tongue. It is the mission of such a man to catch intuitively the highest ideas of his time, to see their eternal bearings, and give them the inimitable charm of a style that holds its rhythm in the mind when the book is shut up and laid away. Of Rousseau it has been said that he was “a poet, a romancer, who made theories, instead of making romances”—dreams, that is, that embodied the tremendous realities of the coming time. His power lay in his literary art. “He had the rare advantage,” says Mr. Davidson, “of being able to express his imaginings in literary form, and in a style which, for simplicity, clearness, effectiveness and almost every other excellence, looks almost in vain for an equal.”

Well, if it is the peculiar function of literature to work dynamically upon the forward impulses of men, and against their froward impulses, we can see what a moral force it is. It is not extravagant to say that the great poets, because they wield the *Thyrsus* of the literary art at its highest, are evermore the leaders and teachers of the race—not coming up in the rear of progress, but always in the van. I speak of the great poets,

not the ephemeral, not the idle singers of a day. They form and reform. They mold the language, lifting it from crude *patois* into the supremest marvels of linguistic refinement and affluence, in getting over our mind-echoes, in free passage, from soul to soul. They determine the moral temper of the age; they quicken its religious ideas; they are at the heart of all those deep-sea heavings of humanity that come out in epochal stages in the advancing years—forerunners, prophets—and when the event is past, singing still to us in the evenings of our days, because their message is of a kind that cannot die.

The great English poets, for example, how they have held “as ’twere, the mirror up to nature, shown virtue her feature, scorn her own image, and the very age and body of the time his form and pressure.” Where these appear in English history, we see this remarkable people making strides toward their destined supremacy among the nations, in keeping with the high promise there was in the prophet-bards who sang at their feasts—Spenser, Shakespeare, Milton, Wordsworth, Tennyson—onward the English people are marching, while these transcendent poets are beckoning the way.

Shakespeare, for example, where in the scale of moral value shall we reckon him? Conceive him obliterated—then where would the English people be? Mr. Carlyle has a summary way of settling that point. “Which would we English people sooner give up,” he asks, “our Indian empire or our Shakespeare?”—one of those shrewd questions of his, that carries its answer within itself. In that galaxy of the preeminent few of the greatest of moderns that adorns the walls of the Palace of Art, all are British but one—

“For there was Milton, like a seraph strong.
Beside him Shakespeare, bland and mild,
And there the world-worn Dante grasped his song,
And somewhat grimly smiled—”

and we hasten to enroll in the same immortal company the lamented bard who penned those lines—incomparably the greatest English poet since Shakespeare’s time—

There Tennyson, the flower of Arthur's men
With his own hand essays to take
The brand *excalibur*, and hurl again,
Back to the mystic Lake.

In the death of Tennyson the English-speaking people are inconsolably bereaved, the more so as the interval of weary waiting for a successor is painfully prolonged. It was fitting that this great poet of our own time should go down to his burial with his favorite copy of Shakespeare in his hand, the elder brother in the world of letters keeping company with the younger, in the endless journey of the future, wherein they shall walk side by side, and be the twain chief prophets of all the world, in the world of thought and song.

But the secret of poetic genius—what is that? We shall find it uniformly to lie in a certain incommunicable witchery over the mother tongue. Open anywhere your Shakespeare or your Tennyson—the occult resources of the creative imagination will be caught, in free play, over every minutest shade of expression, and every fold of imagery with which their thoughts are clothed. The charm of it who can describe! It authenticates itself to the eye by a strange music that slips in through that channel to the inner ear, and on which we would fain linger until the sun goes down, and the vision of our ecstasy has faded into the night. And now it is a practical question, in our day of pressing interest: If the poets have this high function of shaping the social and spiritual destiny of the peoples among whom they appear—if they are in very truth the teachers of the race, how shall they get a fitting recognition in our colleges and schools?

John Morley, the preeminent statesman of our day, has these words: "But, after all, the thing that matters most, both for happiness and duty, is that we should strive habitually to live with wise thoughts and right feelings. Literature helps, more than any other study, to this most blessed companionship." Mr. Morley is a scholar, but also a man of affairs, and cannot be suspected of dilettante estimates of the graver issues of human life. He has been a profound student of the poets, and by aid of them has maintained the "blessed companionship" of

which he speaks—companionship of high ideals clinging to him through the fiercest of political storms. Witness of his kind to the supreme value of literary studies cannot be overlooked.

But we are reminded that this is an age of rampant commercialism, and that the money god is supreme. It is no time for sentiment when a madman is at your door, and a bloody riot is raging in your streets. The poets are an intrusion when society itself is in a condition of elemental war. Rather, in times like these, the mood of Brutus, when a poet came plunging into his tent uninvited, to assuage the angry passions of the quarreling generals on their way to Philippi—the poet ejected, and Brutus, breathing heavily, asks:

“What should the wars do with these jiggling fools?” Was not Brutus a philosopher, and did he not rightly estimate that, in time of war, at least, the poets were but “jiggling fools?” And yet the event showed that the poet was the wise man of the three—he flung a buffet between the swords’ points of Brutus and Cassius, and saved the patriotic army from dissolving away in untimely confusion and disgrace. A poet was intrusted with the last friendly office to the doomed powers that would prop up the collapsing structure of the Roman State. But, not on battlefields—rather in those great institutions engendering peace, would we see the poets enthroned.

Our burning question is how to get the poets duly and permanently installed in our higher schools. For long centuries the Greek and Latin poets were there, and without doubt the poet’s function, everywhere the same, was in a measure discharged. Our repertory in those days consisted of splendid fragments of Homer and the Greek dramatists, of Horace and Virgil among the Latins—in the main, however, of both literatures, “the inimitable story of ancient Troy.” We shall never forget that. Assuredly the perfection of the poet’s art was attained, if ever, in telling that tale, and well nigh all the loftiest ideals conceivable by the civilized man, burned in legible outline all over the enchanted page. None the less we are reminded, that the Greek civilization was not the civilization of our day. The English people, and their American scions, are a commercial people, with merchant navies on all seas, and

trading industries that belt the world. Among this people modern science was born, with its formulas of evolution, and the correlation and conservation of the physical forces—the most stupendous secular outburst ever known in the history of the world. This tree of science, like the mystic tree of the ancient *sagas*, has thrown out new branches every year, and promises a universal fruitage from its boughs. In our new enthusiasm we accepted it for all that it proposed, and in a little time, as an educational agency, it grew far beyond the limited space accorded it in the schools, and began to clamor for more room, and still more room on the curriculum, threatening be-times to subordinate the whole space to itself. In any event the time occupied with the ancient classics must be curtailed, and where Homer and Virgil sat serenely on their heights, a physical laboratory must be set up, and electricity be accepted as the prophet of the newer time.

Thirty years ago this movement began. Inch by inch the laboratories made their way. The classics receded into the background, or were thrown under the blight of a philological craze, whereby it was thought these ill-favored studies might be admitted to march under the banner of science now so triumphantly afloat. The scientific specialists came forward to bend all pedagogy to their behest—making the mistake, however, that, being specialists, they must teach as specialists, as if specialists were to be the uniform product of their toil. It is a mistake which they have never learned to correct to this day. But what was specially fatal in this condition of things was, that as the Greek and Roman classics receded, the poets went with them; and for the voice of the *vates* to grow silent in learning's halls—what could this mean? Just then the happy thought intruded to have the great English poets occupy the empty space. Why not? They rival and outstrip the ancient poets in all particulars except, perhaps, the amazing flexibility and music of their tongue. In the range of their human interest, and in their mastery of the “recondite soul of song,” the English masterpieces are long leagues ahead. Milton and Tennyson are, all in all, more than a match for Homer and Theocritus, and Keats, standing on the shoulders

of these, could peer over the loftiest Parnassean peaks. As for Shakespeare, all the great Greek dramatists put into the scale together could not outweigh him. There would be great economy of time, therefore, they all began to say, and the result no less attained, to let the English classics fill in on the space—time, most certainly, that long drill, for example, in the structural technique of the alien language whose literature was to be approached.

There was a great overflow of enthusiasm when this spacious expedient first came into view. But soon an unforeseen difficulty blocked the way. The English classics were unmanageable because of the too great ease with which they yielded themselves to the student's command. The older classics had a way of keeping the minds of the student glued to the page, at work among idioms and synonyms, with the view to an adequate rendering, no doubt, but in the meantime the soul of the poet slipped in, here and there, silently and subconsciously to illuminate the text. Behind the stubborn problem in syntax, and the shy idiom flitting elusively over the page, there was the lurking muse thirsting in her imaginative splendors and fitful inspirations wherever she could. The struggle and time involved in translating, gave the soul of the poet its right of way into the student's mind.

Now the English classics would dispense with this struggle and save this time, and—the end to be attained—give the laboratories a wider area over which to stretch their tents. But, alas! the game became so easily a losing one. It is the special disability of the English classics that they are so easily won. The eye can run over them in superficial gleamings and profuse wordy talk concerning them when the book is closed, but nothing, absolutely nothing, has been gained. Poetry, Carlyle urges, should be studied as one would study fluxions, but this is clearly impossible under the prevailing methods in the schools—impossible, except as some expedient may be discovered for keeping the mind glued to the text. Time and struggle, long and sympathetic brooding are just as necessary here as in any other domain of study, and if the regime falls short in this particular, and there is no fund of voluntary en-

thusiasm on hand to take its place, all hope of culture from this source must be given up.

We are pained to note that, after long years of trial, there is a feeling abroad, that the English classics have not fulfilled their early promise to substitute the extruded literatures of Greece and Rome, and secure for the schools, as it was reasonable to hope, a deeper and sweeter culture than they. Disappointment has fallen on this noble endeavor all along the line. The poets are not in the schools. The classic poets have been dismissed, and the English poets will not answer to their call. Meantime in the absence of an effective regime for the study of the poets, and the manifest failure of the methods in vogue, there is a loud cry for some signal step in the advance—which step in advance can never be made, until a mass of rubbish obstructing the way to the professor's desk has been removed.

For example, the idea that poetry is a volatile product, evaporating with the pleasurable moment, must be given up. We must conceive more adequately the function of the poet than as the transient singer on the waysides of the world, driving away care, and soothing the ennui of the indolent and the rich. Unless our poets are prophets, that is to say, teachers and leaders of the race, it were altogether idle to challenge for them a chief place in our schools. There is a wide-spread notion abroad, in this industrial age of ours, that the great poets have only a vacation value, a whiling-away leisurely function, like that of the minstrels at the ancient feasts. Happily one of their own number may be spokesman here—

“He saw through life and death, thro’ good and ill,
He saw thro’ his own soul,
The marvel of the everlasting will
An open scroll
Before him lay.”

—rehearsing what he sees under the glow of an imaginative inspiration, that finds the imperishable phrase and underlying rhythm, suited to such conceptions, at the moment of their birth.

Confessedly poetic genius is the higher order of genius-in-

ventive, creative, bringing in from the unknown a new product, as much so as when the physicist from long groping discovers a new force—only the poet's mood is the more prolonged and strenuous, because dealing with things intangible to the sense. "Poets are all who love, who feel great truths, and tell them"—loving and feeling great truths, and then alert to catch the winged articulation in which they come—this is, as nearly as we can define it, the way in which the genius of the poet works. He is not singing for entertainment; though, as in all art, a feeling of rapt enjoyment is inseparable from the song he sings. But he has a musical message for susceptible ears—truths, the higher order of truths—ideals which fashion and govern the world. If he were singing for entertainment merely, he has competitors in the field that would soon drop him out of sight. "Push-pin were better than poetry," and infinitely better the national game of college ball. No; the poet is prophet, or the ages and sages have been strangely fostering an infatuation all these years.

Now, if we keep these two things in mind—first, that the poet is prophet, and, second, that, as in the case of all prophets, he gets his message from wisdom's inner shrine—we are well on the way to discover the manner, the peculiar attitude of mind, in which his message is to be received. Emerson, essentially a poet, and, but for an unaccountable bluntness in his sense of rhythm, a poet of the first class, discloses the secret of his rare inspiration in his correspondence with Sterling—drawing the veil shyly aside from his inner life. He writes of "the pristine sacredness of thought." "All thoughts are holy when they come floating up to us in magical newness from the hidden life"—going on to say, that we often desecrate them by tampering with them in those colder moments when the glow of absolute faith in them has been frittered away. "We must needs meddle ambitiously with them, and cannot quite trust that there is life, self-evolving and indestructible, but which cannot be hastened at the hint of every physical and metaphysical fad."

There is a rich psychological revelation in these words—"thoughts are holy when they come floating up to us in magical

newness from the hidden life"—and we do not tamper with them in the spirit of unbelief. The secret of all genius is here. The poet, the inventor, the orator in his more exalted moods, all become the somewhat passive subjects for this self-evolving indestructible life, pressing against the gates of utterance, and finding vent in a vocabulary of its own. In terms of the New Psychology, these great souls draw from the inexhaustible fountains of the "subliminal self"—a recess in the human personality where the eternities harbor, and out of which all great discoveries emerge.

But in particular Mr. Emerson urges that the process cannot be hastened. We must place emphasis on this. All poetic genius waits, and broods, and lingers, and returns when temporarily baffled, and hearkens as men were wont to listen for the pipings of the great Pan in the Arcadian woods. That which comes, authenticates itself in its own behalf; has come in its own time; and has the glow of instantaneous perfection on it, as it "floats up in magical newness from the hidden life." Wordsworth tells of the same great secret in these remarkable lines:

"Nor less I deem that there are powers,
Which of themselves our minds impress;
That we can find this mind of ours,
In a wise passiveness."

And he himself, perhaps more than any other poet, is an example of the fine automatism of the deeper poetic breathing, as, also, of the profane handling, rebuked by Emerson, that fumbles the down on the butterfly's wings.

Now, it is not extravagant to say that the highest poetic genius of all the ages is the lineage of the English blood. Our distinction is that we have a heritage in the literary art, rich and profuse beyond any other in the world, in a vast and incomparable idiom that is our own, beckoning us from all shelves, and requiring no toil over the stony highways of translation to bring their treasures in. And yet our age seems to be oblivious to this fact. Milton, Shakespeare, Tennyson and the rest are suffered to gather dust in our libraries, because, it is said, our recreation pleasures are of another kind, and lend

themselves to our refreshment with less fatiguing mental strain. I think I discover the evil in the manifest delinquency of the great schools, whose business it is to fashion the public mind, in their impoverished idea of what poetry is. Poetry is not pastime, and it should not be studied as if it were. The schools, neither in theory nor practice, should give countenance to so debasing an estimate of one of the greatest moral forces known among men.

Our plea is that the poet as prophet shall be reinstated in our schools. Let Colin Clout come home again. He has been in exile because he has not been understood. In general outline this can be brought about, by getting the mind of the student into sympathetic privacy with the great poets, waiting on them, and walking with them, along the dim corridors and far-off reaches of song, whence their inspirations have sprung. Spirit with spirit—let that be the key. Let all the incentives and solicitations of classroom drill be exclusively literary—not historical, not philological, not rhetorical—but intent only in getting the mood of production repeated proximately in the mood of reproduction; or, what is the same thing, putting the student where the poet was when his message floated up to him from the hidden life—

“As when we dwell upon a word we know
Repeating, till the word we know so well
Becomes a wonder and we know not why—”

—in some such way as that are the treasures of the poets to be caught up and assimilated by susceptible minds.

But it is especially unfortunate that the dominance of scientific methods in our schools should have witnessed the absurd attempt to grind up literary studies in the same mill. There is no antagonism between poetry and science, but it is not best that either should be subject to the other's rule, since both are equal heirs to the same munificent estate. The mood of the scientist, rigidly analytical and matter-of-fact as it must be, is strongly alien to the integral glow of mind in which all the great masterpieces of the poetic art are born—indeed, when too exclusively indulged, will dry up every fountain of aesthetic

susceptibility as if swept by a simoon. As bearing on this point, let us hear Mr. Darwin's confession and regret. "Up to the age of thirty, or beyond it, poetry of many kinds, such as the works of Milton, Gray, Byron, Wordsworth, Coleridge and Shelley, gave me great pleasure, and even as a schoolboy I took intense delight in Shakespeare. * * * But now for many years I cannot endure to read a line of poetry. I have tried lately to read Shakespeare, and found it so intolerably dull that it nauseated me." Poor Darwin! to suffer an infliction of Shakespeare in a manner so rough. But he is frank, at least, and goes on in very noble terms to deprecate his loss. "My mind seems to have become a kind of machine for grinding general laws out of large collections of facts, but why this should have caused the atrophy of that part of the brain alone on which the higher tastes depend, I cannot conceive. * * * If I had to live my life again, I would have made a rule to read some poetry and listen to some music at least once every week; for perhaps the parts of my brain now atrophied would thus have been kept active through use. The loss of these tastes is a loss of happiness, and may possibly be injurious to the intellect, and more probably to the moral character by enfeebling the emotional part of our nature."

Mr. Darwin's self-scrutiny is thoroughly ingenuous and keen, and even painfully appreciative of the nature of his loss. But presumably he had no training in the English classics while at school, else he must have known how to retain the uplifting influence of poetry, when the throng of his scientific pursuits forbade that he should ever again tarry leisurely at his books. It was no mean service to be preoccupied with the earth-worms in their burrowings, or with the ingenuity of the sun-dew in entrapping its prey. He who would bring any great discovery to light, must be absorbed in the object of his pursuit, and any one so absorbed will soon have no time nor disposition to open again the great books that so fascinated him in his youth. It goes that way with us all. As a general rule the great books, that hung like luminaries on the sky of our early years, must go behind the dim cloud of prolonged and exacting preoccupation with the sterner things of this world—the demands

of science, the inexorable clamor for food and shelter, and the wherewithal to be clothed. We are all in with Mr. Darwin there. Our Shakespeare, our Milton, our Wordsworth, our Tennyson, our Bible, even, may rarely be opened in the supreme hurry of life, but the imperishable residue of the school-day drill remains, in the form of impressions that cannot be dismissed.

It is at school that these impressions are stored up for memory readings and wayside suggestions, in the busy and business-thronged years to come; and, besides this, on the very social atmosphere around us these great books are invisibly afloat. But what if these aesthetic impressions came not to the young mind when they were due? Mr. Darwin's experience, however, will teach us this: That it is the province of the school, not to dole out facts, dry, hard, dead, and embalmed in some generalization equally dead, but to leave impressions on the young mind that cannot be erased—impressions, rather than facts—impressions in and through which the facts become alive. What weighed ruinously on the mind of Darwin, was the *apotheosis* of fact, and in this great scientific era of ours the schools are blindly repeating the offense. For some wise purpose nature in her pedagogy has put the imagination in the lead, and imagination is the plastic substance of the soul on which impressions are made. Therefore it is that fancy, often, in these susceptible years of our life, has the better of fact—lifting the soul, as Mr. Darwin says, "to the divine and the eternal," when, as in his own case, the most stupendous facts in nature had a conscious tendency to pull it down. The scientific specialist, for example, is concerned only with his observations and experiments—must see to it that they are absolutely correct. Accuracy to the millionth millimeter of the thing his formulas would embrace, is the shining goal of all his research—beyond that, of course, what practical result may be looked for on the industries and economics of the world. As to impressions on the young mind committed to his charge, the very suggestion, too often, savors of empiricism to his trained intellect, as if he were to let things slip loosely from the machine which he turns. Beyond the facts

and their splendid utilities, there are no impressions that he is aware of, that should divert him from his task. A whole world of mind and experience becomes thus, for him, nothing but an utter and dreary blank, over which only indolent and dreamy people have the hardihood to dwell. And yet we must not hesitate to affirm it—school life has its legitimate function right there, in that province of the mind which the specialist refuses to see.

Let us illustrate. History powerfully stimulates young minds, especially the exploits of those towering characters that have risen from obscurity, and thrown themselves into the breach in times of great national peril, and by voice, or pen, or sword, met the emergency, and left the imprint of their incumbent personality on all subsequent time. Reading of these, there sweeps in upon the wonder-loving youth a personal influence, an impression of soul upon soul, utterly unlike anything possible from all the best regulated laboratories in the world. And yet history, as contrasted with poetry, has this special limitation, that it, too, is held fast in the embrace of facts. The historian must not purloin his facts. He must rummage libraries, consult old documents, verify dates, talk with the last surviving veteran who fought in those wars. He must invent nothing, and in grouping have no deliberate bias toward partisan effect. Now poetry is released from these fetters, and builds up its impression on an ideal world of its own. The liberty of art! we hear much of that. It is the personality of the artist working by inherent right toward personality of effect—man acting on man, and not, as in the laboratory, force impinging on force, and the delighted manipulator standing by and encoring the result.

Let us allude to Hamlet. That wonderful character is almost a wholesale creation of Shakespeare's brain. There was no such figure in history. History would have been incapable of producing such a figure, not because she has not the material out of which to make a Hamlet, but because she has not the magic to throw the material into shape. Shakespeare did this, and lo! we have, standing outside the pale of history, a per-

sonality more powerful, all in all, than any which history has produced—along lines, of course, in which purely human faculty would be expected to move. And so this character presents, once for all, the literary paradox, that the most influential man in all the world, was a man who never lived at all. If ever Aristotle's dictum, that poetry is a more serious and a more philosophical thing than history, has had a verifying witness, it is in this marvelous creation of Shakespeare's brain. Suppose now a school-drill in this play, so ordered that the young mind will get the Hamlet mystery proximately illuminated by experiences and insights of his own, following the Dane arm in arm, close-locked, through the swiftly evolving stages of his tragic career, the very heavens bursting around him with their awful solemnities, and their stern purpose that judgment shall have its due—it is absolutely impossible that the impression should ever be erased.

But here, again, we must insist that the method is everything if the impression is to be made. The methods of science, dominant and imperious, in our day, among educators of every shade of pedagogical standing and eclat, are at once and forever inapplicable to studies of this kind. And yet, we blush to say it, in some of our great universities we have the experiment, in grim earnest, installed, of subjecting our great masterpieces of the literary art to a *quasi*-laboratory drill—the proposition, as I must interpret it, to put Hamlet on the dissecting table, and in a species of literary clinics, cut him up alive. It is a case of judicial murder on a stupendous scale. The labored analyses of those learned commentators remind one of the audacious amateur in the physician's art, who would gladly kill his patient if in the process he might perfect his surgical skill. Poor Hamlet! Rather give him over to the mouthing elocutionists and strutting actors, to be blown about in declamatory whirlwinds and "booted by the buskins," so that he die not before his time, nor have the fatal draught administered by any other hand than his own.

No; No; Hamlet shall not be given to the whirlwinds, or be booted by the buskins on the ranting stage. We have to

note with pain that the most prevalent and irritating misconception of the function of literary studies in the schools, is the idea that they furnish material for elocutionary drill. The brilliant and tragic passages of the great masterpieces are to be sought out and declaimed—beyond that there was nothing else to be done. In an alarming number of our colleges, great and small, elocution is thought to be more than vitally related to literature, even, in some sense, the thing itself. It seems to be taken for granted that whatever attainments the student makes in this way, can be in evidence, only, as, by aid of grimace and gesture, he can toss the famous passages glibly on his tongue. Now this low view of the aim of literary studies is the more irritating because of its prevalence, and because of the stubbornness with which it adheres. It is, of course, altogether consistent with the widely current idea, that the poets of the world have their highest qualifications in their ability to entertain. Such service would be greatly enhanced by the charm of a cultured utterance, with the added effect of well-trained gesture and pose.

But, as before shown, the mission of the poets could not be more grossly misconceived. The poets bring up their treasures from the hidden life, and the meditative silence of that realm is inseparable from them, and the blare of the elocutionary trumpet is an intrusion and a snare. There is, of course, a legitimate place for elocution in any amply equipped school, especially in these days when phonetics have almost been created anew, and voice-culture can have most valuable scientific aid from that source. But elocution has no right to an inch of ground on the literary domain. Indeed there is imminent peril to the whole aesthetic household if these usurpers are near. The poets demand quiet, and the simplest attitude of soul that any one may know. But elocution is always a noise, and sometimes a systematic noise, blown out and blatant on the empty wind. It and literature should not dwell on the same floor, and when it comes to an exhibition of product, they should be catalogued from pole to pole apart. It must be known that they have nothing in common—absolutely nothing

at all. To this end we feel tempted to advise that emotional reading and James Whitcomb Riley be abated by law.

But seriously, now, it is in accordance with the nature of things, that these two branches should be kept jealously apart. Poetry may, with great advantage, be read aloud, but the emotional reading of the elocutionist—mouthing and artificial as it is almost certain to be—must have a stage by itself if tolerated at all; it cannot be allowed anywhere near the shrine of the poets, as a means of making their message known. The rhythm of the poet—what is that? The elocutionist is in no mood to make the discovery, and if peradventure it should slip into his ear, he would never think of putting it on the stage. This thing of rhythm in poetry has received much and careful consideration in our day. It has been found to be a swaying to and fro of the inner billows of inspiration, so to speak, in somewhat evenly measured impulses, like the waves of the sea. It is the rhythm of the universe suggested in the beating of the heart, and the pulsing of the stars—"the swing of the Pleiades," let us say, and the poet's breathing articulates itself in subtle movements like that, up and down, in ebb and flow, through all the intricate modulation of surd and sonant in the syllabic mysteries of the mother tongue. The nearest the human voice can come to imitating it, is by the unpretentious chant.

In speaking of a matter so important, the testimony of eminent specialists must be called in. Professor Shairp, the distinguished Professor of poetry in the University of Oxford, has these words: "Not of lyrical poetry only, but of all high poetry, may it be said, that it is only then fitly uttered, when it is chanted, not read, and so it is with a chant that most poets have recited their own poetry." An authoritative voice nearer home is to the same purport. Professor Gummere, in his exhaustive work on the *Beginnings of Poetry*, after having traced the element of rhythm to its very fountain head, pauses in his discussion to say: "Poetry, for public entertainment, is mainly read in the free declamatory style. This, to be sure, is not the way in which Tennyson, a master in poetic forms, re-

cited his poems ; it is not the way in which one reads, or ought to read, lyric poems generally, when even the most ruthless and resolute 'Herod' of elocution finds it impossible to slay all the measures of three syllables and under"—a shrewd warning to elucutionists to keep hands off, when so inviolable a matter as the rhythm of poetry is to be expressed by the human voice.

The mention of Tennyson's way of reading his poems, recalls a current story illustrating his extreme sensitivity on this point. A lady of trained elocutionary power, no doubt, was induced to exhibit her skill in the poet's presence, with a company of appreciative people gathered to hear the lady give adequate vocal expression to some of the finer passages in his poems that had charmed the ear of the world. She was working her way through her task, it can hardly be questioned, after the most approved style. But, somehow, the poet grew more and more restive, as the reading went on, fidgeting with impatience under the finished inflections and cadences of the fair elocutionist's voice, until, exasperated beyond bounds, he let his passion get the better of his manners, and snatched the book from the hands of the reader, and went on with the task himself in what they called a sing-song style of his own. It was not sing-song ; it was the inviolable chant.

Such are some of the obstacles that keep the poets out of our higher schools—all springing from the prevailing idea, unworthy and low, of the function of poetry in the tutoring of the race. It was early seen that the English classics could be read and not studied, and that under this disability they must become a mere shadow in the curriculum, unless something could be done to clothe them with the scholastic dignity of their comrades in the race. Then came the unhappy expedient of putting them down to laboratory methods, and filing them in under the banner of science—a banner, at this time, at all events, marshalling everything under it folds—absolutely everything under the sun. This failing, elocution threw itself into the breach, and the last stage of decadence was reached, when these great prophets of good were towed off to the cave of the

winds. If that cave can be as Virgil describes it, a scene of internal roar and riot, the very sea itself deafened by the clamor, what a hopeless venture it must be, in the midst of such a turmoil, to dream of a high world of calm, where the leaves of God's great book are unruffled, and the eye takes in its contents from the untroubled depths of science, and the solitudes that are vocal with the paeans of peace. Well, then, are the banished prophets no more to return?

ARTICLE III.

THE CHRIST OF THE KORAN.

BY F. R. WAGNER, A.M., B.D.

Even a casual examination of the Alkoran of Mohammed is sufficient to demonstrate the fact that there is no idea in the Moslem faith which corresponds to that of the Christ of the New Testament scripture. Mohammedanism is purely unitarian in nature, and recognizes no division of the Godhead whatever. The faith most heartily accepts Moses, Abraham, Lot, Isaac and nearly all of the patriarchs and prophets of the Old Testament, and, with these, also John, the son of Zacharias, and Jesus, son of Mary, are included as prophets and apostles of considerable importance. Several times, indeed, does the Koran reiterate the statement that "we make no distinction between any of them." All, however, are considered subordinate to Mohammed, who is accepted as the great and special prophet of Allah. "God is one God; the eternal God; he begetteth not, neither is he begotten; and there is not any one like unto him." The oft-repeated prayer of the pious Mussulman: "La-ilaha-il-Allah, wa Mohammed er rasoul Allah" ("There is no god but God, and Mohammed is his prophet") is really the *Kalima* or creed of his religion, and the epitome of the faith of Islam, which, at present, has more than two hundred millions of subscribers.

The two propositions of this "Kalima" Gibbon calls "The

eternal lie and the eternal truth." We have only to consult competent authorities in order to realize to what an alarming extent this "eternal lie" is accepted and incorporated with the "eternal truth." While Mohammed made no claims to a Messiahship nor even to divine origin, yet he is to-day held practically as the indispensable mediator between God and men, and the only efficient intercessor on the day of judgment. Rev. S. M. Zuemer, F.R.S.S., says: "Mohammed is called 'Light of God,' 'Peace of the World,' 'Glory of Ages,' 'First of all Creatures,' and other names of yet greater import. His apotheosis was completed by tradition. In the Koran he is human; in tradition he becomes sinless and almost divine. No Moslem prays *to* Mohammed, but every Moslem prays *for* his aid in endless repetition daily. His name is never uttered or written without the addition of a prayer. *Ya Mohammed* is the open sesame to every door of difficulty, temporal or spiritual." In the eyes of a believer, Mohammed holds the keys of heaven and hell, and, in this and many other respects, Mohammed may be considered the Christ (the anointed) of the Koran, for the name, the place, the office and the glory of Christ have been thus usurped by the False Prophet of Islam.

ESTIMATION OF JESUS.

With so much for the consideration of Mohammed as the usurper of some of the offices and glory belonging to Christ, we proceed to an examination of the Koran for its estimation of Jesus Christ himself. In general, it may be well to observe that, aside from denying the divinity and messiahship of Jesus, the Koran pays him the highest honors possible, and ranks him among the most important of apostles and prophets, giving him in fact special attributes denied Mohammed himself, and conceding to him supernatural power to work miracles even from his childhood.

THE BIRTH OF JESUS.

As to the nativity of Jesus, the son of Mary, the Koran
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speaks with considerable stress, and introduces the account of Christ's birth with the story of Zacharias and the birth of John. In the whole narrative the flimsy screen of alteration fails to hide the plagiarism of the Prophet, and the glaring perversion of the gospel to suit the purposes of the Impostor is strikingly apparent. The highest motive actuating Zacharias to ask the Lord for issue seems to be that he feared his nephews, who would otherwise have been his heirs and successors; however, he prays that his son might be acceptable to God. The gospel narrative is then followed, although not in strict detail, until the mission of John is mentioned. Here we find no trace of John's lifework—no intimation of a "John the Baptist," nor that the life of John was in any way connected with the mission of Jesus. All we know of him is that Allah said unto John: "Receive the book of the law, with a resolution to study and observe it." It is also stated that "we* bestowed on him wisdom when he was yet a child, and mercy from us and purity of life; and he was a devout person, and dutiful to his parents and was not proud or rebellious." After Allah bestows his special benediction upon John, there is a sudden transition to the story of Mary and her son, without the faintest echo of a "voice crying in the wilderness, prepare ye the way of the Lord."

In the treatment of the conception and birth of Christ we also find trace of the gospel account. It may be called a *semi-gospel account*, with gross perversions and even an occasional attempt to patch up some seeming discrepancy. Gabriel appears to Mary, in person, with the divine annunciation and the assurance that "we will perform it that we may ordain him for a sign unto men and a mercy from us, for it is a thing which is decreed." In place of the journey to Bethlehem and the cradle-manger, we have the shocking information that Mary "retired aside with him in her womb to a distant place, and the pains of childbirth came upon her near the trunk of a palm tree." Here she despairs of her life and wishes that she had been lost

* Personal pronoun referring to God, used in plural.

in oblivion. God then provides a rivulet and directs her to eat of the dates of the palm tree, and admonishes her to "calm her mind." Here let the Koran finish the story in its own language. "So she brought the child to her people, carrying him in her arms. And they said unto her, 'O, Mary, how hast thou done a strange thing; O, sister of Aaron, thy father was not a bad man, neither was thy mother a harlot.' But she made signs to the child to answer them, and they said how shall we speak to him who is an infant in the cradle?" Thereupon the infant Jesus spoke concerning his mission with all the depth and wisdom of a sage, after which the Koran continues: "This was Jesus, the son of Mary, the Word of Truth, concerning whom they doubt," and adds, as though fatal to the sonship of Christ, "it is not meet for God that he should have any son; God forbid."

THE CHARACTER AND MISSION OF JESUS.

Concerning the character and mission of Jesus, the Koran may be said to be very direct and unmistakable, yet rather brief, in its treatment. While it exalts his character as the most godly of men and zealously claims for him the inspiration of the Holy Spirit, it repudiates the least intimation in favor of his divinity. As proof that Jesus and Mary were human the Koran states emphatically that "both ate food," and it denounces those as infidels who claim Christ divine, because "they have attributed unto Him [Allah] servants as offspring."

The religion of Mohammed claims to be the same advocated by Jesus son of Mary, and which men rejected at his hand. In speaking to "the faithful" the Koran says: "He [Allah] hath ordained you the religion which He commanded Noah, and which we have revealed unto thee, O Mohammed, and which we commanded Abraham and Moses and Jesus: saying, 'observe this religion and be not divided therein.'" Christ is undoubtedly accepted in this sense and "proposed for an example" in the faith.

The character and mission of Jesus seem to be so inseparably

united that even the Koran recognizes this fact also, and considers both together. Let us notice one or two comprehensive quotations with respect to the same. Perhaps the most remarkable is found in the angels' message to Mary, in which we find concessions almost Christian: "O, Mary! verily God sendeth thee good tidings, that thou shalt bear the *Word*, proceeding from Himself; his name shall be Christ Jesus the son of Mary, honorable in this world and in the world to come, and one of those who approach near to the presence of God; and he shall speak unto men in the cradle and when he has grown up, and he shall be one of the righteous." From the cradle, the child Jesus testifies of himself: "Verily I am the servant of God; He hath given me the book of the gospel, and hath appointed me a prophet. And He hath made me blessed wheresoever I shall be; and hath commanded me to observe prayer and to give alms so long as I shall live; and He hath made me dutiful towards my mother, and hath not made me proud or unhappy." Here we have Christ "the *Word*," *proceeding from God*; we have at least two references to Christ as "strengthened with the Holy Spirit," and a number of allusions to his "evident miracles" as confirming his special office. Christ and the Virgin Mary are "ordained for a sign unto all creatures," and Jesus especially as "the sign of the approach of the last hour."

SPECIAL MISSION OF CHRIST.

The Koran holds that "unto every nation hath an apostle been sent," and it also claims, in view of this, that "God shall teach him (Jesus) the scripture and wisdom and the law and the gospel, and shall appoint him his *apostle to the children of Israel*." Here we have the special mission of Christ. He was sent to his special or particular people with "a sign from the Lord." This sign was the power to perform miracles, which power Mohammed even disclaimed for himself. The miracle of *the table* was especially used as a "sign from heaven" by Christ, in order to satisfy the incredulity of the people, and especially that of his apostles. On this occasion, at the sugges-

tion of his apostles, Jesus said: "O, God, our Lord, cause a table to descend unto us from heaven, that the day of its descent may become a festival day unto us, unto the first of us and unto the last of us, and a sign from thee; and do thou provide food for us, for thou art the best provider." The response was: "Verily I will cause it to descend unto you, but whoever among you shall disbelieve hereafter, I will surely punish him with a punishment wherewith I will not punish any other creature." As a disclaimer of any divine power in Christ himself, we are expressly informed that Jesus wrought his miracles "by the permission of God." Thus we are told that he created a bird "from clay, 'healed the blind' and the leper, and even raised the dead—by the permission of God."

According to Mohammed's account, Christ was commissioned to "confirm the law, which was revealed before him," and even to allow unto Israel, *as lawful*, "part of that which hath been forbidden"—whatever that may imply. He was to prophesy even what his people should eat and what they might lay up in store in their houses.

REJECTION OF JESUS.

The rejection of Christ is admitted by the Koran, and "when Jesus perceived their unbelief, he said: 'Who will be my helpers towards God?'" This was the calling of his apostles. The record implies that there were those who answered: "we will be the helpers of God." The apostles, in prayer to God, confess: "O, Lord, we believe in that which thou hast sent down, and we have followed thy apostle;" and then they express a desire to be written down with those who bear witness of him."

There is one incident in the Koran in which the apostles of Jesus are also considered as divinely commissioned to present the gospel. The occurrence is especially "propounded as an example" to be used in preaching the doctrines of Islam to show the consequences of rejecting God's messengers. The apostles of Jesus here receiveth the unrestricted endorsement

of the Prophet. The account is, in brief, as follows: Two apostles were sent to Antioch. Their duty was "only public preaching," for which they "desired no reward." They were charged with imposture by the people. Another apostle joins the rest at this juncture, and together they make a public claim to be sent by God to preach. They are then commanded to desist upon pain of being stoned. A special messenger came—"a certain man came hastily from the further parts of the city"—and entreated the people to accept the apostles and their message; but the people stoned this special messenger to death. In consequence of this wickedness, at "one cry of Gabriel from heaven they became utterly extinct." By thus recognizing the mission of these apostles, the Koran may be said to accord additional credit and sanction to Christ and his followers.

We find, therefore, that the Koran refers to the rejection and persecution of Christ and his apostles as among the greatest sins of mankind. "He came unto his own, and his own received him not." This sin is regarded as meriting the wrath of God; and on account of this outrageous conduct, God will send no more apostles to men, for "no apostle cometh unto them, but they laugh him to scorn." "God hath *sealed them up* because of their unbelief," and it is even stated that the unbelievers "were *cursed* by David and by Jesus, son of Mary." Strange to say, on the other hand, we also find this positive statement in the Koran: "And there shall not be one of those who have received the scriptures, who shall not believe in him (Christ) before his death." While this refers to a belief in his apostleship only, so far as the Koran is concerned, yet, from a Christian standpoint, it sounds almost like an inspired prophecy in favor of Christianity, and not very unlike Isa. 45 : 23, and Phil. 2 : 10, 11.

THE CRUCIFIXION OF JESUS, AND HIS RESURRECTION.

The Koran denies that the Jews succeeded in crucifying Jesus; although it concedes the fact that the crucifixion really occurred. It claims that Christ was "represented by one in

his likeness," and that this substitute was crucified, and was believed by the Jews to have been Christ himself. "They did not really kill him; but God took him up unto himself; and God is mighty and wise."

Under these circumstances there is no resurrection of Christ admissible, although the Mohammedans are very firm advocates of the general resurrection on the "last day." With them, Christ has not "become the first fruits of them who slept." Their belief in the resurrection is based entirely upon general principles or "signs"—notably that of the fruition of the "dead earth," quickened by rain and sun to "produce there-out various sorts of grain," trees, vines, etc., and "to cause springs to gush forth."

JESUS CHRIST AND THE DAY OF JUDGMENT.

The description of the Day of Judgment has a number of minor things in common with the New Testament account. There are, however, some very considerable differences in the aggregate. "The trumpet shall be sounded and whoever are in heaven and whoever are on earth shall expire; except those whom God shall please to exempt from the common fate. Afterwards it shall be sounded again; and behold, they shall arise and look up; and the earth shall shine by the light of the Lord; and the book shall be laid open, and the prophets and the martyrs shall be brought as witnesses, and judgment shall be given between them with truth, and they shall not be treated unjustly." Christ, who is "the sign of the approach of the last hour," shall then appear also as witness at the resurrection and shall testify against the unbelievers. He shall also, at this last day, deny that he ever claimed divinity. "This is the day of judgment; this is the day of distinction between the righteous and the wicked." "How happy shall the companions of the right hand be!" "How miserable shall the companions of the left hand be!"

SUMMARY.

Thus, amidst the mad ravings of the False Prophet of Allah, we are able to discern but a few distorted and incoherent facts concerning the true Redeemer of men. His divinity and life-work are buried hopelessly beneath the debris of this base and radical unitarianism, and the pure and unselfish precepts of Jesus of Nazareth are supplanted by the sensuous and ambitious pretensions of an unprincipled impostor, who so skillfully and successfully preyed upon the impetuous and bewildered mind of the Orient that he was enabled to establish this "eternal lie" in the guise of "revelations" direct from heaven. "In the name of the most merciful God," the arch Pretender of Mecca arrogated unto himself the authority to produce the greatest and most glaring forgery this world has ever seen.

To summarize in a word, the Koran states: "Jesus is no other than a servant, who succeeded Noah and Abraham, *favoured* with the gift of prophecy, appointed an example to the children of Israel and a sign of the approach of the last hour." He was given the gospel, and power, or permission, to work miracles, and Allah "put into the hearts of those who follow him mercy and peace."

ARTICLE IV.

BEAUTY IN RELATION TO RELIGION.

BY PROFESSOR L. A. FOX, D.D.

In the first quarter of the last century Victor Cousin wrote a book with the title of *True, Beautiful and Good*. It was a discussion of the principles of his philosophy which he gathered up into one statement—the finite, the infinite and the relation between the two. The book is not now generally known outside of philosophic circles, but its former popularity has left its name as a commonplace. Cousin was not the first to link the three words together. It was done by the Greeks as soon as their speculations emerged from the materialistic form of the earliest schools. Profounder thought has in every age seen that there is a relation between them, though it may have often failed to discover the nature of that relation. Kant, grim devotee of duty, and skeptic in speculative philosophy, regarded beauty as the synthesis of the true and the good, the bond between speculative truth and moral law.

At first view the three seem very widely separated. The true belongs to the sphere of the intellect, the good to that of the will, the beautiful to that of the feelings. Truth is the reality of things. Good is the voluntary adjustment of personality to relations. Beauty reveals itself in sentiments. Truth is what is to be known or believed. Good is what is to be done. Beauty is what is to be admired. Truth is apprehended by the reason, good by the conscience, and beauty by the taste. Philosophy, in investigating the true, is theoretical and speculative, in inquiring after the good is practical and moral, in treating of the beautiful is sentimental. Aesthetics seems to most persons abstruse, dreamy, useless. But despite the great difference, the fact that they are so often linked together both in philosophy and popular thought indicates that they are closely related in their ultimate ground.

What is beauty? It is easy enough to point to various objects in nature, in art, and in literature, and say there is beauty; but to define the quality we call their beauty has been found very difficult. It is one of the most obscure problems of metaphysics. That feature common to a rippling brook, a brilliant rose, a magnificent piece of art and a charming little poem, bringing all alike under the class of the beautiful, has had many explanations, but no one has given general satisfaction. But it is equally difficult to define truth, good, being, identity, time, space, unity and other things. All of them are primary facts of consciousness, pure intuitions, ultimate principles, and are indefinable. Beauty, truth and good are all eternal. They are objective realities, yet they are not independent entities. They are qualities, not substances. They are not mere mental abstractions but qualities of real being. They are the eternal attributes of the one Eternal Being. Plato saw this sublime truth and announced that, as God is the ground of all reality, he must be the primal source and center of all truth, right and beauty. God is infinitely true and holy, and he must also be infinitely beautiful. Right is truth revealing itself in character, and beauty is truth appealing to the sentiments by manifesting itself in form. God is infinitely holy because he is infinite truth, and he is infinitely beautiful because he is both true and holy. In knowing truth, right and beauty we know God. In becoming wise and good and beautiful we become like God; in some sense and in some degree we are identified with God. The true, the good and the beautiful in their ultimate essence are one. They are only different aspects, different manifestations, different relations of the same thing. Through beauty as well as through truth and duty we reach the divine. There is therefore a spiritual power in beauty.

The question then comes back with new interest and importance, what is beauty? Plato answered: "It is the spiritual shining through the sensible." Jouffroy expounded the same ideas in a different form. "It is the invisible manifesting itself through the visible." Hickok said that "it is sentiment expressed in form." Dewey, starting with the idea that even

perception is idealizing, held that it is the harmony between ideals and their forms. Each of these definitions contains an important side of the truth, but is incomplete. There is no beauty without form embodying an ideal, but the ideal must be capable of producing a peculiar kind of feeling. We have ideals of taste and when we find them expressed in sensible form we experience a feeling of pleasure different from that felt when we see that a proposition is true or that an action is right. Whatever awakens that peculiar feeling we pronounce beautiful. As forms more or less embody our ideals they appear to us to be more or less beautiful. There are different degrees in excellence among ideals, and there are therefore higher and lower forms of beauty. The child, the savage and the uncultured have low ideals and they are insensible to the higher degrees of beauty. Education in aesthetics is largely the development of higher ideals.

The sentiment is the most prominent factor in the consciousness of beauty, and many philosophers have fallen into the error of regarding the beautiful as merely subjective.

But beauty is a quality of objects which produces the sentiment. The aesthetic and the ethical faculties are analogous. Conscience is not simply a pleasant or painful feeling, but is first of all an apprehension of law, then a judgment upon an action, and then a feeling following the judgment. Without the intellectual acts the moral sentiment is impossible. The same thing is true of taste. There must be ideals, then a judgment upon the conformity of objects with the ideal, and then last of all the sentiment of beauty. Those who reduce conscience and taste to mere feelings rob them of their most essential element. The moral is a quality of actions, and the beautiful is a quality of form apprehended by the reason, and the sentiment is the will. The sentiment is rational feeling. In it reason becomes conscious of itself. Irrational beings have no conception of the moral or the beautiful. There must be a prior rational intuition, or an intuition of pure reason before there is the possibility of rational feeling. Beauty awakens sentiment, and we may by a subsequent act of judgment

determine the character and degree of the beautiful by the nature of the feeling; but the beauty must be seen by the reason before there is any feeling.

That embodied ideal, that something spiritual shining through the visible form, that peculiar power enwrapped with the sensible, awakening the sentiment of beauty, is one side of truth. There is no beauty without truth, and there is some beauty in every truth. Keats said: "Truth is beauty, and beauty is truth." The sentiment of truth and the sentiment of beauty are distinguishable not only in thought but also in experience, but they are only different effects from the two sides of the same object. An instrument may be both beautiful and useful, but we distinguish between the pleasure which comes from the contemplation of its beauty and that which comes from the study of its utility. The same thing is true of truth. Sometimes the pleasure is greater which comes from the side we call truth and sometimes from that we call beauty, but there is nothing beautiful that is not true and nothing true that is not beautiful. Fiction is beautiful only as it depicts reality. Antigone and Narcissa, Penelope and Portia are fictitious persons, but the characters are real, and in that reality lies their beauty. There is a seeming objection to beauty in music, for music seems to have little or no relation to truth. As we listen to the symphonies of the great masters we are not conscious of any thought; we are absorbed in the delightful feelings. But sound is the natural expression of feeling, and music seeks to awaken in us, sometimes by imitation and sometimes by higher art, the same emotions that are produced by real objects of beauty. We may not be conscious of a memory of the objects because of the exceedingly rapid association, but in them the sentiment had its original source. The beauty of music is derived. Without truth music is merely a concord of sweet sounds, pleasant to the sense, but it cannot be called truly beautiful. All beauty, therefore, is a side of truth. For this reason poets are often seers. Their aim is art, not truth, but they frequently anticipate philosophy. In the inspiration of genius they get visions of the true in advance of the cooler

scientist and calmer philosopher. Shakespeare and Aeschylus were artists seeking artistic effects, but there are no more faithful portraitures of human life and character than their dramas.

In this relation of beauty to truth we see one reason for its spiritual power. Truth, not beauty, saves and sanctifies. "Ye shall know the truth, and the truth shall make you free." "Sanctify them by thy truth; thy word is truth." Art refines, but only truth spiritualizes. Beauty in itself has no power to raise the natural life to the realm of the spiritual, but it may serve as an ally to the truth. It may open the heart to the saving truth, prepare the way for it, and thus make it more effective. It awakens the feelings, arrests the attention and furnishes an opportunity to the Divine Word. The beauty in our Lord's parables constitutes no small element of their wonderful power in the world. The beauty in the simple stories of the Bible accentuates the lessons they teach, and has helped them to hold their place in education. Truth adorned by the gentle touches of fancy attracts. Cold logic, if it gets a hearing, convinces but does not move. Calhoun was masterful in argument, but Webster, greater in the power of beautiful expression, carried with him the nation. The beauty in popular songs is not of a high order, but it is adapted to the masses, and it stirs and sways them. Fletcher said: "Let me write the songs of the nation and I care not who writes its laws." The Messænic war in ancient Greece was dragging heavily along until Tyrtaeus began to write his martial hymns. Luther's hymns supplemented his sermons in the work of the Reformation, and Hans Sachs, rude as was the beauty of his verses, was a powerful preacher.

The analogy between taste and conscience indicates that there is a relation between aesthetics and ethics. The relation of both the beautiful and the good to truth shows that they must be related to each other. But they seem at first view to be widely separated, and it has been satirically asked,

"Is there any moral shut
Within the bosom of a rose?"

We are reminded of the fact that the Greeks, the great teachers of the world in the fine arts, the idolaters of beauty, were degenerate in morals. The more splendid the art the more corrupt was the public character. Phidias, the greatest of all sculptors, the architect of the Parthenon and creator of the Jupiter at Olympia, two of the wonders of the world, was exiled for embezzlement. Goethe, the great philosophic poet of Germany, a worshipper of beauty, was vile in some of the features of his private life. Byron and Rousseau, upon their own confessions, were base men. Great poets, artists and musicians so often trample under foot not only conventional rules, but also the plainest moral principles that some believe it is almost universal. The people think that every great genius is partially demented. But all this shows only that the good and the beautiful are not identical. It does not prove that they are not closely related.

There are a great many facts which prove a close relationship between them. The Greeks often spoke of them as the same and used *καλον* and *αγαθον* interchangeably. Even the stern, apathetic Stoic held that the morally excellent is the beautiful. The Psalmist speaks of "the beauty of holiness." We often talk about the beauty of character. Paul's heroic devotion seems to us to be in the highest degree beautiful. The world has not yet ceased admiring the grandeur in the heroism of Luther at Worms. Now can we describe the simple, earnest, consistent life of a saintly woman except by calling it beautiful? We cannot name the moral truth in a blushing rose, a murmuring brook, or a graceful vine, the very adjectives used to describe them show that somehow they are linked in our feelings with moral ideals. The white rose harmonizes with sweetness and innocence of life. Colors are made traits of character. In a great many ways men show that they habitually associate the beautiful and the good.

Both beauty and good have ideals. The good implies obligations and demands action. It seeks the attainment of an ideal. Beauty awakens sentiments and finds its end in enjoyment. The one seeks and the other reposes in an ideal. Ev-

ery high ideal of virtue has its charm of beauty, and every beautiful ideal must be sought by the commands of the law. Moral obligation demands the realization of the beautiful. Beautiful ideals are a criticism of life, and put the mean and low under a law. The beautiful or the good may either be cultivated to the neglect of the other, but under the penalty of its own weakness. The two are distinct, like memory and imagination, like intellect and feeling, but they are not independent of each other.

Beauty has a refining power. Refinement is beauty brought into life. And refinement is a species of morality. Courtesy is a moral virtue. "Be courteous" is put by Peter along with the injunction to "have compassion one towards another," and to be pitiful. Impoliteness is a sin. The brusque, gruff, surly man is ugly in his disposition and manner, and to some degree must be regarded as immoral because he violates the law of love. The cultivation of the beautiful rests upon the life. The conquered Greek is inferior in the manly virtues of strength and courage to the Roman, but he is more refined and more attractive. Corinth with all her looseness in domestic relations is higher in the sphere of virtue than hard, stony Rome, whose relentless hate ploughed up the foundations of Carthage, her fallen rival. Paulus, demanding a pledge of the captain of the ship to reproduce the great masterpieces of art committed to his care if they were lost on their way, seems a barbarian in comparison with his cultivated slave. Greece conquered by arms became victor by her arts, and Rome is enriched, refined and ennobled by her province. Artistic culture is an essential part of general culture, and Matthew Arnold's definition is so generally approved that it has become a commonplace: "Culture is sweetness and light." The love of the beautiful sweetens the disposition, softens and refines the manner, and lends dignity to life. The cottage may be humble and poorly furnished, but the little flower garden in the yard, the vine trailing over the door, the bright tin glittering in the sunlight, the tasteful arrangement of the ornaments upon the mantel, reveal the true nobility of the spirit that presides within. In a refined life

there may be inconsistencies as in every other kind of character. In spite of the refinement there may be some bad tendencies that may sometimes get the better of us, and we may do things very unworthy of us. Is it not true also of the Christian? But that is not the real life. Rousseau was on certain occasions a liar, a rogue and an ingrate, but he did not live in that low atmosphere. He had beautiful conceptions, awakening higher aspirations, that made him ashamed of his meanness and extorted from him his confessions. If he had not lived in sympathy with the highest and purest possibilities of life and character he would not have been able to write that splendid tribute to our Lord, immortal alike for its beauty and truth. It was largely true also of Goethe. The general tone of his life was above those escapades of lust, and for this reason the German people condone his vices. Though beauty is not able to lift up the whole character and save from even the saddest falls, it does nevertheless elevate the general tone of life and impart a higher degree of purity. It makes us nobler and better.

Beauty is one of the means which our Creator has provided for our education. There is no satisfactory philosophy of life which does not regard the world as a place for discipline. There is no sufficient reason for our experiences here except as a preparation for a higher and wider sphere hereafter. Nothing in this life is complete. When one is best prepared to live wisely, he must die. Ours is by no means a perfect world as an end, but it is wonderfully fitted to be a means. We are at school. Our great Benefactor has established a university admirably adapted to the needs of our education. The equipment is complete without anything superfluous. He has filled the world with truths, but he has hidden them as problems, that while we are striving to solve them we may grow intellectually strong. He assists us just enough to enable us to help ourselves. He has surrounded us with dangers that we may learn to defend ourselves. He has given us intuitions of the great fundamental principles of ethics, but he has left us to develop them and explore the great field of moral truth. Temp-

tations come that we may become morally strong. He has also filled the world with beauty. There is sublimity in the vast prairie, in the illimitable ocean, and in the starry heavens. There is grandeur in the storm, in the mountain, and in the great river. There is beauty in the flowers, in the songs of the birds and in the rivulets. As we stand amid the mellow light of a Summer evening upon some mountain and look down upon the valley with its little city sleeping upon its bosom, its river winding its silvery thread through its groves and meadows, its grassy hills teeming with drowsy cattle, we feel that earth is an Eden. The scene is so peaceful and beautiful that it answers to the Grecian dream of Elysian fields. But after all the world has no perfect beauty. The infinite ocean has been compassed, and this great earth is no very big world. The starry heavens filled Kant with a feeling of awe but some of the best known of the planets appear to be lifeless. The mountain enchants because of its distance. The greatest objects of beauty have their defects. The imagination has given nature many of its charms and created

"A light ne'er seen on land or sea
The consecration and the poet's dream."

God did not make an absolutely perfect world, because he wants us to become perfect. If the world had been perfectly beautiful there would have been no place for any art except the merely imitative. There would have been no opportunity for creations, and genius must forever slumber. The creative faculty would have been paralyzed and we would be deformed. But there is beauty enough to educate us. It invites, suggests, stimulates and inspires. Our Creator has revealed his plans for us and set before us his standard of perfection. He wants us to be intelligent. He wants us to be cultivated and refined. He wants us to be pure and good in moral character. But he wants something higher than these, high and noble as they are. He wants these elements in their greatest possible perfection to be exalted, assimilated and perfected by genuine spirituality. Spiritual life lifts the natural into its true end. From the stand-

point of the divine purpose in us the true, the beautiful and the good have only a relative worth. They are means for becoming divine. Made for God as we have been, things are good only as they bring us into the image of God. Truth, beauty and virtue are only means; they are not ends. If beauty had not had more than a mere power of refinement, if it had not possessed a spiritual power, God would not have made such extensive preparation for our education through it. Like truth and virtue it has an essential place in religion.

But the beautiful may be cultivated at the expense of the moral and the spiritual. Some artists revel in their ideals and neglect and despise the actual. They distort the real world and condemn the claims upon them of morality and religion. But they serve as a warning to those who want a true conception of life and its aims. Deformity serves as a foil to beauty, making the creations of genius seem the more beautiful; so the errors and sins and wrecks of onesided artists point out more clearly the true use of beauty. "Art for its own sake" is often heard from the devotees of the beautiful. "Art is an end." "Beauty needs no excuse for being." It is granted just as science and philosophy and pure mathematics and theology are ends. Art is to be cultivated without a view to gain or fame. It has its own place in the world, as science or philosophy have their places, and needs no apology for its existence. But all of them are alike means to the highest end, and only as they help to build up the purest character are they in harmony with the grand scheme of the universe. Art for its own sake is right in reference to other realms of human culture, but wrong in reference to the kingdom of God.

Beauty as the supreme end is an abuse. The study of abuses makes more manifest the proper use, and the abuse of beauty may be seen best in analogy. Civilization is a good, but onesided as ours is rapidly becoming, it may be turned into an evil. Earnest men are gravely discussing the question whether it will not prove ere long a curse. It needs to be permeated by the spirit of Christianity to save it from becoming a tyrant. Wealth as a means is good, but as the supreme end it is a curse. Religion

needs wealth as an instrument, but when a church warmly courts the rich and is proud of the millionaires among its members, it is in great danger of becoming earthly, a worldly association. Unconsecrated riches are a bane. Education is a good, but when it makes one dissatisfied with the only sphere open to him or disqualifies him for the only work he can find to do, it is an evil. It may be that we have magnified too much the value of our common school system, and carried it beyond the needs of society. But whatever difference of opinion there may be in regard to this matter there can be none among thoughtful men as to education divorced from morality and religion. Knowledge finds its highest and ultimate use in the service of religion. Science is good but as an end in itself it is, as Haeckel boasted, atheistic. Even theology, the divinest of the sciences, turned into an end is perverted. It has made men cold, narrow and bitter. Its aim is to make men Christlike, but what pages of literature are darker than some found in theological polemics? So beauty also has been abused. It has been cultivated to the neglect of the moral and the spiritual. It seems to be peculiarly exposed to abuse as the history of the fine arts abundantly proves. It appeals to the feelings, and when it is divorced from religion it leaves us a prey to the baser passions. Perverted it despiritualizes.

The danger of perversion and abuse comes more directly from the sensuous side of beauty. Beauty must have sensible form. On the rational side it is allied to the highest and best elements in us, but on the sensible side it is in close proximity to the lower feelings. Sentiment dependent upon sensation may be swallowed up by it. We see it in personal physical beauty. A woman's beauty may be a source of constant danger. The most chivalrous knight was dallying with temptations while he paid his devotions to his beautiful lady love. The luxury of sentiment may degenerate into the luxury of sense. The strong emotions accompanying the feeling of the beautiful may stimulate the craving for sensuous pleasure. The artist and the cook were in equal demand among the more degenerate Athenians. Amid the marvels of beauty in nature and

art men have been grossly sensual and turned themselves into elegant brutes surrounded by the splendors of a palace. What the power of beauty over us shall be is determined immediately by the stronger of the moral principles lying back in the foundation of our character. With high moral impulses and aspirations, beauty even in its lower forms is a means of rising to greater moral excellence. Spiritual life may through it elevate us into communion and fellowship with God. But without them the steps are downward and end in ruin.

This danger from the sensible is greatest in the lower degrees of beauty where the sensuous predominates. Socrates felt this danger and fought against it. Webster says that "he was so sensitive to physical beauty that he waged a constant war against matter." The beauty of color and figure may make us blind to the beauty of thought and character. The beauty of the music often makes us forget the beauty of worship. The beauty of the service may obscure or destroy the beauty of devotion. Peter was pointing out this danger from the lower beauty when he said: "Whose beauty let it not be that of outward ornament, of plaiting the hair and of wearing gold or putting on of apparel, but let it be the hidden man of the heart." He was not condemning neatness and taste in dress, nor the cultivation of physical beauty, but only the excess which sought the lower at the neglect of the higher. When the lower conceals or usurps the place of the higher, or when it fails to be a means of the higher it is abused.

Beauty may be a means of worship. With truth it is one of the attributes of God, and like truth it may bring us into communion with him. As there is no true worship without truth, so we may say that there is no worship without some degree of beauty. Certainly through the beautiful the heart may come into touch with God. The devout man, as he walks through the grove listening to the hymn of nature or stands upon the summit of a mountain gazing upon the grandeur of the ranges and peaks around him, may be worshipping his Creator. The Lord sometimes went into the mountain to pray. The fine arts may be helpful to devotion. "The great cathe-

drals are sermons in stone." The temple was as beautiful as the art and resources of the age could make it. "Beautiful for situation is Mt. Zion, the joy of the whole earth." One can worship in a log school house, but other things being equal one can come more easily into the spirit of worship in a church where all the appointments are beautiful and suggestive. The Puritans were wrong in making their meeting houses as cold and cheerless as possible and discarding all the beautiful liturgical forms in their service. Their character became as rigid and austere as their worship. The Roman Catholics understood our nature better, and they made their service beautiful and their churches grand. The Christian life has sustained Luther in retaining all that was beautiful without being idolatrous or erroneous in the churches and in the liturgies. But while recognizing and availing ourselves of the helpfulness of beauty in worship, we must not forget that there is danger of abuse. In the rapid return to liturgical forms and in this age of costly churches we need a special warning. We are turning over the service of song to trained choirs and we are becoming satisfied merely with the beauty of the music. The service must be artistically rendered or we are offended, and a slip horrifies us. We are so pleased with the rhetorical finish of the sermon and the graceful delivery that we forget all about the lesson. We may be so impressed with the elegance of the pulpit and altar, with the harmony of colors, the splendor of the frescoing, the tasteful lines and angles of the edifice that we lose sight of the fact that it is the house of God. The handmaid in too many of our churches has become mistress, and Hagar has driven Sarah into the wilderness. The simplest rural church with its reverend worshippers, praying devoutly in rude forms and singing spiritual songs in jarring notes, may be more fruitful to the beauty of holiness, more in harmony with the nature of religion and more acceptable to God. In the highest sense the worship is more beautiful.

We will speak of only one more relation. Beauty and religion are both related to character. Beauty in nature is a revelation of God's character, and his character is the supreme

beauty. If we fail to find God in beauty we miss its greatest meaning. We cannot find God in his infinite richness and fullness while we ignore beauty; no more than while we neglect truth and right. There is then a religion in beauty. Beauty has its ultimate source in the divine character. Religion seeks to form a character beautiful like that of God. The truest beauty on earth is not in art or in nature, but in human life. There is beauty in "the human face divine," but greater beauty in a pure and noble character. The homely, almost repulsive, Socrates was more beautiful than the handsome, brilliant but degenerate Alcibiades. Mary, the neglected queen of Louis XV, suffering her wrongs in silence and selling her jewels to feed the poor, was incomparably more beautiful than the courted and powerful Madame Pompadour. Purity in thought, patience under trial, meekness under provocation, sympathy for the suffering, consecration to the good, prompt response to duty, are some of the elements of the highest beauty in this world. In an innocent and useful life there is order and proportion in all its expressions, a variety and unity in all its elements, a harmony and completeness in all its parts which make it answer to widely accepted definitions of beauty. In Christian character, the aim of religion, then is the purest spirit shining out through words and actions, and in it is the purest beauty. In our Lord's character we have beauty and religion in their greatest perfection. He was the embodiment of beauty because he was the perfection of religion. He is the "fairest among ten thousand and the one altogether lovely." Marked and marred by the signs of service the world was blind to his beauty, and it was foretold that for it he should have no form or comeliness and when it should see him he had no beauty that it should desire him. But his scars are his ornaments. The crown of thorns about his brow, the robe thrown around him to mock him, the nails that pierced his hands and feet are brighter jewels than the gems that rest upon a monarch's brow. The true, beautiful and good are perfectly blended in him. In his life religion and beauty are one.

Beauty and religion have their source and center in God,

their ground in truth, their seat in sentiment, their end in Christian character and their highest exemplification in our Lord. Either without the other is bereft of an important element, but beauty is the greater sufferer. Beauty and religion, these two, but the greater of these is religion.

ARTICLE V.

PROTESTANTISM AND CATHOLICISM.

BY DR. GERHARD UHLHORN.*

It is a fact, plain before the eyes of everybody, that the conflict between our Church and Rome has become more pronounced again, and the never ceasing struggle has grown more violent. It is not our purpose to widen the chasm, or to continue the confessional warfare, from which our dear fatherland has suffered so much for centuries, and still suffers. However, we would like to call forth the cry of alarm: Hold fast that which thou hast, that no man take thy crown. And it is our earnest desire to help to bring the present generation to a more living consciousness of the unspeakably precious truths that were given to us through the Reformation, that it might be reminded of its sacred duty to preserve these truths for succeeding generations.

An historical study furnishes the most suitable way to reach the standpoint from which we can judge the present conditions with greatest certainty. We shall attempt to give a survey of the history of the opposition and the struggle between Protestantism and Catholicism until the present day, in order to get a proper insight into the present conditions, which will guard us as much from false certainty as from baseless fear and anxiety. We shall also be helped to the impartiality, discretion and charitableness that come from understanding an age historically.

The Roman Catholic Church of to-day, as well as our own, springs from the period of the Reformation. Just as ours is the Church of the Reformation, Rome is the Church of the

* Dr. Uhlhorn died December 15th, 1901.

Counter-Reformation. Thereby I distinguish it from the Church of the Middle Ages toward the good and the bad side. Even the Roman Church really experienced a reformation. Many abuses of the former age were abolished. The change was not only external; inwardly she received new life and power. But the reverse side is, that this reformation stands in opposition to the true Reformation from God's word. The Roman Church has become poorer, when compared with the Church of the Middle Ages, because she forcibly rejected those elements of evangelical life that the Church before the Reformation still possessed. Rome has also established herself in her error by stating as churchly doctrine and practice, and putting down as universally binding, that which in the Middle Age was the doctrine and practice only of individuals or of many, without its having been expressly recognized by the Church. Just as this whole transformation was effected under the influence of the Reformation and in opposition to it, so also on the whole has the history of the Roman Church since then been determined by this opposition. And from that time on her chief effort has been directed toward regaining that which was lost; her chief aim is the overcoming and the annihilation of Protestantism; her policy, her science, even her benevolent work must serve this end, and can be understood only on the basis of this opposition.

Spain is the native land of modern Catholicism. In it, especially under the influence and guidance of the great Cardinal Ximenes, a reform was attempted already before the appearance of Luther, which was as successful as any reform could be on the old foundations. Here churchly science was again fostered. Spain gave the Tridentine Council one of its firmest pillars, the Dominican Soto. Mysticism blossomed forth again, the Spaniard, Teresa di Jesu, by her mystic writings awakened again the inner feeling and the enthusiasm of the Middle Ages. From Spain came also a new activity in works of mercy. Johann von Gott, the founder of the Merciful Brethren, became the example for all later founders of similar orders, and his hospital became the model for the great work in the field of hospital nursing, which developed later. Finally from Spain came

also the order of the Jesuits, in which the opposition to Protestantism was embodied, which more than all other agencies helped to restore the papacy and to win back again that which had been lost, but which, for that very reason, gave modern Catholicism its strictest stamp.

This reformation, begun in Spain, was taken over into Italy, and there became the Counter-Reformation. In Italy, at the very heart of the Church, it was uncertain for a long time which way the further development would tend. The Popes were too deeply interested in the political affairs of the day to concern themselves earnestly with the interests of the Church. In the great struggle between the French and Spanish power, which filled the age, they stood sometimes on one side sometimes on the other, always seeking, as their chief end, the expansion of their own power. They were more anxious to secure advantages for their House, to provide their children and nephews with Italian principalities, than they were to reform the Church, especially since they had to fear a diminution of their power in every serious reform. More than once did the Pope prevent the Emperor from suppressing the Protestants, and secretly, in political matters, was in league against him with those whom he cursed as head of the Church. In God's wonderful counsel the Pope himself was made the instrument for protecting Protestantism, in its most critical times, from being overwhelmed by the power of the Emperor.

Thus, while the power of worldliness was still felt on the Chair of St. Peter and prevented any reform, the forces that urged reform were active in the circles of the laity and clergy, and reached the courts of princes and the college of the cardinals. Even in Italy there was a renewing of the religious sense. Men turned once more to the Scriptures and began to be more earnest in life. The clergy began once more to concern themselves for the people, to preach and to perform pastoral duties. New orders were formed to develop a better clergy and to prepare a reformation for the Church. Two tendencies were to be noted. Some approached the movement that had been begun in Germany. In a genuinely evangelical

way they went back to Holy Scripture, and preached justification by faith with the rejection of work-righteousness. Cardinal Contarini prepared a tract on the subject. In Naples Juan Valdez spread this doctrine, and one of his followers, a monk of San Severino, wrote a book on *The Benefit of Christ*, which was almost totally destroyed by the inquisition of that time, but has recently been found again. The Caputian General, Ochino, became a vigorous witness of grace. In opposition to these reformatory thoughts, the others held fast to the old, and saw salvation only in its revival. Accordingly the ways diverge by which the Church is to be reformed. Both parties want reform; the former seek it by reconciliation with Protestantism, and that in such a way that, without taking up its ideas unreservedly, certain things should be accepted, that is, a wisely mediating position between the old and the new should be sought, the latter want reform with the exclusion of evangelical elements and with the victory over Protestantism.

For a time it seemed as if the former tendency would win. Pope Paul III called to a commission for counsel concerning church reform, the head of this tendency, Cardinal Contarini, and, through his mediation, a number of like-minded cardinals. This commission formulated an opinion, in which the corruption of the Church was uncovered without reserve, and the absolute, arbitrary power of the Popes was designated as the source from which all corruption came. A number of propositions were made for limiting the power of the Popes and setting aside the abuses. The opinion was so sharp that later, when the conditions had changed, it was put into the list of the forbidden books. Then began the negotiations with the Protestants. In 1541 Contarini went to Regensburg to confer with Melanchthon and Bucer. At this council everything seemed to go as desired. They began at once with the chief and fundamental article, the doctrine of justification, and in reality attained their end. Contarini recognized justification by faith alone and emphasized only that this faith must be living and active, which was never denied by the Lutherans. This is a remarkable moment in the history of the world. Still once more it seems as if the division shall be healed. How very

different would have been the course of the world's history if the union, which was then sought, which seemed to be so near, had really been effected! But the persons who joined hands in Regensburg were not those who could give the final decision. In Wittenberg as in Rome the union was mistrusted. Luther saw to it that it was not taken seriously and feared that on the other side they would not draw the consequence of the great concession. He saw in the whole thing only the tricks of Satan. During Contarini's absence the Pope was influenced by the opposite side; he even feared that a reconciliation of the contesting parties in Germany would increase the power of the Emperor. Contarini was called back. It almost makes one sorry to see how nearly agreement was effected, and that now the division was definitely settled. But it was God's plan that Protestantism should develop pure and unmixed with strange elements. Only thus could it unfold its full power for blessing unto man.

In the meantime Cardinal Caraffa, the chief representative of the anti-protestant tendency, had become the most influential personality at Rome. The Jesuits assisted him. In 1536 they had come to Italy, and were recognized as an order by the Pope in 1540; and now they began their quiet, wisely directed work, with all energy, which knew but one purpose, the annihilation of Protestantism. The reform plans of Contarini were no longer considered. Instead of carrying them out, the Bull of July 21st, 1542, renewed the inquisition, and established a general high tribunal with authority to shed blood, at the head of which stood Caraffa. We can date the beginning of the Counter-Reformation from this day. Caraffa, a man of iron will, strict with himself and with others, now pushed the work of mercilessly freeing Italy from heretics, and then, having become Pope Paul IV in 1555, placed the highest power of the Church wholly in the service of this enterprise. Whoever was suspected of any protestant heresy was brought by the inquisition before the tribunal, and this tribunal knew no class distinctions and showed no pity, no forbearance. Many escaped by flight, many sealed their faith with their death. No book dared be printed or sold without the permission of the

inquisition ; all books brought in from abroad must be submitted for examination, and a catalogue of forbidden books, the notorious *Index Librorum Prohibitorum*, informed the faithful what books they were not permitted to read. He who had such a book and did not surrender it fell under the inquisition. Whole heaps of heretical books were burned. Certain works, e. g. the *Benefit of Christ*, already mentioned, were almost wholly destroyed. But it would not be just to Paul IV not to recognize the fact that he did bring about some reform. He freed the Curia from elements of uncleanness ; the papacy has been different from his day ; the former secularization has ceased. He restored divine service and gave it new splendor ; he held the clergy to preaching and cared for the instruction of the young, in which the Jesuits came to his assistance, who more and more controlled instruction, preaching and the confessional. Pius IV continued that which Paul IV had begun. Under him the Tridentine Council, and with it the restoration of Catholicism, came to an end. This longest of all councils (it lasted from 1546 until 1563 with many interruptions) made the dogma of modern Catholicism. In opposition to the Protestant principle, it gave tradition like authority with Holy Scripture, and thereby established the principle of the authority of the Church. In order to be a Catholic now one must believe what the infallible Church teaches. In opposition to justification by faith alone, it set up a doctrine of justification, which, it is true, sprang from various compromises with a tendency that inclined more to the Protestant conception, and therefore was veiled and cautiously expressed, but which left room for human action along side of grace, and for meritorious work along side of faith, and thus opened the door for the old work-righteousness and sanctioned the Pelagian leaven. Thereby is the certainty of salvation transferred from the believing Christian to the Church, as a priestly institution of sacraments. Through the sacraments administered by her priests she transfers grace into man and guarantees salvation to him, under the condition that he follow her obediently. The Council of Trent also fixed the doctrine of the sacraments in all points, and thus established the whole sacramental mechanism of the modern

Catholic Church. Reformational decrees accompanied those concerning doctrine. And we cannot deny that through them many abuses were removed and many good and beneficial regulations were made ; but if the council at the beginning awakened the hope that the days of Canossa and Basel would be renewed, or that it would place a restriction on the hierarchy, and especially on the papacy, this hope was completely disappointed. With the help of the princes, and, above all, of the Jesuits, who already played a most important role, the Pope succeeded in getting the council wholly into his hands during its last period, and eventually the result was the complete confirmation of the papal authority. Episcopalism was completely overcome, and, although the council did not dare to express directly the infallibility of the Pope, it was nevertheless really recognized. The Pope was commissioned to confirm and execute the decrees of the Council, *i. e.*, they recognized unequivocally that the Pope stood over the council.

Jan. 26th, 1565, the Pope confirmed the decrees of the council, which closed the reform movement in the Catholic Church. The modern Catholic Church stands before us. If I should characterize it in its differences from the Church of the Middle Ages, I would say that out of the Catholic Church has come the Roman Church. The Germanic element has been removed. The Germanic people have not cooperated in the restoration of the Church, it has been the work of the Romance nations, and accordingly the Church that came forth from this restoration has throughout a Romance character. The preponderance of fantasy and the increasing sensualization of the cultus are Romance ; the Germanic depth of soul-life is wanting. The losing of the individual in the whole, the patterned and disciplinary element of modern Catholic piety are Romance. The conscience of the Church takes the place of personal conscience ; the confessional has a meaning that it did not have in the Middle Ages ; the father confessor takes away from the individual member of the congregation his responsibility for his action, but with it he loses also his freedom in choosing for himself. The Germanic tendency toward individualism, the Germanic way of defending and emphasizing the right of the

individual personality, has disappeared. The strong impulse toward external activity, which brought forth such a beautiful, rich fruitage in the new Catholic Church, but also the externalizing of the religious life which is connected with it, is also Romantic. The Germanic inwardness is not present. The Church of the Middle Ages became Romanic also in this sense, that now the principle that dominates everything is that of the authority of the Roman Bishop, as the visible head of the Church. The whole Church is concentrated in him, he alone rules, and all other organs of the Church are instruments alongside of him, that enforce his decisions and carry out his will. These two characteristics are constitutive for the post-tridentine Catholic Church, and appear even sharper and more one-sided in the struggle against Protestantism. The Germanic element becomes even more and more separated, and the authority of the Pope even more sharply expressed. You see now already that the Vatican Council only completed that which the Council of Trent began.

This renewed Catholicism now took up the struggle with Protestantism. The situation was extremely unfavorable for it and victory dared scarcely be hoped for. All Europe was filled with reformation thoughts that had gone out from Wittenberg. The Evangelical Church had consolidated itself; not only in North and East Germany, but in the South and West, all, who through social standing or mental capacity, were of consequence, were inclined toward reformation. In Bavaria almost the entire nobility and almost all civil officers were Lutheran, and the same was true of Austria. The bishops of Cologne, Mayence, Treves, Wuertzburg and Bamberg were scarcely able to maintain the Catholic Church. Cloisters had become empty; church institutions had declined. The old representatives of Catholicism, the opponents of Luther, were dying, and a younger generation had not yet appeared. In Vienna for twenty years no student of the ministry had received priestly consecration. At most one-tenth of the entire population of all Germany, Austria and Hungary, held to the old Church; all the districts that to-day are strictly Catholic, Steiermark, Kaernten, Upper and Lower Austria, Wuertzburg

and Bamberg, were Lutheran. It seemed as if only a little time was needed for the Reformation to have a complete victory in the German countries, for the old Church to be fully uprooted. Outside of Germany the whole Northland belonged to Protestantism. The Lutheran Church was firmly established in Denmark, Norway, Sweden, and in the Baltic Provinces. England was separated from Rome. The Gospel had many adherents in the Netherlands and in France. In 1563 the Venetian Ambassador found three-fourths of the country filled with them. The Gospel had forced its way victoriously over the Alps and the Pyrenees. Spain and, to a greater extent, Italy, were permeated with Protestant ideas.

The first thing was to clear Italy and Spain of Protestants. The Inquisition succeeded in doing this by a bloody severity that knew no mercy. By about 1570 every agitation of the evangelical spirit in these countries had been choked. Then the Roman Church won a firm foothold in Germany, helped especially by the Jesuits, the Spanish monks, as they were well named there. In 1563 they came into Ingolstat. Bavaria became once more a Catholic country. This encouraged the bishops of Wuertzburg and Bamberg to cleanse their realms of heretics: on the Rhine, in Cologne, in Treves, the old Church was restored. The Jesuits were the tools everywhere; they preached, erected schools and used the confessional. Provincial synods were held, the clergy was renewed, the cloisters were reformed. The empty churches were filled again, the old ceremonies came once more into use, the shrines were again visited by pilgrims; in a word, vigorous Catholic life woke up anew, and a great part of Germany was turned away again from Protestantism, for which it was in part responsible, for while the Catholic Church proceeded unitedly and with closed ranks, the Protestants suffered from divisions and inner disputes, while with the former a religious life really glowed again, and a readiness for self-sacrificing helped to advance the work and the struggle. (It would not be right to refuse to recognize that in the Jesuits of that day). With the latter the life that

had been awakened by the Reformation was already declining and growing cold.

It was different in France and the Netherlands. There they employed force. For there Rome had understood how to win the princes for her cause, and they considered the Protestants rebels, who must be suppressed with power. The century of religious wars begins, which filled Europe with blood and ruin. At first it really seemed as if the world would be subjected to the Pope once more. Alba restored the Church in the Netherlands. England became Catholic again under the Bloody Mary. But then the people of the Netherlands rose up for their faith and their freedom, and in England Elizabeth established the Protestant Church permanently. The storm scattered the invincible Armada, Spain's power declined; in France the Edict of Nantes gave the Protestants almost the rights of a state within a state. Though Catholicism did not attain its ends, it was thoroughly well established and had greatly increased its territory. On the other hand, the Protestants had also joined themselves more closely together. Europe was divided into two worlds, a Protestant and a Catholic; the final decisive conflict was inevitable. Our fatherland became the stage of the most bloody and most destructive of all wars, in which both parties struggled in deadly conflict with each other for thirty years. It seemed as if Protestantism was lost; the Catholic armies ruled Germany as far as the Baltic; the Jesuits followed in their wake in order to reëstablish the old Church; by the edict of restoration of 1629 the church property was again taken from the Protestants, even in our own country, which had not seen a monk for almost one hundred years, the cloisters were again restored. Then the arrival of Gustavus Adolphus brought the change. A few years before the victorious Catholic armies stood on the Baltic; now Gustavus Adolphus penetrated as far as Bavaria and Tyrol, and the Swedes stood on the Italian borders; a few years before they thought of the restoration of the bishoprics and cloisters in North Germany, now Gustavus Adolphus was thinking of converting the South German bishoprics into civil Protestant states. Although

after the death of Gustavus Adolphus the conditions were again more favorable for the Catholic Church, she could not think of overcoming Protestantism by force. Such plans had to be given up forever. The Peace of Westphalia settled the boundaries for both churches, which have suffered little change since then.

It is interesting to ask why these grandly conceived plans of the Catholic Church must fail. The answer is not uncertain. The Roman Church did not have power enough in it to overcome Protestantism. That which she had experienced was only a restoration, not a reformation. The powers awakened by a mere restoration do not last long, they do not spring from a deep source. A genuinely new life was not there. With the Protestants such a new life was really present, therefore they were invincible as soon as this new life stirred mightily. Because her own inner strength was not sufficient, the Roman Church called in the power of princes, and hoped to be made victorious by shrewd political combinations. And in fact this helped them at times to important successes, but then, on the other hand, new political constellations brought defeat. We can say that the Roman Church was not able to bear the victories that she did not win with her own strength. Had the Catholic powers remained united against Gustavus Adolphus, he would have been ground to powder. But the victories of the Emperor awakened the jealousies of the other Catholic powers and of the Pope himself. The French favored Gustavus Adolphus, and at the fatal diet in Regensburg, in 1630, the Pope protected the opposition to the Emperor, which interfered with him. At the decisive moment the politics of the Pope and the interests of his temporal principality stood above the interests of the Church. This was the punishment that the Roman Church suffered for not seeking to win its victories by spiritual weapons, but by temporal power.

But Rome suffered still greater punishment. From the Peace of Westphalia on matters became continually worse with her. The whole age has now become different. The religious element, which for one hundred and fifty years had been the

predominant factor and had stirred up the nations, receded, and from now on political considerations alone rule the world. And with this, the role that the Pope thus far had played in European politics was at an end; it has become impossible to overwhelm Protestantism by political combinations. It is true, the Pope protested solemnly against the Peace of Westphalia, but who pays any attention to it? In Rome they did not give up the thought of winning back again the Protestant districts. Now they aim at the conversion of individual princes and important personages, and they had some success. It was a great triumph when the daughter of Gustavus Adolphus, Queen Christine, renounced the faith for which her father had fought and died, and returned to the bosom of the Catholic Church. The reigning house in Electoral Saxony, once the head of the evangelicals, bought the crown of Poland by its going over. From the house of the Guelphs they succeeded in winning Anton Ulrich and Johann Friedrich, and in our castle church mass was read again. Even conferences concerning union were brought about. The Bishop Spinola von Tina traveled around to the courts of the Hohenzollerns and the Guelphs to begin weaving the plans; Leibnitz and the Abbott Gerhard Molanus negotiated with Bossuet. But it all was without results, especially because the Protestant countries had become strongly developed in all directions, while the Catholic lands had declined and were poorer.

The Catholic Church also declined rapidly inwardly. Under the influence of the Jesuits, religious life retrograded, cultus became more external, while its ethics, which amounts to nothing more than to make it as easy as possible for man to fulfil his duties, did great injury to the moral life. The reaction of Jansenism against this, which arose in France as a return to Augustinian thoughts concerning grace, and in opposition to Jesuitism emphasized the deepening of the religious life, and strove to give more earnestness to the moral life, was crushed with force; and this was another victory that cost the Catholic Church a part of the evangelical life that still remained in her. The Curia in Rome, after its plans for overcoming the world

had failed, became a place of money-making and pleasure, and in the courts of the spiritual princes in Germany it was still worse. Von Poellnitz, who about 1730 visited the German courts, informed the spiritual court in Fulda concerning the price of drinking, and said that he never left the Bishop's table in Wuertzburg in any other condition than that of complete unconsciousness. The archbishop of Cologne, Joseph Clemens, (1688 to 1723), declared that he would read no more masses and perform no more spiritual acts if his father confessor should wish to hinder him from associating with his mistress. His successor, Clemens August, spent his time with singing and dancing girls; even in France the court in Bonn was notorious because of its frivolity. And yet the archbishop was churchly devout, held firmly to a strict observance of the church usages, gave away many images of Mary, and, when he believed he had been bitten by a mad dog, made a pilgrimage to the stola of St. Hubertius in the hope of finding a remedy there. Such bishops could not hinder the decay of the ecclesiastical and religious life, and already the flood roared near at hand which shook both churches to their foundations, and threatened to sweep away every positive form of Christianity, without respect to its confessional coloring, and for a time put an end to the struggle of the confessions among themselves—Illuminism, and in its wake the Revolution.

It was in France, where under Louis XIV the civil government had suppressed the Protestants and the Jansenists with force, and where the Jesuits had absolute sway, that a philosophy arose, which, recognizing nothing save that which man with his five senses can perceive, persecuted religion and Church with bitter scorn, and strove with every possible intellectual weapon to put an end to "infamous" Christianity. Voltaire, Diderot, Helvetius, the most noted of the encyclopedists, became the ruling spirits in the cultured circles, not only of France, but of all Europe, and it was rather Protestantism that was strong enough to oppose this power than the externalized, bigotly Jesuitical Catholicism.

The order of the Jesuits itself fell as the next offering.

They were first driven from Portugal, then in 1764 they were banished from France by a decree of the parliament; the other Bourbon courts followed, and, urged by them, Pope Clement XIV disbanded the order Aug. 26th, 1773, by the bull *Dominus ac Redemptor Noster*. "Inspired by the Holy Ghost, as we trust," so the bull reads, "driven by our duty to restore the harmony of the Church, convinced that the Society of Jesus can no longer render the service for which it was established—we abolish and annul the Society of Jesus, its offices, houses and institutions." That is, the Church now, through her head, gives up the order which really had been established for opposing Protestantism. Thereby she gave up further struggle, and even did away with that which stood in the way of opposition to the Church. The papacy really gave itself up in giving up the order that always defended the most extreme conception of the supremacy of the papacy. Then it had no influence for some decades, and, unhindered, the new ideas could make themselves felt even in the Roman Church.

We dare not overlook the fact that this thought also belonged to the tenets of Illuminism, that the state is omnipotent, and that it is its duty to "illumine" the people by laws, in order, as they thought, to do away with all evil and make the people absolutely happy with this advancing Illuminism. Accordingly "Illumined" despotism applied itself to improving the Church with an unbridled zeal for reform. Joseph II consistently followed out the plan of freeing the Church in Austria from every external influence; schools became institutions of Illuminism for the people; of the two thousand cloisters thirteen hundred were closed, and their property was used for benevolent purposes; pilgrimages and other churchly ceremonies were given over to ridicule, or plainly forbidden. He was followed by his brother, Max Frantz, the archbishop of Cologne, who brought the leaders of Illuminism to his court and broke completely with Rome. In like manner Illuminism was spread in other bishoprics, especially in Bavaria. In Ems the four archbishops came to an understanding concerning the basis of a national church free from Rome. Even in Italy reforms were consum-

mated. In Tuscany the affairs of the Church were readjusted by the Bishop of Pistoja. A synod decided upon the abolition of all superstitious ceremonies, the holding of the service in the language of the people and the spreading of the Holy Scriptures. Everywhere they strove to set aside or to tone down that which was specifically Catholic, but unfortunately that which took its place was not the Gospel, but the superficial ideas of the time of Illuminism. The people passively bore it all, which showed how little influence the Roman Church exerted over them, in spite of all the external devotion.

If the Catholic Church was already undermined, the Revolution and the succeeding times of war overthrew its form of government. By the decree of the royal deputation of 1803 the spiritual bishoprics of Germany were secularized, the Church-State became a Roman republic, and then a part of the French empire, and the Pope was taken to France as a prisoner. It looked as if the papacy had been set aside forever, and the confessional struggle buried. Catholics and Protestants extended the fraternal hand to each other over the ruins of the Church; but that which united them was not a common faith, but a common indifference to positive Christianity; the ground on which they came together was not the fullness of evangelical truth, but that which Illuminism had left remaining of Christianity, the few depleted ideas, that at that time were summed up in the Trinity, God, Freedom and Immortality. Yet, in this way the struggle, which was of so much importance for the history of the world, and had extended through centuries, could not pass away; it must revive again as soon as the churches revive. And once more they took on new life.

Of course at first there was little or nothing to be detected of the old opposition between the two churches. It was non-Catholic powers that brought the Pope back to Rome and restored to him the Church-State; and Protestant princes willingly met him in his effort to restore the desolate and dissolved Church in their lands. Throne and altar suffered together in the Revolution; now in the time of restoration, both were to be restored together, and the thought prevailed quite generally,

that altar and throne must support each other. The reawakened Christian life in both Churches bore as yet little confessional character. People were happy to have religious life again only in a general way, and made little inquiry as to whether it was Protestant or Catholic. It was a time when Hamann and the princes of Gallitzen extended to each other the fraternal hand, when Perthes was an intimate friend of Catholics, and the Bishop Sailer, in view of Tholuck's activity as pastor of the German embassy in Rome, expressed his joy in the fact that the Holy Father permitted the Gospel to be preached; a time when people even in the Catholic Church took in hand the work of spreading the Scriptures, and, in fact, here and there worked in common with Protestants, as for example, in the call for the founding of a Bible Society in Osnabrueck, the names of the Lutheran city superintendent and the Catholic bishop standing peacefully alongside of each other. Roman Catholicism and pietistically colored Protestantism were closely related to each other; Romanticism became the bridge for individual Protestants that led them over to Catholicism, and on the other hand, a strong evangelical tendency made itself felt in the Catholic Church, and at that time many Catholics found their way into the evangelical Church. In general, the Catholic Church of the first decades of the last century bore throughout a mild, placable character. They paid little attention to pilgrimages and relic-worship, and were suspicious toward the Jesuits, often directly hostile. The Catholics of that time would know nothing of an absolute papal power, sought to stand in a peaceful relation toward the Protestants, and believed in all earnestness in a reconciliation with the fundamental principles of the modern state.

On the other hand, in Rome they started at once on very different ways; here they thought only of a complete restoration of the old without reserve. Scarcely had the Pope returned to Rome when he restored the order of the Jesuits by the bull *Sollicitudo Omnium*, of Aug. 7th, 1814, in which he said he could not get along without the skilled oarsmen in the storms of the present, and with new zeal and old craftiness

they began their work at once. Although all else of the Church-State had been given back to him, the Pope protested against the decrees of the Council of Vienna, because Avignon did not fall to him again, and because of the secularization of the German bishoprics and cloisters. The statesmen smiled at this protest; they would have done better if they had recognized in it a symptom of the tendency that prevailed at Rome, and of the plans followed there. In Rome they wanted to give up nothing, and already regarded the restoration of the old temporal power as their goal. Soon enough it also appeared that the revived Catholicism, just as the former, turned against Protestantism. In France, under the white flag, it came again to persecution of the Protestants; the Pope himself declared the Bible societies a nuisance. Wherever it could be done in any way, the like privileging of Protestants with Catholics was set aside.

The restoration of Catholicism since then has been pressed with strictest consistency, and its promoters neither rest nor grow weary. With cold calculation every advantage has been used, every tendency of the times turned to the good of the Church. While the government was won by the thought that the strengthening of the Church also helped the temporal power, they understood just as well how to gain advantages from liberalism. The liberal current of 1848 above all else helped the Roman Church, and gave it such an independence over against the state as it never had before. For touching and winning the masses of the people, the old means were used, missions, the splendor of the mass, the creation of new saints, the increase of the worship of Mary and relics, new miracles and appearances of the Madonna; modern means were also used, instruction of the young and the press. And in fact Rome can look back on a series of victories, of which no one would have dreamed at the beginning of the century. In France every trace of Gallicanism is obliterated. Churchly societies of every sort are among the people; the cult of the Heart of Jesus and the cult of the Heart of Mary are so widely extended, that one might conclude that the Church of France is the Church of Mary. And however the governments

changed in this deeply agitated land, the Church understood how to draw each one into her service. The hierarchy is restored in England, in the contest concerning mixed marriages. In Prussia she won an important victory even over the state. But the important thing is, that the old Catholic, one might say the Germanic Catholic, tendency is wholly supplanted by the ultramontane Jesuistical tendency.

The longest of all papal reigns, that of Pius IX, has this meaning for the history of the world: During it the ultramontane, Jesuistical Catholicism triumphed completely over that which people now are inclined to call the liberal Catholicism, but which is more accurately named the Germanic and evangelically tending Catholicism. At first, himself a liberal, Pius IX was compelled to taste the bitter fruits of the Revolution and go into exile, from which he returned a different man. December 8th, 1854, he proclaimed the dogma of the Immaculate Conception of Mary, and thereby brought the development of the cult of Mary to a definite close. Then in 1864 he published the *Syllabus*, in which he rejected all the ideas of the new age, even that of freedom of cult and conscience, and proclaimed the absolute authority of the Church, even her right to use force against unbelief and error, asserted her authority over science and schools, and even expressly condemned the opinion that the Roman Church can become reconciled with modern civilization. Then at the Vatican council followed the declaration of the infallibility of the Pope. During a violent storm, on the eighteenth of July, 1870, in the aula of the council, darkened by the storm while it was thundering and lightening, the dogma was announced, "that the Pope, when he speaks from his chair, *i. e.*, when he in exercise of his office as shepherd and teacher of all Christians, announces a doctrine concerning faith and morals to be held by the entire Church, commands with infallibility, and that all such decrees of the Roman Pope of themselves, but not by the approval of the Church, are unimprovable."

On the next day, by a wonderful providence of God, the Franco-Prussian War broke out, which compelled Napoleon III

to recall his troops from Rome, who, until then, had protected the Pope against his own people. On the tenth of September the Italians entered Rome through Porta Pia; the temporal power of the Pope was at an end; Rome had become the Capital of united Italy. Thereby was the spiritual power of the Pope only increased. The prisoner in the Vatican, wearing the martyr's crown, won the more power over the hearts of the faithful. The outbreak of the *Kulturkampf* helped over the difficulties that were in the way of carrying out the decrees of the Vatican council. It offered the German Bishops an opportunity, by so much greater firmness over against the state, to make good that lack of firmness which they had shown at the council, when they did not dare to give full expression to their convictions, and to vote openly against a dogma, which they, until that time, had opposed, and which many of them still regarded as unfounded in Scripture and tradition. The years of the struggle increased their authority and made bishops, clergy, and congregations one complete unit, which the State could not break, and against which the smaller number of those who, holding to Catholicism in conscientious loyalty to conviction, went out from the Church, and as the Old Catholic Church opposed the Vatican Church, was and remained of little importance. The state itself was compelled to set aside its new legislation, in which it believed it had set up an insurmountable obstacle to Rome's claims. And however one may judge of this unfortunate struggle and the still more unfortunate treaty of peace, one thing is certain, it increased wonderfully the power and the confidence of victory of the Roman Church. United as never before, having the infallible Pope at the head, led by bishops who have sacrificed to the unity of the Church every former thought of independence and are and want to be only vicars of the Pope, with a clergy that is trained wholly in ultramontane thoughts, equipped with means that have influence in the present—great wealth and a well organized press, from the largest newspaper to the smallest local journal, with a network of societies that embrace the entire life of the people, with widely branched, craftily led benevo-

lent operations sustained by great readiness for sacrifice—she awaits now with certainty the long desired victory over Protestantism ; he believes she has it in her hands already. According to a decision of Cardinal Manning, “the Council of Trent fixed the period, after which Protestantism ceased to spread ; the Vatican Council will mark the period of its death.”

This brings us to the present. We have attempted to give a summary, though only in simplest outline, of the opposition between Protestantism and Catholicism and of the struggle that has lasted for centuries. We will now draw some conclusions from it.

So much is clear, the development took with proper historical sequence. The way which was entered upon in the time of the Reformation, could not but lead with inner necessity to the Roman Catholic Church as it stands to day. That which was begun at the Council of Trent was completed at the Vatican Council. The Church is not wholly Romanized. It is suggestive, that almost all German bishops and those who had come in contact with German culture, that almost all noted Catholic scholars in Germany, were opposed to the dogma of infallibility. They have withdrawn, or have been broken by superior power. In fact, of the 764 members of the Council, only 19 were Germans against 276 Italians. The German element in the Church has been definitely suppressed. The principle of authority has been driven to extremes ; tradition is incarnate in the Pope. Pius IX could say, “I am tradition.” Christ himself is present in the Pope. The verse is already applied to him : “Lord, to whom shall we go, Thou alone hast the words of eternal life.” Already some speak of an incarnation of Christ in the Pope, of a three-fold incarnation of God in Christ, in the sacrament of the altar and in the Pope ; and the *Civiltà Cattolica*, the journal of the Pope, has assured us that when the Pope reflects, God thinks in him. Thereby has the Catholic Church become the papal Church. The old Catholic sentence : “That is Christian which always, everywhere and before all has been taught in the Church,” has been changed into : That is Christian which the Pope prescribes to be believed. The Church has become a papal theocracy.

With this the opposition to Protestantism has reached an extreme stage. The papal Church can have and follow no other goal than the annihilation of Protestantism, which in its eyes is the greatest godlessness. Of course we know that individual Catholics teach differently, that they preach toleration, even toward Protestants, and we can appreciate it full well, but it is only an honest inconsistency, by which we dare not allow ourselves to be rocked to sleep in supposed security. It is a remnant of the liberal, I may say of the German, Catholicism, whose sentence of death was pronounced at the Vatican Council. The Roman Church cannot be tolerant. For it we are of the devil, as the Roman Catechism expressly says, and the Syllabus attributes to the Church even the right to use force against the heretics. Even Leo XIII, much praised as the Pope of peace, declared Protestantism to be the kingdom of darkness (as Pope he cannot do otherwise), called Luther a "heresiarch and godless apostate," and mentioned as part of his pastoral responsibility "to restore to unity the nations who sinfully had separated themselves from it."

Even to-day Rome is working for this end with all her power, and let us not deceive ourselves in regard to the danger that threatens us. The Roman Church is more unified than ever ; all differences in her, that often in the past crippled her in decisive moments, have disappeared, at least for the present; she resembles a closely concentrated army, in which the order of the commander sets every one down to the lowest in rank, in motion according to the fixed plan. The Pope, after the loss of the temporal power, has become only the more the spiritual head, and the German bishops, since they are no longer princes of the empire, are again the real bishops, about whom there still shines the old glory of the mighty Church. The Roman Church has a clergy, that scientifically and morally stands much higher than that of the former century; she has brought the masses of the people together into a party that has shown itself to be firmer than all others; she has hosts of brothers and sisters of mercy, brothers and sisters who work in the schools, monks and nuns, all of whom are sustained by the power of the Church, and in their enthusiasm are ready to of-

fer even their lives for her. In Prussia alone between 1880 and 1885 the number of the sisters of mercy increased 4000. Thus the Roman Church advances in Protestant countries, builds churches, increases the number of her priests, equips hospitals, establishes cloisters, provides a press and, with a theocratic socialism, seeks to bring the laboring masses to her interests; she even tries to gain for herself the social question, which is the problem of the century. Catholic journals already call Leo XIII "the social Pope," and ascribe to him the words "The salvation of the future rests in the laborer," and "Social regeneration will come from the laboring classes." Accordingly along with the combination of enthusiasm and worldly craftiness, so characteristic for modern Catholicism, the plan is followed which a Catholic author mentions in the following words: "We will collect the Catholics in the North German districts, and give them financial support, so that they can sustain Catholicism and become pioneers for advance. With a net of Catholic associations we will place a clasp around the old Protestant hearth in Prussia from the East and from the West, and by a number of cloisters fasten these clasps, and thereby crush Protestantism."

What do we have now with which to oppose all this? Only one thing, the Gospel, but that is even mightier than Rome with all her power and with all her arts. Let us make it clear on what the results rest which the Roman Church has attained in recent times. Perhaps on the fact that the Gospel and its power over the spirit have again greater influence in her, that those elements of Christian truth and Christian life, which she still possesses, have become more powerful? No, it is just the opposite. Her success depends on the fact that the unevangelical, and therefore the unchristian, elements in her, that is, her errors, have become stronger. That which occurred at the time of the Reformation and has repeated itself in the history of the Roman Church in every important period since then, has occurred in our days, the Roman Church has concentrated herself, but this concentration shows itself in her spiritual poverty. She has become mightier as a world power, but

poorer in evangelical content, in Christian life. She paid for her growth by losing a part of that true Christianity which was still in her, and by becoming more thoroughly established in her errors. Those results were attained, not by that in the Roman Church which is yet church, but by that which is world. Accordingly those who know no other might than world power may gaze at those results, or worry about them, or even feel attracted to them; we, who know the power of the Gospel and believe the words of the apostle, "greater is He that is in you than he that is in the world," we know that those results in reality are only seeming results, and that this power, in distinction from the Gospel, is only world power, and consequently only seemingly mighty. Let history teach us here. Rome's tactics are still the same as in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, only, of course, they are suited to the changed conditions. In reality she doubts her own strength and seeks to have the help of temporal powers, and to win by crafty politics. In parliaments, as well as before the masses, she asserts herself as a world power, and thus compels nations to stipulate with her, and then with her calculation makes use of every political situation. It is true that may lead to temporal results, as in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, but other political constellations, just as at that time, will bring the greater defeats, and judgment will not tarry. Religious forces are not placed in the service of worldly powers without penalty, they perish thereby, and the result will be that just here in Germany the religious life that still remains in the Catholic Church will die off, just the same as in the Roman nations, and degenerate into forms and ceremonial service. The fact that the Roman Church exercises so little influence in those lands where it has solitary sway, is unanswerable proof that she declines and does not advance as a spiritual power. Therefore let us not fear, not even in the much famed results of Rome in recent years. Because we are certain that the Reformation was born of the Gospel, we can also be certain that the Roman Church will not succeed in her renewed attempt to nullify the work of the Reformation.

But of course we dare not allow our hands to be idle, we must fight and work. Rome is not afraid of mere words. It is not for us who stand in the truth of the Gospel, to scold or to bluster in blind zeal, for truth makes us firm and certain, and at the same time just and mild. Let me earnestly warn against being misled in our struggle with Rome, so that we fall to using the same means she uses; against striving after and vieing with Rome in worldly power and splendor; against stirring up agitation in order to counteract her agitations. In these things we could not equal Rome and would only lose our own power. For that is worldly and not spiritual, it is the way of the world-Church and not of the evangelical Church. But being firmly rooted in the Gospel, we should labor to the end that the Gospel be brought to our people. That our nation in so many places, that our large cities, that our laboring classes are so neglected in church matters, that there is need of churches and preachers, this is our great sin that, in our struggle with Rome, avenges itself severely. The chief concern is, to do everything in order to make amends for this sin, to bring the Gospel again among the people, so that out of the power of the Gospel there may be born believing, living congregations, to do everything to foster and advance congregational life. For the power that Rome cannot overwhelm is the believing congregation, founded on and collected around the Gospel.

Here belongs also all that which we bring under the general name of Inner Missions, for, whatever conditions of need it may relieve in individual instances, its chief task is to permeate the life of the people with the power of the Gospel. Just at present Inner Missions has a great responsibility in our struggle with Rome. To-day Rome uses against us the influence of Christian benevolent work much more extensively than ever before. Let us not be deceived, even benevolent work in the Roman Church is, to a certain degree, plainly directed against us as is shown by the fact that the beginners and founders of the new Catholic benevolent operations, Karl Borromeo, Vinzenz von Paula, Frantz von Sales, all are famed as having been great converters of heretics. The Roman Church hopes to

gain much by this means, for, as Vinzenz von Paula says, "there is no protection against humility and love," and it would be dangerous blindness for us not to recognize how great things the Roman Church has accomplished in this field. Even we must legitimate our faith by its fruits, we must contend for the prize with the Roman Church, which does the most for the people. Every deaconess, everybody who helps in works of mercy, is a champion for the Gospel against Rome on the very field where the struggle will be decided, for it will not be decided by learned discussions and by polemic writings concerning the different dogmas, but by active faith, that brings fruits and exercises love.

The purpose of this is to strengthen us in this faith, to make us conscious of what great blessings we owe the Reformation, and the result for which we hope and pray is not that we, in self-exultation, look down upon our Catholic brethren, nor cherish want of love, or hate toward them, who are also Christians, also children of our own people, but rather that we, as children of the Reformation, become conscious of our holy duty to stand up for it and to help to preserve its blessings for our children and successors.

ARTICLE VI.

DR. CREMER ON THE ESSENCE OF CHRISTIANITY.

By C. E. HAY, D.D.

No earnest Christian, observant of the course of critical thought, can fail to feel a peculiar interest in that phase of modern discussion which would open anew the question of the divinity of Christ. It is not surprising that in an era when the mind of man has burst the shackles of many earlier beliefs and has grown accustomed to the thought of historic development operating through long periods of time and in accordance with great cosmic laws, there should be a renewed effort to reduce the unique personality and work of Christ to the plane of the natural and explicable, nor that such an effort should be hastily greeted by many as a forward movement in the emancipation of thought.

The lectures of Dr. A. Harnack delivered at Berlin in the winter of 1899-1900 and published under the title: *The Essence of Christianity*, embody this modern tendency in an alluring form. The high station of the author, his reputation as an intelligent student of history, particularly of religious and ecclesiastical history, and the easy sweep of his literary style in broad generalizations have contributed to give a popularity to this brief course of lectures out of proportion to any measure of originality or substantial force which may rightly be accorded them.

A direct reply to such a series of Kaleidoscopic portraitures of the leading phases of religious development since the days of Christ would be exceedingly difficult. There is much in the trenchant criticism of externalism and ultra-conservatism with which all intelligent readers must sympathize. To separate the truth from the error in the broad assertions, to correct at every point the distorted judgments resulting from the illogical denial in advance of the possibility of the super-natural would require volumes.

Critics in Germany have generally contented themselves with pointing out the defects in the premises of the author and the inadequacy of the method pursued by him, maintaining with much force that conclusions thus reached must be open to grave suspicion. As the Lectures are semi-popular in form, the majority of the theologians who have risen in defense of the accepted doctrine have also written in popular style, aiming to present the evangelical position in a positive way as the only one adequately accounting for the plain facts of history.

This is the character of the Twelve Lectures delivered by Dr. Herman Cremer to the students of all faculties at Greifswald in the summer of 1901, which, published under the same caption as those of Dr. Harnack, have passed through a number of editions. That such clear and fervent statements of the distinctly evangelical view of fundamental Christian truth should find wide popular acceptance in Germany is a cheering evidence that the Church in the Fatherland is still strongly held to her ancient moorings.

The author notes a parallel between the attempt of Harnack and that made by Schleiermacher precisely one hundred years before, in his *Discourses upon Religion*, both being addressed chiefly to cultured unbelievers, with the important difference, however, that the latter had to do with an alienation from Christianity, due to rationalism, the former with a similar alienation due to the preaching of the Gospel itself. In seeking to win back these wanderers from the fold, Dr. Harnack has, it is claimed, surrendered the essential features of the Gospel. While professing to follow distinctly historical methods, he starts with a dogmatic conception of what he thinks to be correct in the historic accounts of the New Testament, and then proceeds to trace the history of this conception in the doctrine and life of the Church. Dr. Cremer proposes to inquire "how the New Testament view of Jesus Christ originated, to sketch its leading features, and to present the evidence for its truthfulness in the only way in which, according to his own conviction, it can be presented."

The first lecture states the problem, in the pregnant query: *Which Christianity?* We are in the midst of a struggle more

momentous and severe, with possible exception of the first Christian centuries and the era of the Reformation, than the Church has ever known. It is the conflict of two diverse religions. The contestants on the one side regard Christ as a regular, ordinary character in history, in the course of which he emerged, exerted and still exerts an influence, just as every other historical personage, except that he excelled all others in endowment, and with unique and absolute fidelity, utilized this endowment, with the knowledge of God and of the world to which it led him, to set forth that combination of motives and aims which can alone solve the riddles of our human life and of the world and point the way to a happy consummation. He is the man in whom goodness has been realized in the world, and this realization of goodness should prevent us from despairing of its possibility. As we contemplate the divine providence which produced such a man, we should regard the forgiveness of our own errors and sins as thereby assured, rejoice in the knowledge of God which we thus gain, and, with faith in this great deed of God, strive to attain a like realization of goodness in our own lives. The opposing party regards Christ as an irregular, extraordinary character in history. The place which he holds is absolutely unique. It belongs to him, not because he is human—sprung from our race, but because he became a man by entering our race. He was, before he became. He was and is eternally God, and has united himself forever with us and our race. He thereby became our brother, sharing with us our misery and condemnation, in order that we in our very deepest distresses might be consoled by the compassion of an almighty, sympathizing Saviour. Which party is in the right?

It is justly said that to discover the essential nature of Christianity we must go back to the period of its first appearance and to the form in which it won its first great victories. But, where is the point of time when Christianity began? Do we find the beginning of Christianity in the appearance and activity of the person, Jesus Christ? Is it the religion which he practiced and taught, to whose cultivation he pointed the way, and which he by his preaching enkindled in the hearts of his

hearers? Or, is the power which issues from Christ, and which is still to-day producing Christianity, something more than the religion which he himself practiced? Clearly the latter. The New Testament portrays indeed the religious life of Christ—his faith, his habit of prayer and his holy conduct; but it lays the chief stress upon that which he does for us. He is not, as we are, a subject of religion, but the Object of religion and of Christianity. He is not a man of history, who *lived*, as others live, whose significance is to be estimated by what they were for their own generations and by the influence still exerted by their words and characters and deeds. We are told nothing of after-influences of Christ's life and activity, but only of influences exerted by him after the close of his earthly life from his present dwelling-place, the dwelling-place of God. That which has been reported to us of the earthly activity of Christ is but the beginning of his work, the purpose and meaning of which he is only now unfolding. This is of course, and must ever remain, absolutely without parallel in all history; but shall we on that account reject it in advance as unhistorical?

The history of Christ, as recorded in the New Testament, is inseparably interwoven with the record of events and deeds that could never occur in the fixed course of nature. Shall we maintain that in the very first proclamation of the Gospel a crown of legends had been woven and placed upon the brow of Christ, which we must resolutely tear away? There is no historic reason for such a procedure, which could be suggested only upon dogmatic grounds.

It must be borne in mind that it was not the Gospel which Jesus proclaimed, but the Gospel concerning Jesus, as the disciples proclaimed it, that conquered the world. To their preaching Christianity owes its existence and its place among the forces moulding the history of the race. Upon this preaching of the disciples are based all the original documents which we possess bearing upon the life of Christ. If they are not trustworthy, where and how shall we find the truth which Christ himself proclaimed? It can at best be discovered only by a severe process of critical study, and hence none but the scholarly can

attain a knowledge of true Christianity. Further, the elements to be excluded by such a process are the very elements which gave to apostolic preaching its pungency and power and in which all the various writers of the New Testament are in absolute agreement. There were differences among the apostles touching missionary praxis, but there is not the slightest trace of variance as to the mystery of the person of Christ, the efficacy of his sufferings for us, or his significance as deciding our eternal destiny and that of the whole world. The religion which eliminates these great supernatural truths is not Christianity.

The second lecture analyses the message proclaimed to the world by the apostles, finding its great central thought to be the forgiveness of sins through a crucified, divine Saviour. Paul declares that he will know nothing but Jesus the crucified, through whose blood we have the forgiveness of sins. John rejoices that the blood of Jesus Christ cleanseth us from all sin. Peter says: "Ye know that ye were redeemed from your vain conversation * * * with the precious blood of Christ." It is not the life which Jesus lived, but the death which he suffered, that saves us. Instead of permitting judgment to fall upon the world, he endured death, and came back to life that we, thus freed from sin, might live through him. He lives as our Divine Redeemer, and will come again to take to himself all those who have accepted him and worshiped him as "God over all, blessed forever." All this is very wonderful. To believe it is an impossibility for him whose ideas and beliefs are absolutely bound down to the regular course of events in nature and history, but not impossible for him who is ready to believe the most wonderful thing of all, the forgiveness of his own sins. It is, at all events, the apostolic conception of the essential in Christianity.

The preaching of Christ himself, as reported in the Gospels, is next carefully reviewed. The Forerunner, having announced that the kingdom of heaven was at hand, and having pointed to Christ, not as a new teacher or prophet, but as "the Lamb of God, that taketh away the sin of the world," Christ, fully

ratifying this testimony, proclaims that in him the kingdom has come. He not only reveals the Father, but claims to himself to bring rest to sinning, burdened souls. To receive this, men must not only believe what he believes, but must come to him. This assumption is so extraordinary that it is only at the close of his ministry that Peter has a glimpse of its meaning and confesses: "Thou art the Christ, the Son of the Living God." The dying thief apprehends rightly the Essence of Christianity when he hails the Lord as passing through the gateway of death to his eternal kingdom, and receives in response the pardon of his sins and a portion in the blessed life of paradise. After the resurrection the disciples understand many of the "strange sayings" of their Master which had been hidden from them and think of him, not as a subject and exemplar of religion, but as its Object. The Gospel of John dwells upon the eternal Sonship, not as a new element, but as fully involved in the Synoptic records. Both accounts present Jews, not, as in Harnack's view, as having himself no place in the Gospel, but as its very heart and center—the only Saviour from sin—the proper object of worship.

But modern critics take offense at this portraiture of Christ. It is not in accord with the ordinary course of human history. The resurrection of Jesus, in particular, is entirely without analogy, and must therefore be discredited. The Jewish belief in a future life led to the idea of a resurrection from the dead and the early Christians not only attributed to Christ a participation in such resurrection but made him the first to experience it. With the denial of the resurrection of Christ disappears, of course, the significance for the forgiveness of sins. If our sins are ever to be forgiven, it will not be by virtue of the death of Christ, for his death ended his career. He was not, therefore, the Messiah foretold, the king of glory. We cannot believe that he really performed miracles; for miracles are not in harmony with our experience or with the ordinary course of history. His supposed miraculous birth is merely an attempt to explain his lofty character. He was a religious genius, embodying the best religious attainment of the past—so unsullied

in his purity that his enthusiastic followers imagined him divine.

With the divinity of Christ thus eliminated, Christianity becomes simply true religion, fellowship with God. It is promoted by Christ's three-fold proclamation, *i. e.*, of the fatherhood of God, the priceless value of the human soul, and the duty of love and the service of others. All else is temporary—scaffolding, crutches. Christ is the Messiah, the liberator from a religion that appealed to wrong motives and aims—the liberator of humanity from the conception of an angry God who must be propitiated by gifts and sacrifices. As his reverent faith made him one with God, God called and commissioned him as the representative man, through whom other men should learn to know God.

This reconstructed conception of Christ and the religion which bears his name is unfortunately open to two grave objections. It is not the result of a scientific study of the sources—not a product of historical criticism, but a result of the arbitrary application of a dogmatic principle, a principle, moreover, which is without warrant or relevancy in the case before us. It utterly discredits the apostolic testimony as to any event beyond the ordinary range of human occurrences, and it misrepresents Christ's own prescription for attaining fellowship with God: "No man cometh unto the Father but by me." Further, this reconstructed Gospel fails to meet human needs. It may be gratifying to intellectual pride and to the aesthetic sensibilities, but it does not satisfy the moral and religious nature. There is a matchless beauty in the merely human features of the life of Jesus. The lofty ideals which he presented and pursued furnish inspiration to holy and unselfish living; but neither the moral precepts which he taught nor the example of his exalted life can bring peace to the conscience-stricken sinner. The modern theory leaves the deepest longing of the soul unsatisfied. It is the peculiarity of the Christianity of the New Testament, on the contrary, that it addresses itself particularly to this need and presents Christ as the almighty friend and Saviour of sinners.

At this point the author introduces an interesting discussion

of the relation of faith to the acceptance of the scriptural narrative. The lecture is philosophically and theologically the most important of the series. It marks the parting of the ways, and indicates most clearly the fallacy of the vaunted but inadequate naturalistic method of interpretation.

How, it is asked, can faith in events of past history help us when our aim is to find truth vital for the present and assuring for the future? It is only through posthumous influence that Jesus can benefit us. If we have the truth he taught us, we need not be greatly concerned as to Christ himself, he being only a personage of history, the agency through which the truth has come to us. But we claim that Christ is more than a person of history, and, just because he is more, he satisfies our needs. It was the resurrection, as completing and explaining his whole life, that awakened faith in the disciples and that must awaken like faith in us. We believe in him as one who came into the course of human history for a season, but ever lives above it—the superhuman, superhistorical, living Lord, the Object of faith. The Gospel contains a paradox. It presents, not a factor in our own natural development, but a divine act to reverse and counteract our wrong development. Only in proportion to my sense of sin is my interest in this counteracting act of God, which appears in the resurrection as at once historical and more than historical—historically credible only because also more than historical. Thus all depends upon the resurrection of Christ, and our faith in the resurrection is morally conditioned. He who refuses to acknowledge his sin will never believe that Christ rose from the dead. The intellect at first hesitates to accept the resurrection because contrary to all other historical events—but it is the *will* that finally decides. Not that our will conditions or produces our faith; but our unwillingness produces unbelief, whereas the risen Jesus by his presence produces faith. “One may *be* unbelieving like Thomas, but can *remain* unbelieving only with a condemning conscience.”

Casting aside then the prejudices of unbelief, we may without difficulty trace the essential features of Christianity as presented

in the New Testament. We shall find them all centering in Christ—in his person, his message, his miracles and his atoning work. To each of these an entire lecture is devoted. First of all, we recognize Christ in his divine-human personality as essentially distinct from every other character in history. Sin is itself a violation of the normal order of things; and the entire divine activity against sin is contrary to all else that occurs or can occur. The incarnation of the Son of God is a great but necessary miracle—its reality attested by his triumphant resurrection from the dead. Such a being, and no other, can accomplish the greatest miracle of all, the forgiveness of our sins. History can afford no parallel. Forgiveness and the Incarnation belong together as parts in a higher cycle of events than those within the range of ordinary human experience.

And what was the peculiar content of Christ's message to the world? His call to repentance and godliness was not new, but had been voiced by all the prophets. His deeper exposition of the law had been foreshadowed in the Old Testament. His proclamation of the fatherhood of God was not new, though the paternal relationship was by him more vividly portrayed and more personally applied. He himself was the new element. His appearance wrought a wondrous change in the religious situation. The King was come. God was with men, though they knew him not. He came to offer, not abstract truth, but himself.

The miracles of Jesus were not, as with the prophets, exceptional manifestations. They accompanied his whole career and were performed by his own power. They were all miracles of mercy, in perfect keeping with his divine mission. They prepared men to believe in his power to forgive sins. We, who now receive this higher blessing of forgiveness, do not need the attesting minor miracles. We do not believe in Jesus because of his miracles, but we believe the miracles because of Jesus. And we believe that he who has thus manifested his power to help and save will come again, as he has foretold, in a way unknown to the records of history, to judge the world.

In the special redemptive work of Christ—his sufferings,

death, resurrection and ascension—we recognize the very central element of Christianity. Here he manifests his unvarying purpose not to condemn the world, but to save it. His life is a riddle to the disciples in its humility and his death leaves them hopelessly perplexed. But the resurrection makes all plain. He died for our sins, and is risen again for our justification. Ascending, he leaves with his followers the commission to preach to every creature repentance and forgiveness of sins in his name. Having accomplished his mediatorial work and shown himself superior to the limitations of the human life into which he entered that he might hallow and save it, he can now assure his disciples of his abiding, gracious presence on earth until the day when he shall be manifested the second time unto salvation. How absurd to seek in history a parallel to such a life, or to discredit it because it stands alone and unapproachable!

To summarize—Christianity, as a life, is fellowship with Jesus and through him with the Father. Its content is not certain propositions of abstract truth, but Christ himself, the crucified and risen Saviour, as the object of faith and worship. In him, a new and supernatural force entered the current of human life. Thenceforth “Christ and the World” must be the theme of all veritable history. The historians of the day may not acknowledge the new element. They have no sin, and therefore cannot understand the atonement. In their “religion” man forgives himself, and in their gospel Christ has no place, save as he taught men its principles. Yet the new force remains vital as in days of old, moulding and uplifting the lives of all who feel the awful stress of sin and, responding to the invitation of the living Saviour, find peace in believing in him. True Christianity has existed in unbroken continuity from the days of Christ. Beclouded in the Middle Ages, it was proclaimed anew by Luther after his deep personal experience of the power of the crucified and risen Son of God. It is Jesus, and he alone, who has made religion possible to us; for in him we have access to the Father and through his blood the forgiveness of our sins. A religion without the divine, everliving Redeemer is not Christianity.

ARTICLE VII.

EXPOSITION OF ROMANS, CHAP. 7 : 19.

BY REV. M. L. CULLER, A.M.

“For the good that I would I do not ; but the evil I would not, that I do.”

This profound and comprehensive statement of the Apostle Paul, has been made the occasion of much unreasonable, and hurtful controversy in the Church of our blessed Lord.

The contention over this scripture arises in part from the fact, that there are some who do not really understand the purpose and meaning of the apostle; but, I believe, the controversy exists in greater part, because there are some who pervert the text, as well as the greater part of the entire chapter, to support a theological or denominational dogma. It is certain St. Paul wrote the Epistle out of the depths of his own experience, as well as by inspiration of the Holy Spirit which enabled him to portray the experience of all men, in passing from the death of sin into newness of life in Christ Jesus. It must be remembered, that the apostle was addressing Christians, members of the church at Rome. He wrote to Christians, not unbelievers.

The question has been raised by commentators, and students of the text, and the context, whether the apostle intended to describe the state of the regenerate or the unregenerate.

(a) The Greek fathers, such as Origen, and Chrysostom in the Eastern Church, Pelagius in the Western Church, and even Augustine, before his controversy with Pelagius, Arminius, and some later exegetical writers, consider St. Paul's words, as descriptive of the experience of the unregenerate.

(b) Augustine, after his controversy with Pelagius, Jerome, Luther, Calvin and Beza, regard the apostle's teaching, as expressive of the experience of the regenerate.

(c) There is a third view which holds, that the verses of the chapter from 7th to 13th, describe the experience of the unre-

generate ; and that verses from 14 to 25, describe the experience of the regenerate.

This view was held by Philippi, Delitzsch, the Scotch expositors, Dr. Hodge and later Calvinistic writers generally.

But I am persuaded, that Lutheran theology, and the consistent teachings of the Holy Scripture, and the analogy of our faith, compel us to reject the first, and last views, mentioned, and to hold the position, that the apostle intended to describe the state of the regenerate.

This will appear evident, I believe, from the following considerations and reasons :

1. The apostle was not describing a quiescent state of the soul, but the progress by which man is led by the law to Christ. The consideration which the text describes cannot exist in a soul that is not regenerated. For regeneration, in its widest sense in which it is generally used, expresses the state of the soul which has been brought to see its sin, and guilt, and reaches out the hand of faith for divine help. For the unregenerate are dead in sin, and have no true, or spiritual apprehension of the holiness of God's law, or the nature and guilt of sin.

Therefore said the apostle : "The natural man receiveth not the things of the spirit, neither can he know them, for they are spiritually discerned ;" and, "You who were dead in trespasses and in sin, hath he quickened."

I fail to see how it can be denied, that the verses in the chapter from 7 to 24 describe the awakened sense of sin, and guilt in the regenerate, and an increasing need of divine grace, and help ; and that verse 25 expresses the joyful experience of justification by faith in the Lord Jesus Christ.

But in verse 19, we have a summary statement of the evidence, that the battle between the renewed spirit, and the power of sin continues. In the verses following we see a clear, and manifest advance in the conflict with the old sinful nature, and also, that a more evident pleasure in God's law increases. There is also the humble confession in the regenerate, that though they know, and see their sins, and are at war with them, they are yet helpless without divine grace.

I feel sure this is the meaning of the apostle, when he wrote, "For the good that I would I do not ; but the evil I would not, that I do."

In other words, the apostle means to teach, that the awakened, or regenerate are quickened, and raised out of the death of sin with the earnest desire and purpose to do that which is good.

But they find, to their constant regret, the moral inability to do as they earnestly desire. They find evil ever present with them. They see and condemn and hate, and do not desire to do what is wrong or sinful, yet they have not always the moral ability to resist the evil. Our Saviour recognized this fact, when he said to the three most faithful disciples in Gethsemane, "The spirit is willing but the flesh is weak."

There is the clear confession in the previous verses, that the law is holy, just and good. This cannot be said of those who are not regenerated by the Word and Spirit of God.

The ego, the will, is in harmony with God's law, and will. But the moral ability to do is not equal to the moral perceptions and movements of the will. The flesh strives against the spirit, as said the apostle, "The flesh lusteth against the spirit, and the spirit against the flesh, and these two are contrary, the one with the other."

It is only the law of the Spirit of life in Christ Jesus, which can set the regenerate free—from the law of sin and death.

This the Apostle Paul found, in answer to his almost despairing cry "O wretched man that I am ; who shall deliver me from the body of this death ?" when he joyfully exclaimed, "I thank God, through Jesus Christ our Lord." It is indeed impossible to conceive how any but the regenerate, the believers, can have any true evangelical sense of sin, and guilt, and hatred of sin ; or a conviction that the law is holy and good, though it condemns the sinner. The unregenerate do not have a true sense of their sinfulness, and the justice and holiness of divine law. They seek to justify themselves, and to condemn the law of God and to blame God rather than themselves.

2. All through the Scriptures we find once and over again the most positive acknowledgment ~~and~~ confession of sinfulness

and the humble sense of failure on the part of the people of God.

The Psalms are burdened with the deep regrets of the penitent, the lamentation, that so often that which is good is not performed, and that which is forbidden, and condemned by the moral sense of the people of God, is yet followed. Indeed many of the Psalms seem to be sorrowful refrains of the passage of scripture under consideration: "For the good that I would I do not; but the evil I would not, that I do."

Is not a large part of the prayers of the Church, in all her history, a sad confession of sins of commission and omission—a confession of failure to perform what the word of God enjoins, and what is the sincere desire of every regenerated soul to do?

If the apostle, in the passage of Scripture we are considering, is not describing the experience, and condition of the regenerate, then we must, in a large measure, change the language in our Liturgies, and eliminate every expression of penitence and godly sorrow for sin in our prayers; and we must also reject many of our most precious hymns, which have done so much for centuries in nourishing the spiritual life of our Church.

I believe that a true understanding of the nature of regeneration will enable us to come to a true knowledge and exposition of the text.

Regeneration in its true, generic sense, is an act of God alone, the begetting of spiritual life in the soul of man. Regeneration is occupied with the production of faith. For the unregenerated have no true, saving faith. The Holy Spirit is the only power of disclosing to our minds, our sinful and depraved nature. As a bright beam of the sun, introduced into a room, shows millions of particles of dust everywhere, (but these particles were not placed there by the light, for they were there before, only there was not light enough to make them manifest) so the Holy Spirit, in a greater and more glorious manner, produces in man's soul the knowledge and guilt of his sinful nature and sinfulness.

Regeneration is the birth of spiritual life.

It is the beginning and only the beginning of the new life of

God in us. This is the teaching of our Saviour, when he said: "First the blade, then the ear, after that the full corn in the ear;" and of the apostle Peter, when he wrote: "As new-born babes desire the sincere milk of the Word that ye may grow thereby." Also of the apostle to the Corinthians: "I have fed you with milk, and not with meat, for hitherto ye were not able to bear it."

These passages of Scripture speak of spiritual life in its beginning—of a being which is capable of receiving nourishment from the Word of God. This can be predicated only of such as are in a regenerated state.

Notice too what our Saviour said of the office of the Holy Spirit: "And when he is come, he will reprove, or convince the world of sin, and of righteousness, and judgment to come."

These words plainly teach conviction of sin which is alone by the Holy Spirit. And speaking further of the Holy Spirit, Jesus said: "He shall glorify me; for he shall receive of mine, and shall show it unto you." In these words we see that the Holy Spirit creates faith in the Lord Jesus Christ. St. Paul said: "No man can say, that Jesus is the Lord, but by the Holy Ghost."

Regeneration does not admit of degrees like sanctification, but is one act like natural birth. We are either born again, or we are not. "That which is born of the flesh is flesh, and that which is born of the Spirit is spirit." It is illogical, and contrary to reason to think, or speak of any one having faith in Jesus Christ unto justification, who is not regenerated. We cannot think of men dead in trespasses and sin, as having any spiritual apprehension, any sense of sin, any saving faith in Jesus, any more than we can think of a dead body performing any of the function of a living body.

We must not confound justification with regeneration. Justification follows regeneration, and is the act of God by which He pardons all the sins of those who believe in the merits and sacrifice made by the Lord Jesus Christ, receives them into His favor, declares them righteous, acquits them from all guilt, re-

moves the curse of the law, turns away His wrath, and gives them a title to a blessed immortality.

(a) The means of regeneration are the Word of God, and the Sacrament of Holy Baptism, as it is written: "Born again, not of corruptible seed, but of incorruptible by the Word of God"; and also: "But after that the kindness and love of God our Saviour toward man appeared.

"Not by works of righteousness which we have done, but according to his mercy he saved us, by the washing of regeneration, and renewing of the Holy Ghost, which he shed on us abundantly through Jesus Christ our Saviour."

4. Our text for exposition, together with the context, has been perverted, by the advocates of sinless perfection, and instantaneous and complete sanctification, to support their unscriptural views.

(a) The perfectionists argue, that the language of the apostle is descriptive of the feelings of the unregenerate. Because they well know that this very scripture is the strongest possible condemnation of their unscriptural theory, they seek to pervert it, and claim, that the apostle has in mind those who are not the subjects of the renewing by the Holy Spirit. If the membership of the Church at Rome were not regenerated, believers and Christians, why would St. Paul call them "beloved of the Lord, called to be saints"?

(b) The advocates of instantaneous sanctification, while admitting, that the apostle is describing the spiritual conflict of the believer, yet contend, that verse 25 teaches instantaneous sanctification. But they very shrewdly quote only a part of this verse—"I thank God through Jesus Christ our Lord," but willingly forget the other, and concluding part, "So then with the mind I myself serve the law of God; but with the flesh the law of sin," which sweeps away the claim of instantaneous sanctification.

5. Failure to understand the true meaning of the apostle's teaching in the text, is caused also by a want of distinction between regeneration and sanctification. As already said, regeneration is an act alone of God, through the word and sacrament of Baptism and is not progressive. Just as nat-

ural birth is one act. But sanctification is progressive, and in its progress, the regenerated co-operate with God, by their strivings after holiness, and conformity to the will of God. They are renewed daily in the spirit of their minds. They strive to put off the old, and put on the new man. They bear the fruits of the Holy Spirit, as enumerated by the apostle in Gal. 5 : 22-23, as "Love, joy, peace, long-suffering, gentleness, goodness, faith, etc." "Their path is as the shining light which shineth more and more unto the perfect day." "They lay aside every weight, and the sin which doth so easily beset them, and run with patience the race which is set before them, looking unto Jesus, the author and finisher of their faith ;" and as the apostle further says: "But we all with open face, beholding as in a glass the glory of the Lord, are changed into the same image from glory to glory, even as by the Spirit of the Lord."

(a). Spiritual effort is never relaxed. St. Paul offers himself as an illustration of the strivings of the regenerated after sanctification. He said: "Not as though I had already attained, either were already perfect; but I follow after, if that I may apprehend that for which also I am apprehended of Christ Jesus." "Brethren, I count not myself to have apprehended; but this one thing I do, forgetting those things which are behind, and reaching forth unto those which are before, I press toward the mark for the prize of the high calling of God in Christ Jesus."

6. But when we teach, as God's Word does, that man is "dead in trespasses and sins," and has no true knowledge of sin, or sense of guilt, or ability to believe unto salvation, we at the same time believe and teach, that man possesses all his rational powers, notwithstanding his depravity, and has the ability to give due attention to God's message to him, even as the apostle has written. When using the first creation by the Spirit of God as a type of the new creation in Christ, he said: "God who commanded the light to shine out of darkness, hath shined in our hearts to give us the light of the knowledge of the glory of God in the face of Jesus Christ."

And God holds all men responsible for the use of their

natural powers in giving attention to his revealed will. They have no excuse for refusing to consider what God makes known to man.

7. There is this fact to be borne in mind, that if we have weak and indefinite conceptions of sin, our depravity and helplessness, we will then, of necessity, have very meagre, and imperfect conceptions of the person and glory and merits of our precious Saviour.

But we rejoice in the fact, that as the Lutheran Church, in all her teachings, has ever borne unmistakable evidence in her Confession of Faith of total depravity, she accordingly exalts Jesus Christ, as the center of the Christian faith, and magnifies the word of God and the Holy Sacraments. For as the best evidence of intelligence and intellectual progress is a confession of ignorance of much we do not know, so also a constant sense of sinfulness and many imperfections, is the best evidence of spiritual progress.

Only the ignorant can be conceited. Only the spiritually blind can have spiritual and Pharisaic conceit.

I believe we are justified in heartily believing and teaching that St. Paul in Rom. 7 : 19 and in the context, describes the conflict of the regenerated with the old sinful nature which still contends for mastery in the soul. As the Canaanites were still in the land of Canaan, and although they have been conquered by Israel, yet they were constantly rebelling and keeping the Israelites ever vigilant, and active to hold them in subjection, so also the regenerated—the children of God, partakers of the divine nature, are ever reminded by their imperfections and moral failures, that spiritual Canaanites yet dwell in their hearts and that they are never to lay off their armor, nor forget that they need divine grace and help, and may thus be ever inclined to walk humbly with God, doing justly, and loving mercy; with the apostle always led to confess, “When I am weak then am I strong;”—that “by the grace of God I am what I am;” and rejoicing with St. Paul, “that our lives are hid with Christ in God,” and that, “when Christ who is our life shall appear, then shall we also appear with him in glory.”

ARTICLE VIII.

WHAT RELATION DOES THE CHURCH BEAR TO THE WORLD?

BY REV. UPTON A. HANKEY, A. M.

There should be a distinctly drawn, and an easily definable, line of demarkation between the Church and the world. In these days of transmutations, and frequent departures from old accredited standards of belief, when Church History is rewritten, and the Holy Bible reconstructed in accordance with the notions of rationalistic Higher Criticism, things sacred change like the fashions, and are often regarded even with less respect.

The Church is the oldest—for church and family were synonymous in Eden—the one permanent institution in a changing world. It is in the world but not of it. In the Old and New Testaments we find frequent mention of bodies known as the Church, under such interesting titles as :

“The City of the Lord,” “The Zion of the Holy One of Israel,” “God’s Heritage,” “The Holy Hill,” “A Peculiar People,” “The Loved of God.” We are told that God reigns in the Church, and commands the blessing of life ; that Jesus Christ is her Head and King ; and that in her is eternal salvation. There is not an accidental, but a real etymological affinity between the Hebrew לְקָהָל and the Greek $\kappa\alpha\lambda\epsilon\acute{\iota}\nu$, the לְקָהָל of the Old Testament being rendered by $\epsilon\kappa\kappa\lambda\eta\sigma\acute{\iota}\alpha$ in the New, which represents the Old Testament idea of “the congregation of the children of Israel.” The Church is one, and continuous, in the Old and New Testaments, and signifies “the congregation of the saints,” souls regenerated and under the controlling influences of God’s Holy Spirit. In the Scriptures the term Church is never of course used in a narrow denominational or confessional sense, nor in reference to a building, but wholly in the sense of a body of believers, “the Holy Catholic Church,” as designated in the Apostles’ Creed, the one,

many-branched communion, consisting of all those who confess Jesus as Lord and Saviour.

In order to a clear understanding of the relation of the Church, in this sense, to the world, we must also call to mind the ends to be sought after in church organization and activity. The Church is here to finish the work the incarnate Christ came to begin. It exists for two cardinal purposes, viz.: gathering into its fold men from the world, for their salvation from sin and death, then training them in knowledge, love and faith of Christ. The mission of the Church is to save men, and then send them forth to save others.

The Church, as a spiritual organization, should be clearly separate and distinct from the world. This is clearly implied in the New Testament word *ἐκκλησία*, which is composed of two words, *ἐκ*, out of, and *καλεῖν*, to call, first used to designate an assembly of Greek citizens called together by a herald, for the transaction of business pertaining to the public welfare. The preposition, *ἐκ*, indicating that it was not a general crowd, a mere common mass meeting, but a gathering of free citizens possessed of certain legal rights and privileges; the verb *καλεῖν* indicating that the assembly was legally called for the purpose of deliberating on important matters. The full force of this compound word continues in its Biblical sense. The Church, as a congregation of believers, is "called out of darkness into His marvelous light," by a chosen herald or preacher of the Gospel of peace. They of the Church are the *κλητοὶ ἅγιοι*, "called to be saints" (Rom. 1: 7).

The Church is above the world and all other organizations. Organized societies having spiritual ends, the Sunday-school, and the Christian Endeavor, are not the Church; they may help, or hinder, as the case may be, the true Church. To the Church of Jesus Christ alone is entrusted the administration of the saving means of grace, by which she is distinguished from the world, and all other organizations. "The Church," says the Augsburg Confession, "is properly a congregation of saints and true believers." The Helvetic Confession says, "The Church is the assembly of the faithful, who have been called and collected from the world." The Westminster Confession

says, "The Church consists of all those throughout the world, that profess the true religion, together with their children; and is the kingdom of the Lord Jesus Christ, the house and family of God, out of which there is no ordinary possibility of salvation."

When in Constantine's day the whole world came into the Church, there came in also all the vices of the world; with much good soil added, there was gained also much that was barren and covered with weeds. There was the intrusion of heathen elements into the Christian Church; an artificial syncretism of elements heathen and Christian. The line between the Church and the world, between those who were Christians in name and those who were Christians in heart was more or less obliterated. They overcame the Church, and the temporal gain of Christianity was in many respects cancelled by spiritual loss. The rightful position of Church and State is for each power to stand peacefully and independently side by side, so that their mutual influence may become a source of profit to both. We must ever guard against the secularization of the Church, which cannot fulfill its mission, if weakened and crippled by an intrusion of worldly elements.

The Church of Christ should always embrace the faithful followers of the Lord to the exclusion of hypocrites and wicked men, as far as possible. It must be an association, not of careless, indifferent people, but of those who are faithful and spiritual; men and women of holy lives and princely purposes, who candidly affirm that they will "renounce the world, with all covetous desires of the same, and the sinful desires of the flesh, so that they will not follow, nor be led by them." No body of people is worthy to be called a Church of Christ which is not composed of such members.

We need not be surprised that this is even the judgment of the world, and of unregenerate people. They look for a spiritual Church. The world has confidence in the Church only so far as it is composed of spiritually minded people, who are manifestly striving to live right in the sight of men and God. It is evident, if the members are deeply immersed in worldly cares and vanities, and are exhibiting merely "the form of god-

liness" without its fruits, such a body of so-called Christians can make no impression for good upon the world. It is too much like the world. It is in the world and also of it. We need a spiritual Church, and spiritual preaching—not the almost exclusive presentation of semi-secular themes—to influence the world at large, or the little section of it in which we live and operate; and only then are we indeed the Church of Christ. A study of the beginning, progress, life and victories of the early Church impresses us with its deeply spiritual tone, as well as with its simplicity and unity.

The Christian Church must illustrate before the world the Gospel spirit and life. The questions of the world with respect to the Church are: "What does the Church do?" "What is its value?" "Does it improve society and make men more happy, gentle, kind, charitable?" "Does it make men more trusted?" So far as the Church succeeds in exhibiting Christian life and deeds, in developing and confirming Christian character among its adherents, will it have an especial influence upon the world without.

What should be the attitude of the Christian Church towards the amusements of the world, is a vexed question. There are many really innocent amusements which the members of the Church sometimes use in a sort of apologetic fashion. No one will venture to draw the line; all shades of views prevail. What some regard innocent recreations others will stand aloof from in holy horror. Once a leading member of my church became greatly offended because the Sunday-school went on an excursion to an interesting place. He held the view that congregational and Sunday-school excursions, or picnics and even the innocent, old fashioned celebrations (where one could not do much harm even if so disposed) savored too much of worldly things, and should be religiously abstained from. When he was told that I could have partaken of the Lord's Supper the next day his hands went up in extreme astonishment. Had the brother been present at the wedding at Cana of Galilee he would undoubtedly have pronounced it a very worldly affair. There are some supersensitive Christians who believe that certain musical instruments and innocent games

are an invention of the devil. But some form of recreation is permissible to, yea, obligatory upon, a Christian, who owes a duty to the body as to the soul; in recognizing this he is sane and obedient. A walk even on the Lord's Day may be as good as a Sacrament. All recreations that refresh the mind and body, and give tone to nerve cells and fit them for endurance of work are right, whatever they are. We rejoice that generally the attitude of the Church is unequivocally friendly to many kinds of recreations.

However, the Church must not concede too much on this point. She must not descend to the world; here is often annulled the real good she has done; here the difference between the Church and the world is too often lost. The refined vices of civilization as theatres, balls, operas and debauchery, often creep in. Opera-going people are not generally church-going people, and dancing may cultivate fine attitudes of the body but, at the same time, it gives a disgraceful attitude to the soul. When you become a Christian church member are you asked to renounce the pleasures of the world? Yes; but you are not asked to give up any that are innocent; and should you wish to hold to those which are doubtful and sinful? No one really makes a sacrifice when he becomes a Christian, he makes an investment. It should not be forgotten that the Christian religion has the power to renovate and change the heart and life, so that one can renounce sinful pleasures, and substitute for them Christian joys and duties. So in relation to pleasures as to other matters, it may be said, "Godliness is profitable unto all things, having promise of the life which now is, and of that which is to come." We love often to sing:

"Teach me some melodious measure,
Sung by flaming tongues above;
Fill my soul *with sacred pleasure*,
While I sing redeeming love."

The Church which affords so many "sacred pleasures," which is in the world, yet not of it, will have the confidence and respect of the world, will be a winning church, will have many conversions, strangers will be attracted to its services, its finances will be good, and its missionary spirit aglow.

The Church, in relation to the world, is a preservative and corrective force. Christ said of His disciples "I pray not that thou shouldest take them out of the world, but that thou shouldest keep them from the evil." The Church saves the world from ruin, and purifies with a new life and morality. It has somewhat the effect of Sapolio to remove dirt, vice and crime. If we could look into the practical, every-day workings of the Christian Church we should find it constantly correcting and adjusting the relations of people in society. Christ's teachings let in light and smite discovered evil. The Church as a moral force checks and corrects evils; as Dollinger says, "It is the great institution for educating mankind, and is to penetrate and purify, by its spirit, civil polity and right, marriage and morals, civilization and science, every form of moral life, every principle and product of national and individual life and activity." The ascended Lord has given to the Church the means of sanctification, holy laws, holy teaching. * "Wickedness must either be prevented or cured; and if ever an ounce of prevention is better than a pound of cure, it is in this case. Let any man reflect, and try to estimate, if he can, what is the cost, directly and indirectly, of all the criminal prosecutions in the U. S., of all the drunkenness, and other crimes, and of property destroyed by fire and otherwise by the wickedness of men, and he will have some idea of the value of an institution which goes directly to prevent and restrain vice and crime, and indeed to root them out entirely." Now the Church is just such an institution.

The people of a community who are not members of any Church owe vastly much to the Church's life and activities in their midst, although they are generally too blind and prejudiced to admit it. The good they have and enjoy, their enlightened ideas, their peace, honesty, morality, even their prosperity, are benefits conferred largely by the Church's presence. Dr. Harkey also says: "Your own property in the community in which you reside. What is it worth? Your house and farm, whatever it may be? Have you ever inquired what gives it its

* *The Character and Value of an Evangelical Ministry*," by Simeon W. Harkey, D.D.

present value? Or how much would your property be worth if situated in some heathen land, or destitute neighborhood where there are no Christian ministers and churches? Or suppose that all your houses of public worship were burned down or converted into theatres, the voice of every faithful minister of Christ among you hushed, and all the sanctifying influences and wholesome restraints of a preached Gospel removed; then tell how much would your property be worth? How long would your house be your castle, the peace and virtue of your family be secure, and you be permitted to lie down at night and sleep quietly, without any fear for your life and possessions? Why was property more valuable in Jerusalem in the days of David and Solomon than in those of the wicked Ahab? What shall we say of the people of Sodom, where Lot could not exercise the rights of hospitality to his angel guests, by reason of the surrounding depravity? What would you have given for Lot's house, if put up at auction, situated in the midst of such a community? And no doubt it was a good house—certainly a good man lived in it. But you reply that you have no property in Sodom, and that the argument is 'far-fetched.' But, how long would it take the place in which you live to become a Sodom, if all your faithful ministers and churches were removed? Not ten years. You see then that the argument is not so 'far-fetched.' It has a direct and most important home application."

Sweep away the educating, regenerating and uplifting influences of Christian churches, and the life and hopes they sustain, and what would keep men from sinking into despair and barbarism? The Church has been in the past, and is to-day, the great repository of intellectual and moral forces for the world. It stays the flood of corruption; rebukes the vices of the times; founds institutions of charity and public benefit; carries the Gospel into all the world, and undertakes to educate and train and civilize and Christianize peoples.

To say that the Christian Church exerts a preventive and corrective force in the world is true, but is not in itself sufficiently positive, as a statement of the Church's errand and purpose in the world.

Then, further, the salvation of the world from sin and death is the supreme object for which the Church was called into being, and now exists. The mission of the Church of our Lord is the same as the mission of Christ, who said to His disciples, "As the Father hath sent me, even so send I you." The errand of Christ was to save; this is the Church's errand. It is here to finish the work the incarnate Christ came to begin.

Ordinarily there can be no salvation out of the Christian Church. Philosophy and science cannot usurp the Church's place. Take away the Church and you take away the Gospel; take away the Gospel, and there remains no hope of peace and life. The phrase, "*Extra Ecclesiam nulla salus*," which our Church accepts, means that to be certain of salvation one must belong to "the congregation of the saints." We often hear the current expression, "the Church cannot save you," but it is really a tacit expression of dislike for, and indifference to, the Christian Church. Where the Gospel is preached, the sacraments administered, repentance and faith exercised, even if in the open, there is a church, souls are won, and Christ saves.

Rev. J. G. Morris, D.D., in his lecture on the Seventh Article of the Augsburg Confession, says: "The peculiar and appropriate benefits of the Church, such as regeneration, conversion, etc., are not to be obtained outside of the Church, therefore, there is no salvation out of the Church." She is here to point out the way of life, and persuade men to walk in that way. She is here to save the world, this is her business. The true Church and Christ are so identical that you cannot separate them and say, "Here is Christ, there is the Church."

The question arises, is the Church diligently pursuing her main business? Rev. Henry Van Dyke, D.D., in the *Homiletic Review*, (November 1893) pertinently puts it thus: "If Christ were to come to your church to-day in personal presence, what, think you, would be the first question He would ask? 'What is the form of your church government? What is your theological system? Do you sprinkle, or immerse? How many have you added to *this* church?' What man or woman or child believes that the Lord Jesus Christ would ask one of these or similar questions? He *would* ask: 'Where

are your poor? How have you cared for your sick, and needy, and ignorant, and unhappy? Have you cared for your orphans, and sought homes and friends for your homeless and friendless? How many sinners have you brought to the knowledge of Christ?" The message of Jesus Christ to John in Machærus means just this: "What Jesus did for the needy of his day, the Church of Jesus Christ must do for the needy of our day."

The Church of the present reaches out toward man in many ways, and is broader in her sphere of activity than formerly. In her missionary efforts, home and foreign, she seeks to convert and save the world; in her educational service she has done, and is now doing, a great work, and in the coming years this department of her work will be carried on commensurate with her widening opportunities and growing wealth.

Also in recent years her activities along social lines have been marked. The Church has applied herself to the improvement of social conditions, and has welcomed every wise attempt to construct the social order upon a better basis than the present. It strives to show labor its dignity and duties, and capital its responsibilities. It aims to prove itself a friend to every man whom it can help to nobler life and make more worthy of Christian privileges. Prof. Swing, in *The Forum*, (Sept. 1892) says: "The Church has slowly added to the work of the salvation of the soul the task of making the rescue assume the preliminary form of salvation from ignorance, vice and poverty. The older Church worked to remove or obviate a special misery called by the many names of "Hell," "Eternal pain," or "banishment;" but the later logic asks the sanctuary to consider all misery as near akin, and to connect the mind which suffers in this life, with the mind which may suffer beyond the tomb. Ignorance, vice, poverty, injustice are viewed as calamities, and must be treated as a part of that deep shadow which in its blackest form makes up a 'lost soul'." The Christian Church is rightly looking toward, and must look toward, the complete interest of man as a mind, a body, a soul. The Church should cultivate all the worthy concerns and interests of man, and take that large, scriptural view of religion which

includes the body as well as the soul, and all worthy human affairs as well as heaven. She must teach the ideas of brotherhood, love, truth and justice, and emphasize more the much neglected command: "Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself." She must not only, in a transport of emotion, sing:

"Blest be the tie that binds,—"

but also seek to break some of the ungodly ties which bind men and corporations of men in the dreadful chains of covetousness, greed and selfishness, and bring in the time when,

"All men's good shall be each man's rule,
And universal peace lie like
A shaft of light across the land,
And like a lane of beams athwart the sea,
Thro' all the circle of the golden year."

In the very effort to bring the Church's life in contact with the practical life of men has come the Institutional Church. And why not wisely so? As Tennyson makes King Arthur say,

"The old order changeth, yielding place to new,
And God fulfills himself in many ways,
Lest one good custom should corrupt the world."

The essential features only of the Church are divine, the methods are variable and human, and should be made to answer existing conditions, contingencies and problems. That we are in a new era of church activity is apparent. In many places, instead of providing only or alone for the public preaching and teaching of the Gospel, and the administration of the sacraments, the ministrations of the Church have greatly broadened by annexing various departments for carrying out the principles of the Gospel in rescue and relief work, for the masses, in making the body comfortable as well as the soul.

This is legitimate. David Livingstone, in writing to some one who thought there was too much "geography" and not enough "grace," in his work, said: "My views of what is *missionary* are not so contracted as those whose ideal is a dumpy sort of man with a Bible under his arm. I am serving Christ

when shooting a buffalo for my men, or taking an astronomical observation, or writing to one of His children."

Let the Church in her broadening activities minister to the whole man; let it care for the soul. This is "applied Christianity." The Church is only a means to an end; she exists for the sake of the salvation of the world. Her annexes are numerous and comprise such additions as young people's societies, libraries, reading-rooms, literary circles, Bible schools, kindergartens, boys' brigades, hospitals, employment and beneficiary associations, and many others which reveal a widening and powerful Church.

The Christian Church to-day is the most elastic, practical, beneficial institution in the world. Through its blessed instrumentality shall be brought in the day, when, "The earth shall be full of the knowledge of the Lord, as the waters cover the sea." The expression upon the lips of Francis Xavier, in his zealous missionary labors in East India, where he won hundreds and thousands, was: "Amplius! Amplius!" being constantly moved by his zeal toward larger conquests. So with the activities and life of the Church of our Lord Jesus Christ, let us say, "Amplius!" "Amplius!"

ARTICLE VIII.

MINISTERIAL EDUCATION IN THE MARYLAND SYNOD.

BY REV. CHARLES REINWALD, A.M.

One of the most effective and eloquent pleas ever offered on the floor of any synod was presented some years ago in behalf of our Loysville Orphan's Home, by a brother, now a member of the Maryland Synod. Among other allusions, he referred to a pack of pathetic letters, representing the accumulation of well nigh a year. He resolved to devote one entire week to the careful reading and study of these epistles of entreaty and distress. That week's time was well spent. The words of that visiting brother in an adjoining synod won a warm response and have been feelingly referred to not a few times since, by both layman and minister.

They witnessed a seed-sowing whose harvest the subsequent years shall continue to gather in. It means bread for the hungry and a loving ministry for the homeless.

If we will but take a deeper and profounder look we shall behold another scene that is too imperative to be studied with indifference. The pioneer fathers of our Church were distressed with the spiritual orphanage during the early and later decades of the past century. Earnest appeals went up for shepherds to feed the flock and break the bread of life to the perishing. Out of meager resources a Theological Seminary and College, both at Gettysburg, were established to provide an adequately trained Gospel Ministry. Few candidates blessed with sufficient means for entire self-support were available. The out-look was perplexing and the future seemed ominous and dark. The record of the early days teaches us anew how strength is born of struggle. Their faith and consecration were founded on the assurance that when God's word directs to a promised land, he is pledged to provide a way into its posses-

sion. Reason and Scripture both pointed to the potent plan of sharing the work and burden of ministerial preparation.

Hence Beneficiary Education began its history in answer to the divine command "Go ye into all the world and preach the Gospel to every creature."

Without disregard of duty in the present, or toward the claims of Ministerial Education in the future let us first take a swift survey of the years through which this history has moved.

Our territory was once the field of Foreign Mission service. The earliest religious teachers that served our people were trained in the schools beyond the sea. We owe a debt to a foreign land—rather to our Fatherland.

Can we thoroughly appreciate the deep anxiety and solicitude of the pioneer Lutheran ministers of our historic churches, upon the very territory that is now ours to cultivate and care for?

May I for a moment quote from a much prized document now in possession of the Lutheran Historical Society, Mt. Airy Philadelphia? It is a letter written by one of the earliest pastors of the venerable St. John's Church, Hagerstown, Md. The writer is Rev. John George Young, and the communication is addressed to Dr. Helmuth of Philadelphia. One consideration in it serves to fix the authentic date of the beginning of Lutheranism in Emmitsburg in 1757, when pulpit service came at intervals of eight and twelve weeks. Rev. Young at a distance of thirty-five miles from Hagerstown served that congregation for a period of about two years. A similar reference is made to the old Central Monocacy Church, near Creagerstown, sixteen miles from Frederick and twenty-two from Hagerstown.

In 1771—viz. 131 years ago—the pastor of St. John's served both these congregations, when the dearth of ministers was so great that one man had about one-third of the Maryland Synod territory for a single parish. At the conclusion of his letter filled with a sense of great care of the congregations he was shepherding, he says: "Such, dear doctor, are the congregations I have, therefore, served with fear and trembling and weakness."

"May God graciously grant his blessing upon my weak planting and watering. How humble I often am," he continues, "as often I cannot see the hoped for fruit—and tares instead of the true grain appear. The Lord have mercy upon his vineyard especially upon that portion of it in our own America in order that the wild boar may not do greater damage." This prayer becomes the more significant and memorable when we now recall that in the course of half a century following in the same St. John's of Hagerstown, Oct., 24, 1820, the General Synod of the Lutheran Church was organized. Examine the earliest records of our Church's life and service and you find the emphasis is laid on education of men for the Christian Ministry. Education received, as it deserves to receive, the largest and most liberal contributions.

The establishment of our institutions at Gettysburg witnessed the earliest attention of our Church, as such, to the cause of beneficiary education.

"In this good work as in most others," says a writer in the *Evangelical Review* for Oct., 1852, "we find the Synod of Maryland taking the initiative." As far back as 1831 and earlier in her history we find this Synod active in her offerings for missions and education and her zeal in this cause has been continually on the increase. No formal action was had by the Church until the meeting of the General Synod in the year 1835. During that convention was organized the Parent Education Society of the Lutheran Church.

It was soon discovered that there was too much organization. Accordingly two years later at the meeting of the General Synod at Hagerstown the defects were remedied and a working constitution adopted.

During the first two years ending with October, 1837, the number of students aided by the Parent Education Society was 41. The fund expended \$4,449.00.

In 1839 the number of students was 53—the receipts \$6,722. It may be interesting to state that the West Penn. Synod was the largest contributor, a pre-eminence which belongs to the Synod through subsequent years.

The Synod of Maryland and Virginia gave that biennium \$1,847.

In 1841 the number of students was 47, the receipts \$6,810.

In 1843 the number of students for the ministry assisted in different institutions was 57. The receipts \$5,911.00, a decrease of nearly \$1,000. This deficiency is in part explained by interest in missionary efforts which now began to awaken concern.

In 1845 the number of students helped was 44. The receipts were \$6,187.

The next record is 1848 when there were only 17 students aided, including Gettysburg, Hartwick and Wittenberg.

At this period the society was summoned to sustain itself against rude assaults from without and within. It was emphatically the dark night of her history. The halls of the Theological Seminary half a century ago were well nigh empty as a consequence.

In the convention of the Maryland Synod in 1851 Dr. H. L. Baugher, Senior, presented the following statement which embodies the judgment of his mature and brilliant mind.

He says: "A careful examination of the history of the ministry of our Church will show that since the existence of Penn. College more than one-half of our ministers have been aided by the Church in their preparation. This shows the importance of the subject to the welfare of our Church. Too much care cannot be exercised in the selection of persons to whom aid is extended. Mistakes will occur under the most careful supervision, for we are not only deceived in others, but our own hearts deceive us.

"The millions of heathen dying without the knowledge of Christ and the ministerial destitution of our own country and Church press upon our attention and action the claims of the whole Church.

"Resolved that this synod pledge to raise the sum of \$2,000. for education during the coming year."

In that year there were thirty-two pastorates. In 1901, 50 years later, seventy-five pastorates with an enlarged membership, scarcely give the cause as generous support. One year

later—in 1852 the report on education by the same masterful and consecrated Doctor Baugher says: “This report is one of the most important, perhaps the most important, which claims the attention of the Church. Education makes the man and therefore makes the Church. The human mind from its nature will be educated. During that year 34 students were supported by the Parent Education Society.

“If you will grant me your further indulgence let me invite your attention to a certain synodical action that antedates even the period of half a century ago—viz., 1848—the storm period of the Parent Education Society.

“Resolved, That it is the appropriate business of the synod [*i. e.*, the Maryland] to make provision for the education and sending forth of an able and faithful ministry.

“Resolved, That hereafter the subject of beneficiary education and Home and Foreign Missions be introduced into the annual proceedings of this body as a part of our regular synodical business.

“Resolved, That three brethren with alternates be appointed to make addresses at our next annual meeting.”

The appointee for the address on Ministerial Education was the Rev. David F. Bittle and the place of its delivery was St. John's, Hagerstown.

Without any preceptible break or synodical apathy to the consideration of this important work of the Church, it appeals to us now and to all our people. For it is to be feared that there are antagonists, as well as apologists and eulogists, even when so noble a service as Ministerial Education modestly asks for a continued and brighter history in the future.

For one week I almost literally lived among the old pamphlets and minutes that report the proceedings of the earlier life of the Lutheran Church on the territory of the Maryland Synod. The members of that body have nearly all passed from the Church Militant, to their reward on high.

But it is for any man a profitable task and pleasure as well, to read and ponder the record that witnesses their sincerity,

earnestness and enthusiasm in the great cause of providing an able and adequate ministry.

In 1849, Dr. Benj. Kurtz embodies this passage in his report.

"The Parent Education Society is now aiding about thirty students, though we must all admit the wants of the Church call for more than triple that number and that her pecuniary ability is more than sufficient to furnish the requisite means of support."

Just half a century ago the President of Pennsylvania College wrote:

"The Parent Education Society up to this date 1852, has been instrumental in assisting into the Ministry about 120 men, most of whom are now actively engaged in their Master's work. This is about one-eighth or a fraction more of our present ministry."

If such results have been produced by incipient action of the society under the pressure of embarrassments of various kinds, what may we anticipate when the Church with cordial co-operation will lay hold of this subject with hearty good will, and carry it forward with the energy which she is capable of exerting?

From 1854 to 1870 the average number of men aided in preparing for the ministry was 7 per year. The funds expended during those 16 years was \$11,312.35.

From 1870 to 1880, the average number of students per annum was 10½, and the amount disbursed was \$16,244.01.

In the year 1871 the synod contributed \$300 more for education than last year, 1901—just thirty years later. The number of students aided was the same as this present year, 1902—viz. 11.

In the decade from 1870 to 1880—the year 1871 furnished the largest contribution for education reaching the sum of \$2,486.60. In the same decade the largest number of students in any single year was in 1874, when the number assisted was 15.

In the next decade from 1880 to 1890, the average number

of students under the care of the Synod was 13 ; the aggregate disbursements \$18,041.99.

The year of this period which furnished the most funds was 1882, when \$1,999.20 was the amount.

In the final decade of the XIXth Century the Maryland Synod assisted, within the fraction of a tenth, an average of 16 students per year, at an outlay of \$21,777.40.

In 1893 was the banner year for education—though it was a year of financial stringency. During that year the Maryland Synod contributed \$2,635.00, and aided 20 students for the ministry.

In the year 1900 the Synod had 13 students and expended \$1,600.00.

In 1901, 11 students were supported to the extent of \$1575.

In 1902, there were 11 students, and the amount disbursed \$1,502.25.

The aggregate amount disbursed by the Synod's Education Committee in the past half century reaches the total of \$71,052.70.

It must be remembered, however, that this summary must be received with an explanation.

During these years sums of money were appropriated which have been either in part or as a whole refunded by grateful beneficiaries to the Education Committee. These amounts appear therefore several times in the Grand Total.

It is also deserving of mention that in answer to urgent appeals from the brethren in the South, the Synod through its Education Committee aided quite a number of Ministerial students in Roanoke College, Virginia. These amounts do not appear in the aggregate, \$71,000, for Ministerial Education during half a century.

However imperfect has been my endeavor to present this important subject, we gain no small degree of satisfaction in surveying the record of these years. The workmen, whom the meager contributions of the whole Church assisted, are the warrant of the system's worth. Their work challenges examination. Those who are in search of a pretext for not sustain-

ing this branch of beneficence will point out the spots on the sun. Their's however will be the indulgence of a petty and pitiful performance. Our Church is capable of doing better service with her talent and her means than she has ever done before. All honor then to the men and women whose prayers and purses, like Madam Cotta who four centuries ago befriended the German miner's son, have aided by a timely offering, indigent young men, oppressed with the conviction "Wo is unto me if I preach not the Gospel."

Should it be true as surmised, and whispered—yea openly asserted, that Ministerial Education is on the wane—that few men are in the college classes to-day, with the Gospel Ministry in view, it indicates results, it seems to me, of the hollowness and insincerity of pretenders in the pew honeycombed with worldliness—and the heartless response to our Divine Lord's command. "Pray ye therefore the Lord of the harvest to send forth laborers into his harvest."

When a few years ago there was a probability of the frowning of foreign guns upon our shores, \$50,000,000 were quickly voted without a dissenting voice in our National Congress.

The act was universally applauded. There was preparation and equipment of armor for attack and defence on both land and sea. Is the demand for Ministerial equipment and qualification less imperative? Is there not another and more perilous foe that our generation is facing? Are we even caring for the children of our own household of faith?

Would any Christian be so disloyal as to disregard the privilege of sharing the grace of giving, in providing the appropriation for the worthy preparation of indigent and consecrated young men to preach the Gospel of Jesus Christ to a sinful and sighing world—yea to come to the help of the Lord—"to the help of the Lord against the mighty?"

The record of an earlier day calls upon us not to remove the old land-marks. Whenever the management and administration of any department of human activity, either within or without the pale of the Church, is flawlessly perfect—then we

may all rightly look, and not till then—for infallibility in the affairs of Ministerial Education. In the noon-tide of that still far-distant day will the last and best word be spoken on this important but controverted subject.

ARTICLE X.

CURRENT THEOLOGICAL THOUGHT.

I.

ENGLISH AND AMERICAN.

BY REV. M. COOVER, A.M.

Why did the captain of the Lord's host command Joshua to remove his shoes on the sacred spot of casual conference at Jericho? Why did Moses take off his shoes in God's presence at the Burning Bush?

Dr. W. Robertson Smith in *The Religion of the Semites* says that wearing clothes in the presence of holy persons and in sacred places made them taboo for common use. Garments became sacred by association with things sacred. The best dress was holy dress, perfumed and worn only on sacred occasions. Gala dress and holy dress were one and the same. Common clothes coming into contact with what was holy made them taboo.

To be made serviceable for common wear they must be washed to be dispossessed of their sacred character. But shoes could not well be washed. To wear common shoes into the presence of the divine made them sacred and serviceable only on sacred occasions.

Mr. W. R. Paton in *The Classical Review* for July gives another explanation. Mr. Paton says shoes were not made sacred by contact with holy things, but were too unsacred for approach to what was divine because made of skins of animals. Im-

purity attaches to everything that is dead. The skin of dead animals worn as shoes carried defilement.

Dr. Smith's explanation, however, has for its support significant religious customs among ancient peoples. The Jewish priests serving the Lord in sacred functions not only bathed themselves and their garments in preparation for holy exercises, but also washed themselves and their robes after their sacred duties were performed.

The earthen vessels used in seething the animal sacrifices were not capable of being thoroughly cleansed after use since the pores of the metal became filled with the percolating liquid. Hence the vessels were broken and destroyed so as not to be employed for common purposes.

The rabbis washed their hands after handling the parchments of sacred Scripture not because the parchments were made of the skins of beasts, but because their hands coming into contact with what was holy became taboo, defiled for the handling of common things. Care was taken to have none but the skins of clean beasts prepared for parchments that scribes might not defile the word from the mouth of the Lord.

"It is his angel," said the prayer-meeting company in Mary's house to little Rhoda when she announced that Peter was knocking at the gate. Did they think it was Peter's ghost? "It is a spirit" the disciples whispered, and cried out in fear when they saw Jesus walking on the sea. Here, however, they did not say it was Peter's spirit, but his angel. What did they mean? They meant his guardian angel, commentators say, a spiritual attendant commissioned to accompany him and guard his welfare. Such angels were appointed according to Jewish belief to watch over men, and every person had his individual guardian angel. Little children were especially cared for by these ministering spirits. "In heaven their angels do always behold the face of My Father which is in heaven," said Jesus. But where did the idea of a guardian angel originate? After all is the conception scriptural?

Olshausen gave the angel a Platonic meaning. He said it

was the archetype or ideal of man laid up with God in heaven. God looks on man not solely as a miserable and sinful being, but as well on what he is planned to be. God sees his ideal. To that ideal man is to correspond. By it he is kept in touch with spiritual things and continued in the consciousness of the divine. Each person's guardian angel is his archetype, his ideal personality according to the measure of a man, that is, of an angel.

Dr. J. H. Moulton in *The Journal of Theological Studies* for July presents a different origin of the idea. In the Bible two classes of angels are mentioned. The one we know well as the ministering spirit sent of God to minister to those who shall be heirs of salvation.

The other we do not know so well because its nature is not so clearly defined. Mention is first made of the second kind of angel in the Book of Daniel. There the angel appears as "prince," such as prince of Persia, prince of Greece, and also as Michael, the prince of the house of Israel. This prince or angel is the impersonator of nations, a representative and not a ministering spirit, or guardian angel.

In the Apocalypse of John it is the "angel" of the Churches that bears before God as representative the moral and spiritual condition of the ecclesiastical organizations. They do not minister, nor are they sent from God, but rather stand before him as impersonators of religious conditions. The angels who in heaven behold the face of the Father are not keeping guard over children. They do not encamp round about them, but stand before God as their representatives. Peter's angel could not be his guardian while knocking at the gate, if Peter were in distress; and if Peter were dead, the earthly ministry of a guardian angel had ceased. Dr. Moulton advocates a Persian origin for the Jewish idea of man's angel. The Zoroastrian *fravashi* corresponds to this representative spirit. According to later Parsism man's being is divided into soul, body, life, form and *fravashi*. At death the soul unites with the *fravashi* and becomes immortal. The *fravashi* of man is always in the presence of Ahura. It is the part of his personality that is

hidden with God. From this Parsis conception the Jews derived their idea of each man's individual angel.

In *The Sunday School Times* for September 6th Canon Tristram gives some circumstantial evidence for the Mosaic authorship of Deuteronomy. In Leviticus 11 and Deuteronomy 14 are lists of clean and unclean animals classified in similar forms. Deuteronomy, however, contains in its list nine animals not mentioned in Leviticus. A careful examination of the natural history of the country and of the philological history of the names of these animals shows that these beasts, with but one exception, are denizens of the desert plains, or of bare rocky heights. They never were inhabitants of the land of Goshen, nor of any part of the delta of the Nile, nor of the land of Palestine except its most southern wilderness portion. Why are these beasts, the antelopes and desert animals, not mentioned in Leviticus? Because the Levitical legislation was given at Mt. Sinai when the Israelites had been out of Egypt but a few months, and had not yet experienced their long wilderness pilgrimage, nor come to know the animals of the desert.

Familiarity with the desert haunts and rocky heights, the localities where these animals were indigenous, gave to the lawgiver this inclusive list written in the Deuteronomic legislation at the end of the forty years' wanderings. Strong circumstantial evidence is here furnished of Mosaic authorship. But why might not this list in Deuteronomy have been prepared by Hilkiah in the days of king Josiah when the law was discovered, or as some suppose, invented and imposed on the king? Might it not have had an exilic or post-exilic origin at the hands of Jeremiah, or Ezra? Did they not have knowledge of the deserts and mountains where these animals were native?

The Jews of that period were not explorers, or travelers in those regions where these animals were solely indigenous. Their journeys were either to Egypt or to Assyria, and on neither of these routes did they travel the southern desert or meet with the desert animals. The way to Egypt lay through Gaza and Zoar, districts fertile and cultivated. The journey to Babylon was through fruitful Mesopotamia and the fertile valley

of the Tigris. Jeremiah's haunts furnished no knowledge of these animals, nor did Ezra's journey supply any experiences adequate for the composition of the Deuteronomic list. Hilkiah was a provincial priest; no Arabic traveler, no student of the natural history of animals in an alien desert. The list could have been compiled only in the period when it purports its composition. The vivid experiences of the desert journey, and the entrance to Canaan on the east of Jordan, alone can furnish the touches of local coloring, and the accuracy of the historic conditions.

Some circumstantial evidences for the truth of New Testament miracles are given by Dr. Sanday in *The Expository Times* for November.

Dr. Sanday first goes outside of the Gospels and takes the Epistles of Paul as the source of evidence. What conception did logically minded Paul have of miracles, and what claim did he make in respect of miraculous power? On occasions when it was no part of an argument to produce belief in miracles, when reference to them was incidental and not didactic, he refers to miracles as well authenticated signs wrought by himself and other Christian disciples. He could appeal to miracles without being challenged, claiming the power to work them, and assuming the possession of the same power by others. Dr. Sanday cites the following: "For I will not dare to speak of any things save those which Christ wrought through me, for the obedience of the Gentiles, by word and deed, *in the power of signs and wonders, in the power of the Holy Ghost.*" (Rom. 15 : 18, 19. "Truly the signs of an apostle were wrought among you in all patience, *by signs and wonders and mighty works*" (2 Cor. 12 : 12). "For to one is given through the Spirit * * * *gifts of healings, in the one Spirit; and to another workings of miracles* (1 Cor. 12 : 8-10).

"He therefore that *supplieth to you the Spirit, and worketh miracles among you*" (Gal. 3 : 5). There is no doubt as to Paul's belief in miracles. Dr. Sanday then turns to the Gospels. There our Lord furnishes evidence of the fact of miracles in his self-witness. The keynote of the temptation in the

wilderness is the pressure brought to bear on Jesus to work miracles for purposes other than altruistic.

The force of the temptation rests on the capability to do the miraculous. Now no one could have invented such an experience of Jesus with its unique ethical test, for no one had such an insight into the meaning of Christ's mission. It must have come from Jesus himself, and from none other. This incident furnishes very stringent evidence from our Lord's self-witness. There is no doubt that Jesus and his disciples wrought miracles, or signs which they thought to be miracles. But does it follow, Dr. Sanday asks, that what were thought to be miracles then would be regarded strictly as miracles now? It is beyond doubt that phenomena occurred in the first century of our era which with common consent were deemed miraculous. But in how strict a sense were they miraculous? Would we call them miracles now? May they not have been so constituted as to show a double aspect, one to the contemporaries of Jesus, and another to us in our recognition of the rigid order of natural law? May not the operation of some cause deemed by the ancients miraculous be a cause explainable now on natural grounds? The power of human personality and will, psychological and telepathic influences effective in changing the feeling and will of others, would be regarded as miraculous by the contemporaries of Jesus. A higher personality and will than ours would surpass the power of imperfect will and transcend the limitations set to our capabilities. A personality filled with the Spirit of God would doubtless exercise a wondrously reorganizing power over men in weak and diseased conditions of body and mind. It might explain some miracles, but not all. Dr. Sanday concedes that such explanations should be used with reserve and caution. There is an element of truth in this method of reasoning, and an element of danger. We may evaporate the fact by a superficial explanation of the nature of the fact. The conviction of truth may remain firm though the traditional method of explaining it undergo change. But a unique personality surpassing natural origins, and unexplainable by natural causes and human ethical development, cannot be confined to the limita-

tions set by common though scientific human experience. The claim to fathom miracle by natural causes assumes the capability to clear away what is unique and superhuman in Christ. The fact that some miracles require a less degree of exceptional power than others for their effecting does not minimize the power necessary to work such momentous miracles as are incapable of explanation by natural causes.

The Editor of *The Independent* has not escaped the danger of wholesale naturalism in his treatment of miracles in an editorial on *The Recession of Miracle* in the issue of Dec. 4th.

The strenuousness of the rule of law, a law so rigid as to deny the fact of free will, endangers, if it does not annihilate, faith in miracles. A setting aside of this strenuous law by the intrusion of miracle, a suspension of inviolable order, is thought to be impossible. The necessary orderliness of the universe makes miracle more a hindrance than a help to faith. But whence comes this observable order? Is law a power resident in matter, or only a name given to the orderliness which we observe in the flow of phenomena? We do not see compulsion in nature, but possessing reason we are lifted above nature to see our mind's order reflected in the world of material facts and forces. If our intelligence were sufficiently comprehensive we might see miracle to be an expression of law. The great effort of man to maintain his possible moral personality and its purposes against the pressure of nature implies the existence of freedom from absolutely irrefragable law. The fact that moral principles do regulate material activities among men shows that man is not a creature fixedly subject to irreversible law. The strenuous bonds of material necessity are strained and broken under the force of man's moral freedom. Man can make nature bend. Is man the highest moral personality? Is God so immanent in law that he is not free? The fountain of redemptive and morally constructive forces does not flow along a channel of inflexible adamant law. It cuts its way and wears through customs of motion and trends of energy and makes new channels for itself to effect spiritual products. The editor of *The Independent* does not entirely yield miracle, but

he does yield the citadel of defence without using a piece of artillery which is at least an efficient cryptic means of resistance. The din of battle is all about material phenomena and their irrefragable laws. But the source of the conception of law, the human mind itself, is overlooked. A theory of knowledge has something vital to do with the subject of miracles. When we come better to know what man himself is, and what his mind or understanding, from which his conceptions of law arise, another aspect of the relation of God to nature will be capable of being seen. There is a growing pretentious superiority of religious criticism today which regards the believer in miracles as lacking intellectual sanity. But it is a superficial criticism which takes account only of the phenomena of matter and attendant observable order called law, and overlooks superciliously the phenomena of mind. What is the real ground of certainty, matter or mind? How is any truth apprehended save by a mental process? Why does man think, and not the stone or tree? Why does man exercise reflection, and not the oyster? What is the transition from the merely sensitive to the reflective reasoning consciousness? The emotional and volitional factors in the grasping of truth are not to be overlooked, yet at the risk of being more than commonly frivolous I may say that man without mind could not know either God or the facts of religion. The mind is not creative of facts, but regulative of them by its very nature. For anything to be known it must be in relation to a conscious mind. An interpretation of the nature of thought itself, a theory of mind and of knowledge, has something serious to do with the interpretation of life and religion. The metaphysics of religion or theology may be but slightly appreciated, or even tabooed by the practical school of defenders of the faith, but the character of apologetics daily becoming more imperative makes absolutely necessary the inferential proof drawn from metaphysical deductions.

The question was asked, what is the true ground of certainty, mind or matter? Neither separately, but both in unity. Perceptions furnished by the manifold of material phenomena through sensibility must be met in man by conceptions sup-

plied by the principle for the organization of experience. A spiritual principle must bridge the chasm between the perceptions of objects and the conceptions of the conscious subject. The factors of the understanding, the tools of the ideas of reason, are perception and conception. The inferences subjectively attained and those objectively presented in the history of Christ and Christianity, must be combined to reach religious truth. Religion is not to be evolved from human reason, but circumstantial evidence of very credible nature may come along intellectualistic lines for the substantiation of both reason and the facts of miracle and revelation.

Speculative theism is not creative of religious facts, nor can miracle and revelation be always reduced to terms of reason. Moral intuition, and the heroic faith of triumphant certainty bring their evidence to bear on religious verities. There is that unconquerable self-certainty which confronts the most irrefragable dialectic.

While the subjective reflections, however, of human reason do not create religious facts for faith, yet they do furnish very authoritative inferential proofs of their verity. To the mind not accustomed to think along these lines the inferences may not be very cogent. But the mind that tries to fathom why it thinks at all, must confront material things with subjective reflections. The answer to the how and why of thought itself throws light on the assumption of irrefragable natural law. Disbelievers in miracle are cryptically, and sometimes unconsciously, disciples of rigid naturalism, a naturalism which to be consistent must rule out of court every thing that is not materialistic. Man is deemed but one link in the one great chain of necessary cause and effect, and his entire being with all its phenomena can be accounted for by the laws of matter and motion. Thought is a mere physiological function, and all moral principles are mere adjustments advantageously arranged for utility. Everything is embraced in an order of necessity. But even Hume said, "Necessity is something that exists in the mind, not in objects."

The editor of *The Independent* thinks that should faith in miracle go we would still retain all that is vital in Christianity. The belief in the supernatural birth, or the bodily resurrection

of Jesus, is not ethical or spiritual, he says. It has nothing to do with character. Vital elements of Christianity are such as the Sermon on the Mount, the doctrines of love and regeneration. Miracle concerns only theology, and not life. But does an error of fact or history in no way affect the facts of life and doctrine? If the miracles be not true can the teaching of Jesus be honestly extricated from its occasions and environments? A moral question will obtrude itself and demand an answer. Jesus bore self witness to miracles. Was Jesus himself deceived, or by accommodation to prevalent ideas did he suffer himself to deceive others? If Jesus acted either way he subjects himself to moral criticism. His own ethical spirit is at stake, and his qualifications to teach are invalidated. If the whole error lies with the reporters of Jesus who imposed on him and his teaching things he did not do and words he did not say, we have no Christ of history.

Not only miracle, but morality is evaporated. If Jesus were born as common man, and held in death as man is held, and did nothing supernatural, he possessed a character explainable on natural grounds, and, as Harnack says, was closer to God than other men only through his ethical keenness and spiritual susceptibility. We are then down on the level of naturalism, and the ethical implicates of the Gospels bear but a blurred stamp. The gospel history is but a chronicle of legendary traditions. We do not have a factual Christ, but an eclectic interpretation of Christ. The authority of Christianity is not in Christ after all, but in an interpretation of him.

The gospel is a perishable source, not durable in the light of criticism. Its preconceptions are traditional, and not historic, the outcome of the ecstatic glorification of Messianic dreams. The record rests not on facts, but on a faulty interpretation of facts, the absolute truth of which is now undiscoverable, and the statements of which are usable only by careful postulates. The New Testament writings are simply but a religious treatise of human construction, a pious disquisition to be sifted and superseded by growing superior judgment. Doubtful things are all read one way, and the assured are twisted to correspond. The whole content of historic Christianity is on a basis of naturalism.

However real and universal the moral law might be for man, it might be the interpretation of evolutionary development, and have no significance for anything back of man himself. It proves nothing for the existence and authority of God, or of what is supernatural. If the miracle go, the Gospels must go too, or the critic suffer from obtuse ethics.

II.

GERMAN.

BY REV. S. GRING HEFELBOWER, A.M.

Grassman's pamphlet of several years ago, on *Extracts from the Moral Theology of Ligouri, which Have Been Officially Sanctioned by Popes Pius IX and Leo XIII as Norm for the Roman Catholic Church, and the Terrible Danger of This Moral Theology for the Ethics of the Nations* has occasioned quite a discussion of Roman Catholic principles and practices in morals. Of course the public mind was ready for such a discussion. The aggressive attitude of the Roman Church in Germany during the last generation, her increase in numerical strength and in political influence, the apparent failure of the Old Catholic Movement and the many victories of Ultramontaniam have served to accentuate all confessional differences, and to concentrate criticism on the weakest points of both Protestantism and Catholicism; and after Rome's doctrine of human merit, her ethics is probably her most vulnerable place.

These conditions, together with the unintended sensational character of the pamphlet, account for its enormous circulation. It has appeared in more than 104 editions, and over 320,000 copies have been printed. Grassman translates and discusses the directions given by Ligouri for priests when acting as father confessors for those who have sinned against the sixth commandment. He gives Ligouri's descriptions of the possible instances that might arise, and his directions for the priests in handling them, and asserts that in the practice of confession, when such instructions are followed, there lies a great moral

danger. It is very doubtful whether the "revelations" that he makes do more good than harm. The Nuremberg court forbade the circulation of the book, and a new, expurgated edition was announced in August. But on the other hand we must recognize the fact that it is a terrible exposure of a weak point of Rome, an exposure that is calculated to take away the nimbus that some Protestants are inclined to see about the Church that has an infallible head; it may also help the opposition to the return of the Jesuits. It has also helped the movement in the Catholic Church, which is aimed at a reform in her moral theology. There were many replies to the booklet, one from the Prince of Saxony, which thoroughly exposed Grassman's weaknesses.

Hermann's *Roman and Evangelical Morality* (Sec. Ed. Marburg, 1901) discusses the differences between the systems in a purely scientific manner. Werner, in September No. of *Theologische Rundschau*, sums up Hermann's argumentation in the following words: "Evangelical faith is being inwardly overcome by God, Roman faith is the decision to consider the church doctrine true, *i. e.*, external submission to a truth not produced in man himself. Accordingly the moral law, as the command of God, is for us power living within us, which rules the entire life; for the Catholic it is an externally given law, which he perceives as a burden and a limit to his freedom, analogous to the limitation of the freedom of citizens by police regulations. Consequently moral obedience, according to Rome, is only rectitude in God's state; a person obeys the law so far as possible without directly breaking it. Thus there results for Hermann, as fundamental characteristics of Roman morality, lack of truth and principle." There were several replies to Hermann's book, even Mausbach's *Die Katholische Moral, ihre Methoden, Grundsätze und Aufgaben* (Cologne, 1902) was called forth by it.

Zöckler's article, *Jesuitenorden*, in the third edition of the Real-Encyclopedia, edited by Hauck, was attacked by the Jesuit priest, Reichmann, of Luxemburg.

Reichmann denied Zöckler's statement that "intentionalism

is the fundamental principle of Jesuit ethics," and claimed that it was merely a slander invented by Paschal. The expression "the end justifies the means," either in this or in another form, is not found in the works of any Jesuit. Zœckler, in his reply *Die Absichtlenkung oder der Zweck heiligt das Mittel*, maintains his former position, and asserts that, though the doctrine is not openly and directly expressed, it is contained in the Jesuit works on ethics in a concealed and indirect way, and that the whole system of Jesuitism, according to theory as well as practice, is erected on the foundation of intentionalism.

Graf von Hoensbrœch's fiery attack on the heart of Ultramontanism, the divinity of the Papacy, has awakened considerable interest in Germany during the last year, as can be judged from the fact that the first volume passed through four editions within a year, and the second volume, which appeared last May, is in the fourth edition already. At first the first volume was enthusiastically received by all, but Tschackert approved it with some hesitation, and Zœckler openly expressed his doubts, and Werner, in the *Theologische Rundschau* of September, regrets that Hoensbrœch did not show his readers to what extent his materials are historically provable; he also condemns him of attributing many things to the Papacy which are due, to a great extent, to the social and intellectual conditions of the various ages.

The purpose of Hoensbrœch is to provide "a collection of materials on the subject," which it most certainly does, for we have in it a very convenient first class work of reference on the anti-cultural activity of the Papacy and Ultramontanism. Even the Catholic critics could find only small errors. The correctness of his material and the reliability of his citations are unimpeachable. In making this vast collection of material that covers 1400 pages, some of which had to be sought in distant sources, the author does not aim at enriching our historical knowledge as such, but seeks to bring proof of the non-divinity of the Papacy. Since he considers the dogmatic attack from the front, on the doctrine of the divinity of the Papacy, to be of

no avail he will make an attack from the flank, and prove the non-divinity of this dogma by the undeniable facts of history. Therefore he collects the phenomena in the history of the Papacy that in no way can be harmonized with its divine character. If the Papacy were really the spiritual power in civilization that it claims to be, it would show it in the realm of social culture. The purpose of this enormous collection is to prove that the opposition is really the case. Werner doubts whether this flank attack by Hoensbroech will accomplish more than the front attack, which he seeks to surpass. However, when we remember that it is the path that led the Jesuit Hoensbroech to give up his belief in the divine authority of the Papacy, and to become the fierce polemical writer against Rome that we find in this book, it becomes plain that there is something in it.

Werner finds little in the second volume to which he can object, which deals with the ultramontane ethics, "for the responsibility of the Papacy for the Catholic literature on Ethics cannot be doubted; it results both from the ecclesiastical censorship, and, above all, from the very claim of the Papacy to be the infallible divine school-master in the realm of morals." The volume is divided into three parts; the first (1-41) gives a beautiful outline of ethics according to the Scripture; the second (42-574), the real heart of the book, is a presentation and discussion of the sources, systems and declarations of casuistic ethics; the third (585-599) measures and judges the ultramontane ethics by the standard of simple scriptural ethics, and concludes that the former is unclear, false and external.

Another edition of Weizsaecker's great work on *The Apostolic Age* has been published by Mohr of Leipzig. It has very few changes from the second edition, which was prepared by the author before his death and marked no change in fundamental principles from the first edition, which appeared in 1886. Weizsaecker was one of the leaders in the destructive criticism of the Apostolic Age, and has exerted considerable influence upon a number of scholars, who are still teaching in

German universities, most of whom are as liberal or even more liberal than he was. A review of the third edition in the *Theologisches Literaturblatt* sums up Weizsaecker's position in the following words: "Consequently, according to Weizsaecker, the faith of the Christian Church in the resurrected Lord rests on mere illusions, for those visions of the apostles give us no guarantee of a spiritual continuation of the life of Christ. Even if a person is inclined to assume objective visions, there would be no proof that they were wrought by God. But a man must give himself over to such delusive structures of historical hypotheses, if he imagines that he must measure the ways of God with his little human understanding before he dare believe. Then even inborn piety does not prevent a man from becoming a fool in divine things."

Two years ago Grass published a pamphlet on *Zur Lehre von der Gottheit Christi* (Guetersloh, 1900), in which he defended the deity of Christ by the old scholastic method—by reasoning from heaven downward. Last year Schlatter, a conservative modern biblicist of Tuebingen, replied to it in *Jesu Gottheit und das Kreuz* (Bertelsmann, Guetersloh), and incidentally gave to the theological world considerable new material and, in many respects, a new method for dealing with the soteriological and christological problem. Lobstein reviewed it in the *Theologische Literaturzeitung*, and even he recognized the value of Schlatter's work, though, as one might expect, he regards the author's pronounced biblicism, and his treatment of the story of the passion as if it were a common canon, as great blemishes, which nullify the value of the work to a great extent, and call forth in the reader the "feeling of disappointment and uncertainty." We give Lobstein's digest in part, with extensive quotations from the work itself.

Already in examining the statement of Grass, that Jesus was placed by God in the position of God-forsakenness, which disturbed fellowship with God He brought to an end, and thereby showed His deity, Schlatter takes occasion to set forth valuable fundamental principles for methodology and dogmatics. "Such

a fundamental declaration as the affirmation of the deity of the Crucified One, which determines our entire conception of God and the world, and fundamentally transforms that which makes up our religiousness, and thereby becomes the source and center of our thinking and willing, should not be hung on an individual fact or passage of Scripture, so that it appears to be moved by every variation of historico-exegetical investigation and discussion, and changes with every judgment concerning an exegetical detail. A power which makes us ask in astonishment, For what? is not manifest as a power of God; as such it is manifest in the value (Werth) which it procures. Jesus' deity is not manifest in this, that he did not perish in suffering, but in the fact that his cross is of value and efficient for the world before the Father" (II, 9-10, 20-21). Instead of formulating the question according to scholastic view-points, as did Grass, he chooses the other statement of the problem: "Does the reasons for affirming Christ's deity lie in His Cross, or can it not be found there and must it be sought elsewhere?" (30).

Schlatter first approaches the answering of this problem from the biblico-theological side. Chapter II treats of *The Participation of the Deity of Jesus in His Death according to the Gospels* (30-37). The scholastic method of Grass is rejected and attention is called to the fact that the "eye of the New Testament teachers is directed to their one invisible Lord; they hear him in his Word, not now his humanity and then his deity; they see him in his works, not now his divinity and then again his humanity" (30). Exegesis of passages from John, Paul and the Letter to the Hebrews leads to the conclusion: "There is no divided deity in the apostles. If the Father's will and act is recognized, the meaning and work of deity is clear. But that Jesus took part in the work of God only in a passive way, and entered into our class as the first recipient of grace, is, within the apostles' word, forever excluded by the name, Christ. For by this he was declared to be not the Receiver of but the Giver of grace, and the Worker of the divine will" (37).

Chapter III deals with *The Relation of the Apostolical Declaration to the Formulas of the Church* (37-38). Under this title the author considers the expressions of the apostles in reference to the three formulas, which Grass selected from the doctrinal tradition of the Church, and which he characterizes by the names, Origen, Anselm and the Heidelberg Catechism. Schlatter seeks to show that these expressions of the apostles offer parallels to the three formulas. "The apostolic teaching concerning the cross does not lead us to a choice from among the three, but to a purification, a perfection and a union of them" (48). "Our Greek-trained fathers have speculated boldly and cleverly, and often naively. They all ask, as does Grass, Why must Jesus be God-man? since the perception that he is falls far short of the goal of knowledge, which is only attained when *being* has been raised for our vision into *must be*. These conclusions, made from above downwards, which begin in the eternal will of God in order to lay hold of that which has happened at its very roots, and to take their stand in the other world, are the exclusive possession of our fathers, and are not to be carried back into the expressions of Jesus, which were very far from such efforts that serve only knowledge; nor are they contained in the doctrinal sections of the apostolic documents, which never draw the gaze away from God's completed act; nor can we repeat them, for thereby there would be artificially conserved, a form of logic now lost to us. Therefore, with the fathers, we continually have the task of separating the substance of their thought from its deductive formulation and disfiguration, and to measure it according to its real certainty of proof, independent of the form in which they have and give it. Only within these limits can we speak of a 'scripturalness' in the reflections of Origen and Anselm; but within these limitations must their relation to the content of Scripture necessarily be discussed" (38-29).

"The doctrinal expressions of the apostles direct us to the story of the cross. Through that which presents this to our view is decided whether and how the divinity of Jesus becomes knowable to us in the picture of the cross" (48). This sentence

opens the fourth chapter, which deals with, *The will of Jesus to Be Saviour and to Die on the Cross* (48-69). The author establishes the equalization, expressed here, by facts that belong in the realm of religious psychology, but which should be regulated by the story of the passion always represented to the eye of faith. Schlatter seeks to express both the analogy, that connects Jesus' dying with our dying, and the peculiarity of the Saviour's death, which is bound with that analogy in an indissoluble unity. But his expressions, owing to his struggling with such a ponderous subject, become heavy and dark at times. From the result attained, Schlatter again views the three groups of formulas, the value of which in terms of truth he undertakes to examine. The title of the faith chapter is; *Relation of the Church Formulas to the Story of the Passion*. He attempts to find out from the New Testament teaching concerning the Cross the elements that are diversely expressed in the Church formulas, and even here comes to the goal already aimed at, that the content of the three forms of doctrinal statement mentioned can be brought to its unity and truth by the biblical thought, and can be freed from onesidedness and inaccuracies still clinging to it.

The closing chapter treats of *The Power of the Crucified One to Save*. "Our looking up to God springs from the announcing of the story of the Cross. That which we possess of the divine, the looking up to God that we have, the Spirit in which we pray and love, becomes ours through the word that tells of the Crucified One. Therein is revealed the power of the Cross, but also with it the deity of Him who died on it, in an attestation that shines through all ages" (90).

Schlatter's departure from the traditional method becomes all the more interesting when we remember that he is classed among the most conservative of the leading theologians of Germany of to-day. He stands for a very positive type of Christianity and is one of the bitterest opponents of the destructive criticism of the present. This pamphlet is only one of many expressions from conservatives of discontent with the methods that have been pursued in the past. The theological thought

of the last thirty years has lead Schlatter to write in a way that would have been considered decidedly Ritschlian in trend by Ritschl's chief opponents during the late seventies. Yet Schlatter and those of like mind will insist that they are not less conservative than their predecessors of a former generation. They think the same thoughts, but they think them differently, they hold the same fundamental truths, but they derive and defend them in another age; and they find some things, in the old man-made forms, which are wholly of human origin and are no more a part of the truth that is exhibited than the mounting is a part of the jewel, and they feel that they can treat these human elements as best suits the thought-world of to-day.

But then the great question arises, which can never be definitively answered, where does the human element stop and the divine begin? Some assert an independent attitude toward traditional dogma only in a few unimportant details; others go so far as to claim that even the New Testament contains a great deal of man-made dogmatics, *e. g.*, the pre-existence of Christ, His deity and resurrection, which they can accept or reject as they choose. Between these two extremes are found all the various shades of theological tendencies that make up the confused theological world of to day. At present conservative theologians seem to be concluding that more remnants of Greek philosophy and scholasticism cling to our dogmas than the conservatives of a former generation were willing to admit; and the liberal or negative theologians, with ears itching as ever for some new thing, seem to be seeking new focus points and appear to have found one in the so-called religious-historical method, which in its fully developed form denies all objective revelation and regards man as the maker of his own religion. Judging from the history of theological tendencies and schools of the last centuries, we are justified in expecting the left wing to resolve itself into irreligious anti-revelational ethical systems, while the right wing of the tendency will ever more and more approach traditional conservatism, realizing that Christianity without a real Saviour from real sin is impossible.

ARTICLE XI.

REVIEW OF RECENT LITERATURE.

HOUGHTON, MIFFLIN AND CO., BOSTON, MASS.

Jesus' Way. By William DeWitt Hyde, President of Bowdoin College.
Pp. xii and 198. Price \$1.00 net. 16mo., cloth, gilt top.

President Hyde presents under the happily chosen title, *Jesus' Way*, what he conceives to be the original and simple teaching of Jesus imbedded in the Synoptic Gospels. He endeavors to divest it from the "alloy" of picture, parable, and miracle, and to set it forth in language of to-day. He designates Christianity by the name by which it was spoken of by the apostles, The Way. "Jesus' Way is simply one of many possible ways in which a man may live." In a dozen chapters the essentials of this Way are described.

There is much that is true and beautiful in this book. Some of the chapters, like that on "Love: the Law of the Way," are very fine. But no man has ever yet re-written the Gospels and added to their charm or authenticity. It is doubtful whether the Way can be more plainly and impressively set forth than the Evangelists have done. We are sure that the latter never taught the fundamental errors which make President Hyde's book dangerous. To him the doctrines of total depravity and original sin are simply the inventions of "those slanderers of the race, the theologians." He is evidently unitarian in belief, for the worship of Jesus is simply "ethical," while the Holy Spirit is "the life and will of the Father, reproduced in the Son." His definition of faith is vague. It is simply "the recognition of goodness outside us." We fear, therefore, that if any one should substitute the teachings of this book for those of the Gospels he would sadly miss that Way, which is also Truth and Life.

J. A. SINGMASTER.

The Blue Flower. By Henry Van Dyke.

The announcement of a new book from the pen of Dr. Van Dyke is always hailed with delight by a large circle of his admirers, for no one has more rapidly gained a hold on the reading public than he has done. In the other books he has written the chief charm is his keen and perfectly expressed appreciation of nature, but this new venture is entirely unlike those, for here his imagination has been given full sway and his flights of fancy are what gives to the book its great attractiveness. It has been said that a writer's style is soon recognized but we are slow to think that any one who has read "Fisherman's Luck" would attribute "The Blue Flower" to the same author.

Nine stories comprise this book, and they are full of beauty. The keynote of them is a short translation from the German of Novalis called "The Blue Flower." It is all in all "the story of the search for happiness, which is life," that runs through these nine stories. The book deserves all the popularity it has already won and all that may follow.

P. M. BIKLE.

Never before has the *Atlantic Monthly* offered such attractions as it does for 1903. It has certainly been with the greatest care that the arrangements have been made for giving to its readers such choice contributions. Arthur Sherburne Hardy, our Minister to Spain, will contribute the chief serial "Daphne, an Autumn Pastoral," by Margaret Sherwood will appear as a short serial. Under the title of "The Life of the American Citizen" the Atlantic will print a group of papers. Institutions as varied as the School, the Church, and the Stock Exchange, professions as far apart as the Law and that of the Trained Nurse, will be examined with a view to noting their effect upon the current experience and character of the American of to-day.

The first of these articles will be devoted to "The School" and will be written by President Eliot of Harvard.

Sir Leslie Stephen, formerly editor of the Cornhill Magazine, is expected to contribute a "Group of Reminiscent Papers" dealing with Englishmen of letters during the last half century.

John Townsend Trowbridge, one of the two surviving contributors to the first number of the Atlantic, has written his autobiography under the title of "My Own Story" and it will appear during the year in the Atlantic.

Mark Antony De Wolf Howe, author of "American Bookmen", will contribute a short series of papers. Among the leaders of American academic thought who will contribute during the coming year are: Woodrow Wilson, President of Princeton University, on "Ideals of the Republic"; Arthur W. Hadley, President of Yale University, on "Academic Freedom"; William De Witt Hyde, President of Bowdoin College, on "The New Ethics"; John Bascom, of Williams College, on "Changes in Fifty Years in College Life."

These are by no means all the attractive features that the *Atlantic Monthly* has to offer for 1903 and it promises to be the year which will even surpass all that we have had from this best of all American magazines.

P. M. BIKLE.

LUTHERAN PUBLICATION SOCIETY.

The Lutheran Pastor. By G. H. Gerberding D. D., Professor of Practical Theology in the Seminary of the Evangelical Lutheran Church, Chicago, Ill. Author of "The Way of Salvation in the Lutheran Church," "New Testament Conversions," etc. Pp. 462. Price \$2.25.

We heartily welcome this book. It is written by a Lutheran, from a Lutheran standpoint and for Lutheran pastors, though it may be read with equal profit by ministers of all Churches. It is especially adapted to the pastors of the Lutheran Church in this country because it unfolds and enforces the duties of the pastoral offices as these are suggested and conditioned by the life of the Church in a free land.

The discussion embraces a wide range of topics. It begins with "The Pastor's Office and Call," then takes up in order "The Pastor as a Man," "The Pastor's General Work," "The Pastor in the Sanctuary," and "The Pastor's Private Work," and ends with "The Pastor's Relation to Synod and Conference and his Vacation." These outlines afford ample scope for the introduction and consideration of all the varied duties and obligations that arise from the relation of pastor and people, and the presentation of them is clear, direct, and thorough.

We are especially pleased with the author's views regarding the "Inner or Preparatory Call." This call, he tells us, is not a mere preference or earnest desire for the profession of the ministry, but "a clear and heartfelt conviction, wrought by the Holy Ghost, that it is God's will that he should serve Him in his holy office." Of course this call is ratified when he is chosen by a congregation to be its pastor and is ordained. In Infant Baptism the questions are to be addressed to the parents and not to the child. The practice of having sponsors receives but scant encouragement, the parents themselves being regarded as the natural and proper guardians of the spiritual interests of the child. In the services of the Sanctuary preaching is the principal thing; the true order is observed and enjoined: The Word and the Sacraments, not the Sacraments and the Word. Moreover, throughout the entire volume the writer is constantly warning against formalism. He is keenly alive to the proneness of the human heart to substitute the punctilious performance of religious duties for religion itself, the observances of rites and ceremonies for a living faith in Christ. When speaking of Baptism, the Preparatory Service, the Holy Communion, he admonishes the pastor again and again to guard against their formal use by the people. All this is sound Lutheran teaching.

On page 325 the author speaks of our confirmed young people straying off to other denominations and the consequent losses which our Church is constantly sustaining. In seeking for the causes of this defection he says, among other things: "We believe that it lies in an unspiritual ministry. We have too much dead orthodoxy: too much lifeless formalism: too much mechanical and professional school-master work in the catechetical class." These are plain words. No doubt this long tried and divinely owned method of indoctrinating the young may be abused. The pastor may think the chief end of catechising has been attained when the catechism has been "learned," that is, when its contents have been memorised. Such a course develops

the memory, but it ignores the spiritual nature. The hungry heart is neglected, and when its famished cry can no longer be killed, there is a turning to other denominations for that which has been denied it in its own Church.

There are some things in this otherwise excellent work to which we cannot give our assent. On the subject of Evangelism Loehe's assertion that "the distinctive office of the New Testament evangelist was limited to the apostolic time" is quoted approvingly. To this the author adds: "It needs no argument to show that the modern, so-called, self-appointed evangelist is no successor to the bearer of this New Testament office and cannot claim him as a prototype." We beg leave to differ. It needs considerable argument to prove that every modern evangelist is doing an unscriptural work. If all evangelistic effort is wrong, then the Lord, we say it with reverence, made a mistake when he blessed the labors of Moody, and is making a mistake when he blesses the labors of evangelistic laymen in Germany to-day.

On page 330, the author, in speaking of the Holy Communion, says: "It is not the pastor's table—if it were he might do as he pleases with his own, but it is the Lord's table," to all of which we give our hearty assent. But when in the next sentence he inquires: "What right has he to invite anyone except on the conditions which the Lord himself lays down?" and makes this condition to consist in attendance upon a Preparatory Service, we ask, where in all the New Testament has the Lord laid down the condition that in order to come to his table one must first attend a Preparatory Service in a Lutheran church? Further on he quotes Mueller who says: "He (the pastor) has no right to narrow or change the Lord's conditions, which are repentance and faith," but the author surely cannot mean that repentance and faith are to be found and exercised only at a Preparatory Service? We believe in confession and absolution before communion, but we also accept what Luther says, "Although I do not force, yet I advise that they gladly confess before going to Sacrament. I, Doctor Martin, myself sometimes go without having confessed lest I lay a necessary custom on my conscience, yet I use confession and will not be deprived of it, chiefly on account of absolution which is the Word of God."

When describing the pastor's entrance into the chancel to commence the services, the author says, "Step slowly, be dignified, quiet and reverential in all your movements, deliberate, devout and distinct in utterance," all of which is good, wholesome advice. Then he adds, "offer silent prayer, standing with face towards the altar," We can understand why the pastor should be "dignified, devout and step slowly," but we do not understand and are not told why he should "face the altar," when offering silent prayer. Is there anything about the altar, or upon it or within it that he should face towards it? Is the altar in the Christian Church more sacred than the baptismal font or the pulpit or

the lectern? Is it unscriptural to face in any other direction? We wish the writer had enlightened us on this point.

But while we offer these criticisms, not in a spirit of fault-finding but because the points criticised are a defect and blemish, we nevertheless cordially commend the book and express the hope that it may find its way into the hands more especially of our theological students, to whom its faithful perusal will prove very profitable.

T. C. BILLHEIMER.

History of the Evangelical Lutheran Synod of North Carolina. In commemoration of the first century of its existence. By G. D. Bernheim, D.D., and George H. Cox, D.D. Pp. 191.

The North Carolina Synod has had such a conspicuous part in the planting and development of Lutheranism in the United States that its history is a matter of primary importance. It is now about completing its first century, having been organized in 1803, and it pursued a wise course in resolving to publish its own history as part of its centennial commemoration. It did a wise thing, too, in committing the work to Drs. Bernheim and Cox. They have done their work with conscientious care and the product before us ought to prove highly satisfactory, not only to the Synod but to the Church at large.

Starting with the early colonial history of the Lutheran Church in North Carolina, dating its beginning in 1747, the authors give an account of the life and labors of the first Lutheran ministers, and the causes that led to the organization of the Synod. We then find chapters on its confessional history; its territory and growth; the noted rupture of 1820; its license system; its connection with the general bodies; its educational work, Sunday-school work, missionary operations, and its attitude towards liturgical forms of service. Considerable space is given to sketches of all the congregations now in connection with the Synod. These sketches are followed by tabulated statements of the ministers that have been in connection with that body, its growth in the number of ministers, its parochial and financial reports, its officers and places of meeting, closing with a statistical table of the woman's missionary society.

It is a good work well done. We may say, also, that it is well printed, and shows that the publication house in Philadelphia can make a most creditable showing in comparison with the leading publishing houses of our country. Copies of this excellent and valuable work can be purchased from Rev. V. Y. Boozer, Salisbury, N. C.

P. M. BIKLE.

J. B. LIPPINCOTT COMPANY, PHILADELPHIA AND LONDON.

Four Princes, or the Growth of a Kingdom. A story of the Christian Church centered around four types. By James A. B. Scherer, Ph. D., Founder of the Evangelical Lutheran Mission in Japan, teacher in

the Theological Seminary of the United Synod, and pastor of St. Andrew's church, Charleston, S. C. Price, \$1.25 net. Pp. 276.

To the busy man who has the time only for an outline history of the Church this is the very book he wants. He will find it but an outline and yet comprehensive enough to give him a satisfactory story of the Church's planting and growth—a story made exceedingly fascinating by the manner of its telling. The facts are grouped around four concrete figures—Paul, Constantine, Bernard and Luther—the first standing for the seed time, the second (for a parallelism of Mark 4 : 26-28) representing the blade, the third the hidden ear, and the fourth the ripening corn. The author himself puts it so well in his "foreword" that we reproduce it :

"The first of them belonged to the apostolic age ; the second, to the fourth Christian century ; the third, to the middle ages ; and the last, to the Reformation. All of these belong to all time. The first was a scholar and an artisan ; the second an emperor and a warrior ; while the third and the last were monks. Considered nationally, they represent the four great racial influences that have successively given to the Church its human form: the first was a Jew, the second a Græco-Roman, the third a Franco-Italian, and the fourth a Teuton. Considered typically, they represent four of the most influential types among the workers of God's Kingdom,—Missionary, ruler, mystic, and reformer."

The method of treating church history in this way is a most happy one and Dr. Scherer has worked it successfully. Reading church history is suggestive of "dry" reading, but the reading of this book will be found full of fascinating interest. As a piece of literary composition, too, it is of the best grade—the author proving himself a master of perspicuous and expressive diction. Among the best books that have appeared for a year or more the "Four Princes" deserves, in our judgment, a pre-eminent place.

P. M. BIKLE.

LUTHERAN BOOK CONCERN, COLUMBUS, OHIO.

St. Paul, the great apostle to the Gentiles. By P. A. Peter, Evangelical Lutheran Minister, author of a History of the Reformation of the Sixteenth Century.

This Book consists of a series of letters supposed to have been written by Alexander of Damascus to his friend, Manasseh, in Alexandria relating the most important events in the life of St. Paul. The life, teachings and labors of the great apostle are set forth in this form in the belief that thereby the narrative will be made more life-like and realistic. The subject is divided into three periods—from Pentecost to Paul's conversion—from his conversion to his last Journey to Jerusalem and from that to his Martyrdom at Rome. Nineteen letters are

devoted to these three periods—six to the first, eight to the second and five to the third.

A full outline of the contents of these letters is given at the beginning of the book, covering eight pages. This analysis is in itself of great value as it not only enables the reader to find the place in the book where any particular subject is presented but also to take the facts and ideas that the author has furnished in the body of the work.

By comparing the book with the purpose expressed by the author in the preface it is very plain that he has fully accomplished what he set out to perform and has given us a great deal of most valuable information concerning the character, views and services of this most remarkable servant of Jesus Christ and has put that information into a form that the reading of it is easy and pleasant as well as instructive and edifying. Altogether we regard it as a very useful book and commend it heartily to all classes of readers.

E. HUBER.

B. W. HUEBSCH, 150 NASSAU ST., NEW YORK.

A Book of Meditations. By Edward Howard Griggs, with portrait of the author by Albert Stevens. Pp. 226.

In this book is comprised a series of short essays, some of the length of a paragraph, others of several pages. The range of subjects is broad and diverse.

The author calls these short articles "meditations." We think that the second person may call them essays; for out of the heart of nearly everyone the reader can pluck a definite topic—a central thought about which the author says something. To be sure, they are sometimes introspective; but their subjectiveness is of that sane and universal sort that may belong to any of us. According to the caption of these essays, they have been written at various times remote from each other and in all sorts of places, from Scranton, Pa., in the United States, to Assisi. They are critical, descriptive, moral, literary and occasionally religious. All have in them the poetical and artistic quality to such a striking degree that we might say that the constituency of the book would be a small and choice one. Yet Mr. Griggs' English is so clear and accurate, and his style so simple, his change of subject so frequent, that even a dull person may imagine that they see with his eyes and think his thoughts after him. We have said that Mr. Griggs' prose is poetical; yet his work suffers decided loss when it takes the form of poetry as it does in various places throughout the book. He is at his best in the fine prose style which seems natural to him. After all Mr. Griggs' thoughts are not lyrical in character, and perhaps the reader of this review can best judge of their rather original style by the following quotations. In a paragraph, written in Paris, he speaks thus of the Ministry of nature: "How remote are the high mountains from the activities of a great city! Where men are heaped together the

swarm of restless life absorbs one's attention and destroys the perspective of the spirit. It becomes necessary to go away from it all to feel the lifting power of the unshackled and serene nature-world.

The very absence of moral possibility in Nature makes her influence profoundly calming and uplifting to the spirit of man. The peace of the countless centuries of quiet and unconscious growth contrasts with the haste and sin and pain of human life.

There is thus a ministry of nature, the function of which increases steadily with the refining of life. One must ever go back to the great realities of human life, so we must return to our Nature-mother, who knows when her child would be charmed with the music of her myriad voices, and when, wearied with the glare and the stress of the pitiless day, he longs to rest his tired head in the sweet Lethe he finds on her breast."

Again we quote: "St. Francis is a rare example of a man living out his inspiration where it comes to him. Usually the prophet must go far away, that physical distance may make possible an appreciation of his greatness. Familiarity is an inseparable obstacle to giving a lofty message. No good comes out Nazereth, and Nazereth is always the place where we live. 'Why,' we say, 'we knew his father, what can this son of a carpenter know that we do not know; whence comes any unusual message from him?' And so God's miracles go on, unseen because of their very nearness.

It is to the remote we look for a revelation, while all the time it would speak to us from the eyes of those who are near us and would voice itself through the commonplace world in which we live. St. Francis is one great example of a life so utterly and consistently consecrated to a noble aim as to compel appreciation from those immediately about him."

Again he writes in London: "One should have the greater simplicity of physical habits combined with the largest flexibility. How hard the combination is to attain, and yet how important to a life at once sane and full! It is the same problem present everywhere in living—the problem of unstable equilibrium—of an adjustment that is ever in process and never crystallized."

But we could quote pages of valuable matter, some of it finely dramatic, always looked at directly with keen artistic eye and reverent attitude of mind and expressed with the simplicity and truth of the artist's speech. We have been particularly impressed with the few words on "Evolution," "Faith," "Duty," "From Night to Night," "The Alps." Any thoughtful person will enjoy this book. M. E. RICHARD.

PERRY MASON COMPANY, BOSTON.

The Youth's Companion. This excellent periodical for young people, so helpful and full of interest to them hitherto, gives promise of even better things for 1903. It will have six serial stories, each a

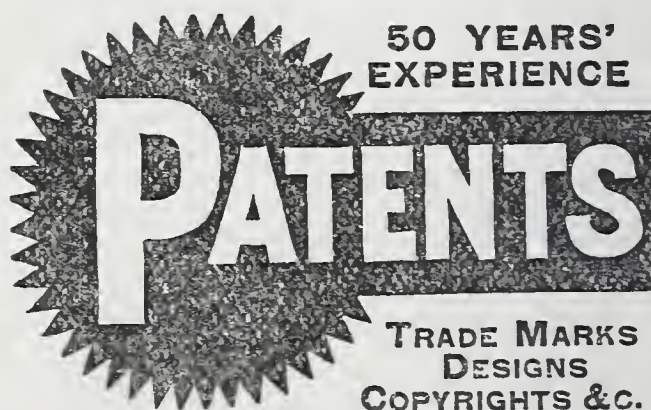
book in itself, reflecting American life in home, camp and field; fifty special articles contributed by famous men and women—travelers essayists, soldiers, sailors, statesmen and men of affairs; more than two hundred short stories by the best living story writers; and thousands of short notes on current events and discoveries in the field of science and industry, besides many thoughtful and timely editorial articles on important public and domestic questions. It is highly valuable too for its weekly summary of important news. Its weekly article on hygiene is of the utmost value for preserving the health of the household. It is a paper primarily for young people, but it has thousands of readers among those no longer young, and this because of its own merit. Well invested is the \$1 75 sent as the subscription price for one year to the *Youth's Companion*, 144 Berkeley street, Boston, Mass.

Lutheran Calendar. Published by the Luther League Review, P. O. Box 876, New York City. Price twenty-five cents.

A Calendar giving 365 notable dates which mark the founding of the many Lutheran enterprises and institutions in Foreign Missions, Home Missions, Inner Missions, Deaconess Works, Schools of Learning, Homes of Mercy, etc., in all parts of the world. Very valuable and instructive.

Der Zionsbote. Ein Christliche Volks-Kalendar. By the German Literary Board of the Lutheran Wartburg and Nebraska Synods. R. Neuman, Burlington, Ia. Pp. 104. Besides the usual matter belonging to almanacs this calendar contains illustrations of prominent Lutheran churches in the West. A number of devotional articles and the P. O. address of Lutheran Ministers.

T. C. BILLHEIMER.



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THE LUTHERAN QUARTERLY.

APRIL, 1903.



ARTICLE I.

OBLIGATIONS OF OTHER COMMUNIONS TO THE LUTHERAN CHURCH.

BY P. ANSTADT, D.D.

Luther did not intend to form a new church organization; he wanted only to reform the existing Romish Church in its doctrines and practices. Hence we speak of the *Reformation* of the 16th century. But Luther's work did result, under God, in the establishment of a new denomination, which claims to be the mother of Evangelical Protestantism, and embraces a membership of over sixty millions within its pale.

Neither did Luther wish this church, after its organization, to be called by his name, but simply *The Evangelical Church*, in contrast to the unevangelical Romish Church. But the Romanists call us *Lutherans*, in derision, out of hatred to Luther, and we are not ashamed of this name, as the early Christians also gloried in Christ's blessed name when they were first called so by the heathen at Antioch. We call ourselves *Evangelical Lutherans*; not only in distinction from the Romanists, but also from other fundamental errorists, such as the Socinians and Rationalists, who reject the doctrines of the Augsburg Confession; for when a church ceases to be evangelical it also ceases to be truly Lutheran. To the question, Under what obligations are other communions to the Lutheran Church? I reply:

1. *The world owes its civil and religious liberty to the Lutheran Reformation.* Before Luther's time the popes were both secular and spiritual rulers (as they vainly pretend to be yet); they claimed the right to exercise dominion over all rulers and countries in the whole world. They exercised the power and authority of crowning and deposing kings. One pope, after placing the crown on a certain king's head, immediately kicked it off again, to demonstrate his right and power to elevate and depose earthly rulers. King Henry IV, of Germany, was compelled to stand three days, barefoot, in the snow, in front of Pope Hildebrand's castle at Canossa, before he would admit him into his presence, or take the ban off his kingdom.

But how changed is the situation now! The pope has been deprived of his temporal possessions, the city of Rome is now the capital of the Kingdom of Italy, and the poor old man, Gregory XIII, bewails his lot as "The Prisoner in the Vatican." And now no ruler or government on earth, even where Roman Catholicism is the State religion, will admit that the pope has any right, power or authority in civil affairs.

The same holds true also in regard to religious liberty. Martin Luther, the little monk of Wittenberg, was the first who successfully defied the pope's power over the conscience, and was the instrument in the hand of God in restoring the liberty of the Gospel to the world. In 1517 he nailed his famous 95 Theses to the door of the castle church of Wittenberg, in which he denounced the sale of popish indulgences, and proclaimed the doctrine of justification by faith in Christ. The strokes of his hammer resounded through the civilized world; and when the pope sent his bull of excommunication against him, Luther took that bull (figuratively) by the horns, marched through the Elster-gate out of Wittenberg, at the head of the faculty and students of the University, built a bonfire and consigned that bull, together with the pope's decretals, to the flames.

This is what Michelet, a French Roman Catholic, writes in the preface of his book, *The Life of Luther*, p. vii: "Luther was in fact the restorer of liberty to the ages which followed his

era. He denied it in theory, indeed, but he established it in practice; if he did not absolutely create, he at least courageously signed his name to the great revolution, which legalized in Europe the right of free examination. To him it is due, in a great measure, that we in the present day exercise in its plenitude that first great right of the human understanding to which all the rest is annexed, and without which all the rest is naught. We cannot think, speak, write or read for a single moment without gratefully calling to mind this enormous benefit of intellectual enfranchisement. The very lines which I here trace, to whom do I owe it, that I am able to send them forth, if not to the Liberator of modern thought?"

But the world also owes its present spiritual elevation to Lutheranism. "At the time of the Reformation darkness covered the earth and gross darkness the people." Ignorance prevailed from the lower classes of the poor people up to the priests, bishops and even the popes. Charles V had a translation of the Augsburg Confession made into Italian, to send to the pope, because the Holy Father did not understand Latin. Melanchthon was sent on a tour of visitation in the Electorate of Saxony to ascertain the spiritual condition of the people. Beginning among the clergy, he found some of them who did not possess a single book; one did not know the Ten Commandments, much less the Apostles' Creed, and their life was a sink of moral pollution. But among the common people, Lord have mercy! They knew nothing of God; the commandments, only by hearsay. One peasant repeated the 4th commandment thus: "Thou shalt love *thy* father and *my* mother," The Lord's Prayer could seldom be repeated entirely by any of them. A young man whom Melanchthon asked, "On whom do we Christians believe?" replied, "On Abraham, Isaac and Jacob." To the question, "What is the name of him who has saved us?" the answer was given: "Pontius Pilate?"* (*Popular Life of Philip Melanchthon*).

**Nicholas Copernicus*, a cotemporary of Luther, (born in Prussia, Feb. 19, 1473; died June 11, 1543), discovered the Planetary System, according to which the earth and the planets revolve around the sun as their com-

Even the Romish Church has been benefitted by the Lutheran Reformation. Doctrinally, she is more corrupt and unscriptural now than ever before, as for instance, in the doctrine of the Infallibility of the Pope, and the Immaculate Conception of the Virgin Mary. But the people in the Romish Church do now enjoy more civil and religious liberty, intelligence and material prosperity than they did before and at the time of the Reformation, especially in those countries where Protestantism is predominant. Any one can easily convince himself of this by comparing the countries where Protestantism prevails with such lands as Spain or Italy, where the Reformation was hindered or crushed by persecution, or in our own new possessions of Porto Rico and the Philippines, or in Cuba, where Romanism has had undisputed sway for the last 400 years.

II. *To the Lutheran Reformation the world is indebted for an open Bible.* Luther had never seen an entire Bible, either in his father's house, or during his school years in Mansfeld, nor until he found a Latin copy in the University of Erfurth, chained to the floor of the library. The Bible is on the *Index*

mon center. He was either too modest or afraid to publish his book, and the manuscript still remains in the library of the Bishop of Ermland. It was printed after his death, which was well for him; for the learned-Galileo, professor at Pisa (born Feb., 1564, died 1642), developed the Copernican System still further, and published his immortal work on Astronomy, but was compelled to recant his error (?), yet whispered to himself: "It moveth still." But he was sentenced by the "Holy Inquisition" to three years' imprisonment, and required, once a week, to repeat the seven penitential Psalms of David. This occurred during the pontificate of Urban VIII, who was regarded as one of the learned popes.

The Theological Faculty of Paris declared, about this time, that religion would be destroyed if the study of Greek and Hebrew was allowed. The Mendicant Monks went to still greater extremes. One of them, the notorious Hochstraten, demanded that all Hebrew books should be burned. Conrad Hererbach, one of his followers, esteemed a worthy and honorable man, announced: "They have discovered a new language called Greek, against which we must be on our guard; she is *the* mother of all heresies. I see a book in the hands of many people, which they call *The New Testament*. It is a book full of thorns and poison. As regards the Hebrew, my dear brethren, it is certain that those who study it instantly become Jews" (*Viller's Influence of the Reformation*).

Expurgatorius—that is, the list of forbidden books. The Bible was then and is still, in the Romish Church, one of the prohibited books. The Papists teach that the common people do not need to read the Bible, but that the Church can teach them all that is necessary for them to know. But how different is it now! The Bible has been, since the Reformation, translated into more than 400 languages and dialects, and is scattered in many millions of copies among all the nations and peoples and kindreds of the earth, and can now be circulated freely not only in Protestant countries and heathen lands, but also in all Roman Catholic countries, such as France, Italy, Spain and Mexico. Yea, even in Rome itself the Bible is freely sold and given away without let or hindrance.

The Germans all over the world are indebted to Luther and Melancthon for the best translation of the Bible into their native tongue. Luther's translation of the Holy Scriptures has established the style of classic German over every part of the world where that grand language is now written or spoken. If a German Baptist, Mennonite or Tunker brother tells you he is opposed to an educated ministry, and that he preaches as the Spirit gives him utterance, ask him to look at the title page of his Bible, and there he can read: *Die Bibel, oder die ganze Heilige Schrift, des alten und neuen Testaments, nach Dr. Martin Luther's Uebersetzung*.^{*} If Luther and his associates had not been learned men, understanding the Greek and Hebrew languages, all German people, together with our Tunker brethren, would have had no Bible at all, nor any help "to speak as the Spirit gives them utterance."

III. *A number of Protestant Denominations are largely indebted to the Lutheran Church for their Doctrinal Confessions of Faith.* The Augsburg Confession is the mother Symbol from which most Evangelical Churches have derived their doctrinal teachings.

The Moravian Manual contains the following declaration of the faith of that denomination: "In common with the whole

^{*} The Bible, or the whole of the Holy Scriptures, according to Dr. Martin Luther's translation.

of Christendom it declares its adherence to the doctrines contained in the Apostles' Creed, and recognizes further that in the first twenty-one doctrinal articles of the *Augsburg Confession*, as being the first and most general confession of the Evangelical Church, the chief doctrines of the Christian faith are clearly and simply set forth."

The Thirty-nine Articles of the Church of England, as her confession of faith is called, were mainly taken from the Augsburg Confession. *The Dictionary of Church History of the Protestant Episcopal Church* gives the following information on this subject :

"A body of articles of religion was presented by Luther, Melanchthon and their associates to the German Diet at Augsburg, June 25, 1530, which is called the Augsburg Confession. The first part of the Augsburg Confession consisted of XXI articles. The English Church, by distinct convocational enactment, rejected the supremacy of the pope. This was the first decisive act which involved the English Church in the flood of the Reformation. Naturally the continental Reformers were conferred with, and a strong effort was made, in which both Henry VIII and Cranmer joined, to induce Lutherans, and especially Melanchthon, to meet and confer with the English Convocation. In the summer of 1538 a body of XIII articles was agreed upon, of which the following are the titles :

I. Of the Unity of God, and Trinity of Persons.

II. Of Original Sin.

III. Of the Two Natures in Christ.

IV. Of Justification.

V. Of the Church.

VI. Of Baptism.

VII. Of the Eucharist.

VIII. Of Penitence.

IX. Of the Use of the Sacraments.

X. Of Ministers and the Church.

XI. Of Ecclesiastical Rites.

XII. Of Things Civil.

XIII. Of the Resurrection of the Body, and the Last Judgment."

It will be seen from the above, that the titles of the Articles are taken almost literally from the Augsburg Confession, and the doctrines confessed in them are substantially the same.

IV. Perhaps no other denomination has received so much help from the Lutheran Church as the Methodists in their various branches. Methodism owes its very existence to the Lutheran Church. Without Luther's writings Methodism, humanly speaking, would have no existence on earth. John Wesley, the founder of Methodism, gratefully acknowledges Luther's Preface to St. Paul's Epistle to the Romans, which he heard read in a Moravian prayer-meeting in London, as the means, under God, of his conversion, and the assurance of his adoption as a child of God. From Luther Wesley learned what he had never known before, namely, the doctrine of justification by faith in Christ alone.

The Romish Church teaches the unscriptural doctrine of justification and salvation by works, but Luther proclaimed the doctrine of justification by faith, "the doctrine by which the Church must stand or fall."

V. Many denominations in this country have received some of their best preachers from the Lutheran Church. Peter Melchoir Muehlenberg, the eldest son of the Rev. Dr. Henry Melchoir Muehlenberg, the Patriarch of the American Lutheran Church, was ordained a priest of the Church of England, because as a Lutheran minister he could not be the pastor of a Lutheran Church in Woodstock, Virginia, where church and state were at that time united, and he was required to be a member of the Church of England and a loyal subject of king George III.

William Augustus Muehlenberg, a great grand-son of the Patriarch, author of those beautiful hymns, "I Would Not Live Alway," and "Saviour, Like a Shepherd Lead Me," left the Lutheran Church because he could not understand German preaching, and joined the Episcopal Church. He was ordained a priest by Bishop White, and became rector of an Episcopal

church in Lancaster, Pa. He died in New York City in 1877.

There are numerous ministers of Lutheran extraction in nearly all Protestant denominations, but most among the Methodists, United Brethren, and Evangelicals or Albrights. The principal reason for this is the ease with which young men can enter the ministry in those denominations. In our Lutheran Church a young man is required to take a full course in college and seminary before he can enter the ministry, which requires eight or ten years of the best part of his life, and the expenditure of one or two thousand dollars. But in any one of the above named churches he advances from a class-leader to an exhorter, local preacher, circuit rider, city pastor, or bishop.

A number of books on theology or church discipline are given him to read, on which he is annually examined until he is found qualified for ordination. In the meantime he is placed in charge of a mission station or a circuit at a small salary, and is thus at no pecuniary outlay for his education. I could name a number of instances where young men of Lutheran extraction have entered the ministry in the Methodist, United Brethren, and Albright churches, in this way, one or two of whom have, however, expressed to me their regrets, that they did not remain in the mother Church and enter her ministry. I could also tell of ministers who, after having spent some time as preachers in one or the other of the above named denominations, did return to the mother Church and labor in her ministry. It is due to state, that the above named denominations have now also established colleges of their own, and require higher literary qualifications from their candidates for the ministry than they did formerly.

VI. All Protestant denominations are more or less indebted to the Lutheran Church for some of the best lay members of their congregations. We have supplied them with some of the most valuable materials out of which they have built up their churches. For about 300 years large German Lutheran congregations have existed in London and other parts of Great Britain. Their descendants have been mostly absorbed by the Church of England. I do not know of a single English Luth-

eran Church in England, Scotland, Wales or Ireland. The late Queen Victoria was confirmed in a Lutheran Church in Germany, and the Queen of King Edward VII is also a Lutheran by birth and education. It would be difficult to give the exact number of European monarchs who have married Lutheran wives.

In our own country especially, has the Lutheran Church been a feeder of the other denominations for nearly 200 years. It was the insane policy of the early German pastors to discourage English preaching. Some declared, that "die reine Lehre," that is, the pure Lutheran doctrine, could be taught and perpetuated only in the German language. Some years ago a friend of mine, belonging to the Missouri Synod, told me that the German language would soon become "die Weltsprache," that is, the universal language of the world. "Don't you see," said he, "how they are studying German in all the schools and colleges?" But that dear brother has since had the good sense to begin English preaching in his own church, for his congregation would have died out with the demise of the old fathers and mothers, if he had not retained his young people by the introduction of English services.

If you will go through one of the grand Episcopal churches in New York, Philadelphia, Baltimore, or any other large city of our country, and read the labels on their pew doors, you will find a larger portion of them bearing German names. Thousands of German immigrants annually land upon our shores, the largest proportion of whom are Lutherans; if they and their descendants had been retained in the Lutheran Church, we would now be by far the largest Protestant denomination on the American continent.

And yet this suicidal policy is still pursued by some of our German pastors. Not very long ago I read in the church papers of an attempt to establish an English mission in South Brooklyn, N. Y. But objection was made to the planting of an English mission within three squares of a German Lutheran church.

A large number of our people have been proselyted in the

Methodist Church and its various branches. Particularly has the Evangelical or Albright denomination been built up out of Lutheran material. Jacob Albright, the founder of that denomination, was a pious, gifted, German Lutheran layman, in eastern Pennsylvania. It was during the period of Rationalism, before our General Synod, or the East Pennsylvania Synod, was organized, when piety was at a low ebb, when coldness and dead formalism prevailed, when there were no Sunday-schools, no prayer-meetings, and the few praying people in the Church were persecuted and derided with such epithets as "Pietisten," "Knierutcher," "Betschwester," etc. They were thus practically driven out of the Church, and compelled to seek a refuge where they could worship God without being molested or made afraid.

Such desertions occur only where the Church has degenerated into dead formalism, not where active, vital piety prevails. An Albright preacher once complained to the writer about the hardships he endured. He had four or five appointments, every winter he had to hold protracted meetings of several weeks' duration in each appointment. Overheated in the church or schoolhouse, he would often take cold on his way home in the winter nights. Many of the converts backslided during the following summer, and would have to be converted over the next winter. "But," said he, "when we get a Lutheran to our anxious bench who gets through, he *sticks*; he has been *catechised*." Wherever our Church is spiritually alive our members remain steadfast and do not desert us. I once remarked to the Episcopal rector here in York: "Your church is, I believe, one of the oldest in town, but you have only one small congregation, while we Lutherans have ten or eleven. How do you account for this?" He replied: "Our Church is largely composed of the descendants of the Germans, but the thick-headed Lutherans here now are so stubborn and bigotted that we can seldom get one of them to unite with the true Apostolic Church."

VII. We are still supplying other denominations in different parts of the country with some of their best members. A

writer in one of our own church papers makes the following statements :

"Our liturgists and high church Lutherans maintain that in order to retain the German immigrants in our Church we must imitate closely the forms and usages of the Fatherland; and yet I cannot reconcile this position with the fact, that thousands of our most devout people are gathered in by denominations the farthest removed from such usages. Why should some of the largest and most spiritual congregations in the cities be German and Swedish Methodist ?

"In an interview with an intelligent Swede of the Methodist Church, in Burlington, Iowa, I found the key to the situation. He declared that reaction against formalism, and a longing for spiritual life, had begun already in the old country, where the state imposed church membership as part of citizenship without spirituality. The result of which was a large predominance of formalism.

"In Sweden the demand for spirituality was championed by the distinguished reformer Waldenstrom, founder of the true Church of Sweden, who has been a member of the Swedish Parliament for nineteen years. He is called the second Luther, and is a persistent foe to all shams, civil or religious.

"The same is true of the missionary activities of the Methodists in Germany. Why do these proselytes leave their mother church and support an independent Methodist pastor, and yet by compulsion pay their tax to the State Church, if their souls had been fed with the true bread of life in the State Church ? My Swedish brother declared that thousands of foreign Lutherans come to this country to find religious liberty, and if they are to be taxed for religion they want more than shells.

"In regard to the ministry he made this alarming statement. That many of the pastors who are appointed by the State and educated in the universities where the professors are Rationalists, do not make any claims to true Christianity, but were Rationalists and unbelievers.

"My interviewer landed in New York twenty years ago, hoping to find the American Lutheran Church, but when he found

the formal, perfunctory Church of Europe with its drunkenness and Sabbath desecration he turned away from it, and became one of the organizers of what is now the largest Swedish Methodist Church in New York."

"*The Mission of the General Synod.* Shall not the General Synod, which stands for aggressive spiritual Lutheranism, and is 'not entangled with the yoke of bondage,' give these longing souls a place in its fold? While other branches of the Lutheran Church, which seem called to reproduce the European customs on American soil, may play their part in gathering the formal followers of Luther, let the General Synod fill her God-given place in supplying the spiritually minded with a congenial home. Instead of clamoring against other denominations for making mission material of them, let us send missionaries among them, who are full of the Holy Ghost, to supply not only their heads with orthodoxy, but feed their souls also with the true bread from heaven."

I have given this large extract from this writer's article, because I think it will be interesting and suggestive to my readers; but I presume they will not all entirely agree with him. I think he has taken an extreme view of the subject, and very much overstated the facts in the case. It is, indeed, deplorably true, that most of the professors in our German universities are Rationalists, but there are also a number of very learned and pious orthodox professors in those universities, whose lectures are more numerous attended by students of theology, than those of the Rationalists. There are also, it must be confessed, some unbelieving preachers in the German pulpits, which is one of the evil consequences of the union of church and state, where the civil power appoints the pastors and pays their salaries, but the people who are habitual church goers and communicants, as a rule, are pious and orthodox believers. But in this country we have, so far as I know, no rationalistic professors in any of our Lutheran colleges or seminaries, German or English. In truth there seems to be a rivalry, as to which of our institutions has the highest claim to orthodoxy. So also the pastors of our churches, both German and English, are orthodox and pious;

there is not a rationalistic preacher, so far as my knowledge extends, in any one of our Lutheran Synods, but there is rather a tendency towards ultra confessionalism. The only pulpits occupied by Rationalists are in the so-called Independent churches and synods and in the "Protestantischer Verein." And as regards the German people, whatever may be said about their drinking habits and Sabbath-desecration (and, indeed, our American English population have not much to boast of in this respect), those who go to church at all, are, as a rule, pious, believing Christians. Hence there is no reason why a German immigrant should forsake the Lutheran Church in this country, because of Rationalism among her ministers or the want of piety among her members.

Neither do I think that any German immigrants forsake the Lutheran Church on account of the forms of worship which they find in some of our churches, else why should so many of them be drawn to the Episcopal Church, where they find far more extended liturgical services than in any of our Lutheran churches? Indeed, a pious German Lutheran will naturally be glad to find the same forms of public worship here to which he has been accustomed in the Fatherland. It is not, therefore, on account of doctrinal or liturgical reasons why some Lutherans forsake the Church of their fathers; there are other reasons, a few of which I will briefly mention:

1. There are many nominal members in the Church who have been baptized and confirmed, but have never experienced a change of heart, nor live a truly Christian life. Some of these are attracted, perhaps by curiosity, into a Methodist revival meeting, convicted of sin, and find peace in believing in Christ. These will naturally unite with the church in which they have experienced that happy change.

2. Some worldly-minded Lutherans, having become prosperous and wealthy, are ambitious to rise into a higher social position or more fashionable society, than they enjoyed among their poorer Lutheran brethren, join an aristocratic Episcopal congregation, regardless of differences in doctrine or forms of public worship.

3. Many Lutherans are also lost to the Church by intermarriage with members of other denominations, though this rule also works both ways.

4. But our greatest loss at present results from our inability to supply our numerous membership scattered over the vast extent of the American continent. There are thousands of Lutherans, Germans, English and Scandinavians living in towns, villages and counties of the United States and Canada, where there is no Lutheran church, or where the preaching is in a language which they can understand. Consequently they unite with a congregation of some other evangelical denomination, in which they can enjoy the means of grace for themselves and their children. This condition of things is, however, taking a more favorable turn through the energetic operations of our Home Mission and Church Extension Boards, and we shall not have such large losses to mourn from this source as we have had in the past. The Lutheran Church in this country, notwithstanding her losses in the past, and whatever losses she may yet sustain in the future, is growing numerically faster than any other Christian denomination in the land. She is now numerically the third, and with her present rate of increase it will not be many years hence till she shall be, as regards the number of her communicants, the second or the first.

OUR OBLIGATIONS TO OTHER DENOMINATIONS.

It may now be asked: Are there no reciprocal obligations? Do we Lutherans owe nothing to other evangelical denominations? I reply, Yes, very much.

1. We owe the Moravians a debt of gratitude for their noble example of zeal for foreign missions. They excel all other denominations in this respect. They are the only church on earth that has more converts in the foreign field than members in their home churches.

2. The Presbyterians and Methodists have set us a bright example of liberality in their contributions for benevolent purposes. The Methodists have resolved to raise \$20,000,000 for education and mission purposes, to inaugurate their entrance

into the twentieth century. The whole of that amount has been secured.

3. We are indebted to other denominations for most of the English hymns we sing in our public worship. The most prolific writers of English hymns are Isaac Watts and the Wesley brothers. Watts was an English Dissenter and the Wesleys were Methodists. These and other devout writers of sister churches have furnished us Lutherans with our English hymns and spiritual songs, in which we pour out our souls in praise and thanksgiving to God. These psalms and hymns and spiritual songs, which all Protestant Evangelical Christians sing in their public worship, demonstrate the confession which we make every Lord's Day in our public worship. "I believe a holy Catholic Church; the communion of saints."

4. We are indebted to other denominations for our English church literature. No denomination on earth can boast of a literature so large in extent, so profound in learning, so Biblical and evangelical in doctrine, as the German Evangelical Lutheran Church. The German language contains the richest theological, exegetical, hymnological and devotional literature in the world. But when the transition from the German to the English language began in the American Lutheran Church, there was an almost total destitution of English Lutheran literature. Is it, therefore, any wonder that the ministers, who understood only the English language, and had to draw their help for the study of theology and the preparation of their sermons, entirely from English text-books of other denominations, were not thoroughly booked up in Lutheran doctrines and usages?

Dr. S. S. Schmucker was the first man who undertook to furnish English Lutheran candidates for the ministry with theological text-books. After having inaugurated his private theological seminary at Woodstock, Virginia, which was the nucleus of the seminary at Gettysburg, Pa., he translated *Storr and Flatt's Biblical Theology*. It was printed in Andover in two volumes, in 1826; a second edition was published in 1836, and a third edition reprinted in England in 1845. After he became

Professor of Theology in the Seminary at Gettysburg he wrote and published an English text-book for his students, entitled *Elements of Popular Theology*, with special reference to the Doctrines of the Reformation, as avowed before the Diet of Augsburg in 1530. It is based on the twenty-one doctrinal articles of the Augsburg Confession, and passed through eight editions. His book on *Psychology* or Mental Philosophy passed through three editions. Besides preparing a number of other smaller works of a theological and historical character, he also compiled the first *English Hymn-book* for the General Synod, and translated *Luther's Small Catechism* into English. Gradually other theological, exegetical, biographical, sermonic and devotional English Lutheran books have been published by a number of our most gifted writers, until we have now a respectable but yet far from an adequate supply for all who need English Lutheran books.

But alas, the efforts to supply our ministers and church members with good English Lutheran literature is still poorly appreciated and inadequately encouraged. Go into any English Lutheran pastor's study, and see what kind of books you will find standing on the shelves of his library, and you will see comparatively a very small number of Lutheran works intermingled with those of other denominations. The same observation holds true also in regard to the book cases in our Lutheran families and Sunday schools.

5. We are indebted to other denominations for the *International Sunday-school Lesson System*. This was introduced some 35 years ago by Mr. B. F. Jacobs, a Baptist, and Mr. D. L. Moody, a congregationalist. This system has been almost universally adopted by evangelical denominations, in this country and also to some extent in England, Germany and Australia. It has also been generally adopted in the Lutheran Sunday schools of this country, though some have changed the name and arranged the lesson series according to the church year; yet in principle or theory it is the same. I claim the distinction of having published the first International Sunday-school lesson helps in the Lutheran Church. My

Sunday School Teacher's Journal has now entered on its thirtieth year, and I published explanatory notes on the International Lessons several years preceding, in the *American Lutheran*.

6. We are indebted to other denominations for the *Christian Endeavor*, or young peoples societies, which are now generally introduced into our churches. Some of our brethren have, however, adopted another name for the same thing, selected a different set of topics, and call it the *Luther League*.

7. The transfer of church membership is not all from the Lutheran Church to other denominations. Some of the most eloquent preachers in our pulpits, yea, some professors in our colleges and seminaries, have come over to us from other communions, and some of our most devout and active church members, are of Scotch, Welsh and Irish extraction.

The Lord Jesus Christ has one holy Church Militant on earth, and one glorious Church Triumphant in heaven. The Sacramental Host on earth is divided into different companies—soldiers to fight her spiritual battles, and laborers to cultivate her vineyard. Each division has its appropriate work and field assigned. We believe the Lutheran Church has her field of labor assigned to her by the Lord, which no other denomination could cultivate so well as she can.

The rice-fields of Georgia are in the low lands which in the winter are overflowed with water. The owners of those fields go out in boats and "cast their bread upon the waters." The grains of rice sink down into the mud at the bottom. There can be no wooden fences there, so they build mud walls to divide one field from another, in order that each owner may know and cultivate the particular field which belongs to him. In the spring the water dries up. Standing on a neighboring hill, and looking down on the valley, one can see nothing but the black soil and the mud walls. By and by the grain springs up and covers the vale as with a carpet of green. But the mud walls are still seen as the dividing lines between the fields. In the course of time the grains grow up, and you can see only the waving, golden harvest, and the mud walls have disap-

peared. Then the reapers come and gather the precious grain from all the fields into one common storehouse, where you can not tell which part of the rice in the storehouse comes from this field or what part has come from another field, but all has been brought together into one common receptacle.

So the Christian Church on earth is divided into different denominations ; each has its appropriate field to work in, and there must be fences of doctrine and form to indicate the particular field which each one has to cultivate. But we must never build these walls of separation so high that we can not look over them, shake hands and say "Good morning."

But the harvest comes at the end of the world, the reapers are the angels, and the saints of all ages and nations and tongues will be gathered into the mansions of our Heavenly Father's house, where all denominational lines will be eliminated, and there will be one fold and one shepherd.

"Glory to God in the highest, and on earth peace, good will to men !"

ARTICLE II.

THE TWO REFORMATION THEOLOGIES.

BY PROFESSOR J. W. RICHARD, D.D.

Opportunity, inclination and a sense of professional duty, have combined to lead us to make a more extended study of Comparative Dogmatics and of Comparative Symbolics, than we have hitherto been able to make. The results of this more extended study are given in condensed form to the readers of THE LUTHERAN QUARTERLY with the hope of contributing something to a better understanding of those two very important theological disciplines. Our method will be objective and historical, rather than subjective and critical. We shall try in this series of essays to exhibit the leading and differentiating characteristics of the two prevalent theologies of the Reformation, and also the consequences that went down thence into the Confessions of the two great sister churches of the Reformation, the Lutheran and the Reformed; though it is far from our expectation to be able to reach and to enunciate conclusions that will prove satisfactory to all of our readers, and thus make an end of controversy. The subject is so vast, and so profound, and can be viewed from so many different standpoints, that it is unreasonable to expect absolute agreement in answer to the question, What are the *primordia* of Lutheranism and of Reformedism? We aim here to bring the most important facts to the attention of our readers, and will account it an adequate reward of labor to learn that we have stimulated any one to make independent investigations of the *origines* of the two theologies that have shaped the course of Protestantism. We begin by analyzing and exhibiting the contents of that most characteristic, and, perhaps, most influential, of all of Luther's monographs, namely, his *De Servo Arbitrio*, * published in

* Erlangen Edition of Luther's Works, *Op. Lat. Var. Arg.*, VII, pp. 116-386.

December, 1525—a book that has feet, hands and a tongue, that walks and fights and speaks to this day, and commands the attention alike of the philosopher and the theologian. He who has not read this book and mastered its contents, has not yet entered fully into the depths of Luther's theology, and is not prepared wisely to distinguish that which is temporary and collateral in Luther's theology from that which is perennial and essential.

The ostensible and negative purpose of this book is to annihilate Erasmus' *De Libero Arbitrio Diatribe sive Collatio*; its real and positive purpose is to show how salvation is applied to man. He who does not view the book from this double standpoint will not be able to understand it, and consequently will not be able to distinguish that which is primary in the book from that which is secondary. The reader must also comprehend the method of the author, which is that of the orator, who asserts rather than argues, and in this treatise revels in wit, sarcasm, irony, metaphor, raillery, denunciation, *argumentum ad hominem*, philosophy, psychology, *reductio ad absurdum*, and in every device known to logic and rhetoric, besides fervent appeals to the Scriptures, with vigorous and apt, sometimes profound, and sometimes fanciful interpretations of the same. But it is exactly this method, so full of paradoxes, so passionate, so abundant in metaphors, so ill-adjusted in some of the parts, that makes it the hardest of Luther's books to interpret, if you descend to *minutiae*, though it is easy to interpret when the chief purpose is kept in view.

We set forth the main thoughts under appropriate rubrics.

I. PREDESTINATION.

There can be no doubt that this book contains a strong element of Predestination. But equally certain is it that the subject of Predestination is not held before us as *a teaching of the divine word*, and as an object of study and investigation. To establish these propositions we quote at length: "But why some are touched by the law, and others are not touched, so that the former receive and the latter condemn the offered grace, is another question, and is not treated in this passage by

Ezekiel, who speaks of the proclaimed and offered mercy of God, and not of that secret and awful will of God who ordains by his own counsel whom and what kind of persons he wishes to become capable and participant of his proclaimed and offered mercy. This will of God is not the object of research, as it is by far the most venerable secret of the divine majesty, is reserved to himself alone and is prohibited to us more religiously than the Corycian caves to the countless multitude.

“When now Diatribe captiously inquires, whether the holy Lord bewails the death of his people which he himself has wrought in them—for such a thing seems perfectly absurd—I reply, as I have already done: We must argue in one way concerning God, or the will of God proclaimed, revealed, offered to us, and made an object of worship, and in another way concerning God not revealed, not proclaimed, not offered, not made an object of worship. In so far therefore as God hides himself, and wills not to be known by us, he is nothing to us. For here holds good that motto: What is above us is not for us” (p. 221).

“The will of majesty abandons and reprobates some purposely, that they may perish; but we must not inquire why he acts thus; but the God who has such power and wills such things must be revered” (p. 228).

These two passages taken together, do unquestionably teach a double predestination. There is no way by which their plain meaning can be evaded (see also p. 154). But this Predestination resides in the secret will of God. It is not a part of the divine revelation; and there is *not a line in this book* in which the author connects the *double Predestination with the revealed will of God*, or intimates that *it is taught in the Holy Scriptures*. On the contrary, as will be hereafter shown, it is taught that it is the will of God as expressed in the Scriptures that all men should be saved, and come to the knowledge of the truth. “It is enough for us to know that there is a secret will of God, but what, or why, or how far, it wills, this we are positively forbidden to inquire into, to seek, to care about, to touch, but only to fear and to adore” (p. 222).

And again: "Therefore God in his majesty and nature must be left, for in this relation we have nothing to do with him; nor in this relation does he wish anything to be transacted by us with him; but in so far as he is clothed in and set forth by his word, in which he offers himself to us, do we have to do with him, and that word is his glory and beauty, and as clothed in that word he is celebrated by the Psalmist" (p. 222). He blames Erasmus for failing, in his ignorance, "to distinguish between the proclaimed God and the hidden God, that is, between the word of God and God himself. God does many things which he does not reveal to us in his word, and many things that he does not show us by his word that he wills. Thus he does not will the death of the sinner according to his word, but he does will it by that inscrutable will. Now our business is to look to the word, and to let alone that inscrutable will; for who could have recourse to that absolutely inscrutable and incognoscible will?" (p. 222).

In this distinction between "the proclaimed God," and "the hidden God," that is, "between the word of God and God himself," we are brought to a clear understanding of Luther's doctrine of Predestination. It is "the hidden God" that works death, and does not seek to remove it. It is the will of "the hidden God" that does all things according to its good pleasure; and this is the God that "foreknows nothing contingently, but foresees, purposes and accomplishes everything by an unchangeable, eternal and infallible will" (p. 133). "Do you (Erasmus) believe that he (God) foreknows unwillingly, or wills ignorantly? If he foreknows willingly, his will is eternal and immutable (because it is his nature); if he wills foreknowingly, his knowledge is eternal and immutable (because it is his nature).

"Hence it follows irresistibly that all things we do, and all things that are done, though they seem to us to happen mutably and contingently, do nevertheless happen necessarily and immutably, if you have regard to the will of God. For the will of God is effective, and cannot be thwarted, since it is by nature the very potency of God" (p. 134).

To confirm this deterministic position he quotes approvingly

several of the most fatalistic passages from Virgil: "All things are fixed by law;" "a day is appointed for every one;" "if thou canst break the terrible fates;" "finally he subjects his immortal gods to fate, to which even Jupiter and Juno necessarily yield. Hence they have invented those three immutable, implacable, irrevocable Fates" (p. 136); and he declares that "the knowledge of the Divinity is not more surely resident in the common people than is the knowledge of the predestination and prescience of God" (p. 137), though he repudiates the Stoic necessity.

This of course is Determinism. Nothing else can be made out of it. Things may *seem* to happen contingently, but in reality they happen necessarily. That is, as over against "the hidden God," no creature has self-determination. True, the man who drives the lame horse, drives him badly, and the man who hews with the serrated hatchet, hews badly (p. 255); but the query irresistably arises, How did the horse become lame, and how did the hatchet become serrated, since everything happens immutably and necessarily according to the secret will of God? that is, the horse became lame and the hatchet serrated by the will of God. There is no escape from this conclusion when once the premises are conceded. "When God works in the wicked and through the wicked wickedness is done; nevertheless God cannot do evil, though he works wickedness through the wicked, because being himself good he cannot do wrong, though he uses wicked instruments, which cannot resist the impetus and impulse of his power" (p. 255). But how did man become wicked? Nothing happens contingently, but everything by the will of God. Luther repels the imputation that God is in any sense the author of sin, but he does it didactically and categorically, not logically from his universal affirmative, that "all things happen necessarily and immutably if you have regard to the will of God."

Now Luther did not mean to construct a Theodicy. Had he attempted to reconcile the sovereignty of God, a postulate of reason, with the freedom of man, a datum of consciousness, he doubtless would have sacrificed one horn of the dilemma to the other, and would probably have shown, even before Kant,

that between the phenomenal and the noumenal there is an impassable gulf. Indeed it is evident that he perceived the antinomy. Things *seem to us to happen contingently*. In reality they *happen necessarily*, according to the sovereign will of God. His purpose at this place in his argument is to assert this sovereign will of God. But the God who is here brought under consideration is "the hidden God," such as Luther had learned to know him through the Scholastics, some of whose nice distinctions he has again and again used.

II. THE GOD-IDEA.

That Luther was influenced in his doctrine of the Lord's Supper by the Nominalistic philosophy, was demonstrated by Rettberg, in *Theologische Studien und Kritiken*, 1839, pp. 69-136. We recall on the authority of Melanchthon that Luther knew Gabriel Biel and Peter D'Ailly almost by heart, and that "he read Occam long and much ; and preferred his acute reasoning to that of Thomas and Scotus."* We are prepared therefore to expect that the God-idea of the Venerable Inceptor and of the last of the Schoolmen should reappear when Luther comes to write about God. That it does reappear has been conclusively shown by Professor Ritschl in *Fahrbücher für Deutsche Theologie*, 1868, pp. 67 *et seqq*, according to whom "the hidden God, his majesty and nature, his essential will, his good pleasure, indicate how the individual person is regarded (*versehen*), and is brought by necessity to salvation or to damnation ; while the will of God revealed in Law and Gospel, in the Incarnation, in word and sacrament, contains on the contrary, the destination of the *whole human race* to salvation, the coming short of which by individuals, appears, under this point of view, as their own fault" (pp. 79, 80). We find that Köstlin expresses a like judgment as to the meaning of the distinction, "the hidden God" and "the proclaimed God." Writing about Luther's doctrine of "the absolute power or majesty of God" and of God's "substantial will," Köstlin says :

* C. R., VI, p. 159.

"Into this we are not to seek to penetrate. The will of love is mentioned only in connection with the proclaimed God. With the essential will is combined foreknowledge. What God wills with *this* will he has seen from eternity. This wisdom, might, etc., are simply inaccessible to reason.

"To this will, for us inaccessible, belong the reasons for the divine *commands*. Adam fell because he listened to Satan, who disputed as to why God had forbidden to eat the fruit of one tree. We must also regard the divine judgments as incomprehensible. Especially belong here the eternal substantial divine willing and knowing in so far as they have reference to the salvation which is bestowed upon individual persons. As in connection with the proclaimed God there is the hidden God, so in connection with the revealed will of God that all should be saved, there is also a secret Predestination."*

One has only to read this book carefully to perceive this antinomy in Luther's *Gottesidee*, or rather to perceive that he has at the same time two different conceptions of God. Following the one conception he concludes for Predestination. Following the other he concludes for the universal will of salvation. Back of "the proclaimed God" is "the hidden God." But as this "hidden God" is unsearchable, and can never be known as regards either his will or his nature, so he cannot be an object of practical interest. It is enough for us to know that there is such a God, and to know that he knows and wills all things eternally and unchangeably. We must reverence such a God, and the thought of such a God keeps us humble (p. 153); but we cannot make such a God the object of our confidence. In the matter of salvation from sin, he is to us as though he were not—not an abstraction to be sure, but a being shut up within himself. He is a postulate, an hypothesis, assumed to explain the order of the universe, and the vicissitudes of events. But postulates and hypotheses can have no final authority over the conscience in matters of duty, and cannot furnish a foundation for faith, since faith has to do with evidence, that is, with phenomena—"the proclaimed God," the word, the sacraments; the

* II, p. 316.

incarnation—and has no logical right to conclude from the phenomenal to the noumenal, or to say that because it finds God so and so in revelation, therefore he *must* be so and so in himself. Hence “the hidden God” cannot come into the purview of religious knowledge.

This principle Luther certainly knew, and on this principle he unquestionably acted, as is clearly shown by his doctrine of the means of grace, in which he points for the thousandth time to the *verbum vocale*, and to the *verbum visibile*, and will know no God except him who lay in the manger and hung on the cross. Whether he was conscious of the antinomy in his *Gottesidee*, or not, we do not know. But neither in this book, nor, so far as we have observed, in any other, has he sought to remove it. But we do know that he held that a thing may be true in theology, and at the same time false in philosophy, and *vice versa*. In 1539, in true Nominalistic style, as over against the Sorbonne, he declared that philosophy and theology are distinct.* “It is the province of philosophy to understand by means of the reason, and the province of theology to believe *supra omnem rationem*. Faith is not *bound and made* subject to the rules and terms of philosophy, but is free.” There is no reason to believe that he was not influenced by the same Nominalistic principle in 1525. Hence we may conclude that he was not oppressed by a sense of contradiction in his *Gottesidee*. The idea of “the hidden God” *ex vi termini* does not come from revelation, and cannot be a matter of experience. It must then be a postulate of reason. The logical deductions thence are true, that is, true for the reason, but they do not bind the faith, since that is free, and, as experience testifies, is related to phenomena, and believes *supra omnem rationem*. Hence while “the hidden God,” “*ordinans suo consilio*” (p. 221), appoints one to salvation, and another to damnation (p. 250), “the incarnate God is sent that he might will, might speak, might do, might suffer, might offer, for all men, all things that are necessary to salvation” (p. 228).

The author brings these two thoughts to immediate juxtaposition: “Thus we say, the holy God does not deplore the death

* *Disputationen*, pp. 491, *et seqq.*

of his people which he works in them, but he deplores the death which he finds in his people and takes pains to remove it. But this is what the proclaimed God does, that we may be saved by the removal of sin and death. 'For he sent his word and healed them.' But the God who is hidden in his majesty, neither deplores nor removes death, yet works life and death, and all things in all. For he has not limited himself by his word, but has reserved to himself freedom over all things" (page 222).

In this last sentence we have the gist of the matter. The proclaimed God, by entering into relations with Man, necessarily limits himself by his word, with which alone we have to do in ascertaining our relations to the divine will. The hidden God is free to do as he pleases, and we are not justified in attempting to ascend by means of a postulate to the knowledge of the absolute divine operations whether of grace or of wrath. We are bound by the *means of grace*, the only things that can meet over finite conditions, and our minds must be withdrawn from the realms of speculation. This two-fold thought is also brought out with great clearness: "I assert, as I have already done, that we must not dispute about that secret will of majesty; and human rashness, which by its constant perversity, leaves the things that are necessary, to attack and encounter it, must be called off and restrained, lest it occupy itself with prying into those secrets of majesty which it is impossible to touch, because, according to Paul, it dwells in light which no man can approach unto. But let her occupy herself with the Incarnate God, or as Paul says, with Jesus crucified, in whom are all the treasures of wisdom and knowledge. By him she will learn abundantly what she ought to know and what she ought not to know about the hidden God. Therefore the Incarnate God says: I would, but thou wouldst not. The Incarnate God, I say, was sent into the world that he might will, might speak, might do, might suffer, might offer to all men all things that are necessary for salvation, though he offends very many, who, either abandoned or hardened by that secret will of majesty, do not receive him who wills, speaks, does, offers; as John says: The light shineth in the darkness,

but the darkness comprehends it not; and again: He came unto his own and his own received him not" (pp. 227-8).

And to those who captiously ask why God does not operate by his Spirit without the spoken word, he replies: "It hath pleased God, not without the word, but through the word to give the Spirit, that he may have us as co-workers to sound without what he alone breathes within wheresoever it pleases him, which nevertheless he could do without the word, but does not will to do so. Who are we that we should search out the cause of the divine will, and this will we ought to reverence, love, and adore, and we ought to put a restraint upon the rashnesses of reason" (p. 236).

These quotations, which are typical of the entire discussion from about p. 220 to p. 240, show conclusively that Luther means to limit our knowledge of the way of salvation, and of God's will of salvation entirely to the sphere of the phenomenal. He will have nothing to do with the transcendental, except to know that it is, and to reverence it as a tremendous fact. Faith must fix herself on the *spoken* word, on "the proclaimed God," and reason must be restrained. If God in the exercise of his own good pleasure sees fit to elect some individuals to eternal life, and to reprobate others to eternal death, that is his affair. If he reveals himself in the Incarnation, and by his word calls all to salvation, and shows that he wills the salvation of all, then and there begins our responsibility; that is, as Luther says again and again, we have to do with "the proclaimed God." With God in his nature we have nothing to do.

Philosophy may seek to remove the antinomy in Luther's *Gottesidee*; or it may blame Luther for not seeking to remove it; or it may blame him for introducing two different conceptions of God in the same treatise. But Luther, like every other thinking man, was forced to enunciate certain postulates about Deity. Besides, postulates about the absoluteness of God had been furnished him by his antagonist, and he had found them abundant in the scholastic philosophy. Through these postulates he saw God active in all creatures, and as exercising sovereign sway over all things. In revelation he saw God imposing lim-

itations upon himself, and adapting himself to the sense of responsibility which is fixed in every rational creature, and without which neither morality nor religion could exist. In harmony with the philosophical principles which he had embraced, the two conceptions could stand side by side. Each might be true in its own sphere.

But inasmuch as his aim was wholly religious and not philosophical, it was both natural and logical for him to press "the hidden God" into the back-ground, and even to ignore him when he stood in the way of "the proclaimed God." And though Luther repressed Philosophy in this treatise—"the temerity of reason must be restrained"—yet he, consciously or unconsciously, proceeded in the way of Philosophy. Of God in his absoluteness, that is, shut off from all relations with us, we can know nothing, since we know all that we know in and by means of relations. Neither is it lawful for us to conclude from revelation, or from what we know of "the proclaimed God," that God is such and such in his real being, since we cannot pass, by the process of thought, from the phenomenal to the noumenal, so that by means of our knowledge of the phenomenal we can affirm that we know perfectly the essence of the thing of which the phenomenon is a manifestation. What is the essence of light, heat, color; of the beautiful, the virtuous, the good? What is the essence of spirit, or of matter? We can never answer these questions absolutely and finally, and this is shown by the whole history of speculative thought. Nor is it of any practical utility that we should know the essence of things, since our interests are entirely subserved by the phenomena. We may conclude, and indeed must conclude, that there is an essence from which phenomena arise, but we cannot conclude indisputably as to the thing in itself, or as to the essence of the thing. When we pass beyond the boundary line of the phenomenal, we proceed by means of postulates that may or may not be conceded. In other words we speculate and rationalize; but speculations, and the conclusions of the natural reason, cannot impose a positive norm for the understandings of men.

In religion we are brought face to face with the Infinite Spirit. But who knows, by the natural reason, what the Infinite is? Without any doubt it is necessary for us to postulate his existence, and to conceive somewhat about him; but these operations of the mind are intuitions, and intuitions are inadequate guides in matters of religion. In this sphere we need revelation; that is, according to Luther, the self-limitation of God; and for the very reason that revelation belongs to the phenomenal, we have no right to conclude thence in an apodeictic manner that we know what God is in himself. We *know* him only in so far as he has revealed himself. The conclusion is inevitable that the God whose existence for us rests on postulates and hypotheses, can have very little practical interest for us when the main question is, How can we appropriate the salvation that God has provided? It is enough for us to know, and it may indeed be necessary to our thought to know, that back of "the proclaimed God," is "the hidden God" with unchangeable purpose and will, but for faith there is need of something *positive*, a *verbum vocale*, a *verbum visibile*; and that a sense of such need enters organically into the practice, if not indeed into the very idea, of religion, is shown by the fact that every religion has its "proclaimed God," in stone, or in wood, or in sun, moon and stars, or in oracles, or in sacred books.

Now this is exactly the position taken by Luther, in this, the most original, most profound, and most paradoxical of all the productions of his great mind. "The hidden God" is a vast *terra incognita*, a vast, profound, awful entity, that must be revered and adored, but cannot be apprehended. On the contrary, "the proclaimed God," the *Deus revelatus et incarnatus*, can be known, apprehended and realized in experience. This is the God who "holds converse with us" (p. 221).

So much as regards Luther's *Gottesidee* as set forth in this book. We turn our attention now to his conception of man.

III. THE LIBERUM ARBITRIUM.

Now while on the one hand it is demonstrable that Luther

makes no *positive* use of "the hidden God" as a basis of hope, expectation and faith in the matter of salvation, it is demonstrable also, on the other hand, that he makes use of "the hidden God" in a negative and destructive way against the *Liberum Arbitrium*, which custom makes it necessary for us to translate Free-will. This "hidden God," or the secret will of divine majesty, is the dark back-ground against which Luther projects his refutation of Erasmus's doctrine of the *Liberum Arbitrium*; or it may be regarded as the necessary philosophical correlate of his own doctrine of the *Servum Arbitrium*. All that God does he does necessarily and unchangeably by an eternal and infallible will. This is the thunderbolt that utterly annihilates Free-will (p. 130).

The relation of human conduct to God's infallible and unchangeable will is stated in the following paragraph: "I could have wished that another and better word had been introduced in our discussions rather than the one that is used, namely Necessity, since this word is properly applicable neither to the will of God nor to the will of man. Its signification is not sufficiently agreeable and congruous in this place, since it suggests to the understanding a certain kind of compulsion, and that which is contrary to the will. Besides, our question does not require this. For the will, whether that of God or man, does what it does, not by any compulsion, but merely by freedom and desire, which are truly free. Yet the will of God is immutable and infallible, and governs our mutable will, as Boethius says: 'Remaining fixed, thou makest all things move'; and our will, wicked in the extreme, of itself is not able of itself to do good. Therefore let the mind of the reader supply what the word necessity does not express, and understand thereby the immutable will of God, and the impotence of our own wicked will" (pp. 134-5).*

Again: "It stands fixed, even by your own testimony that

*This paragraph is given in the margin of the Erlangen Edition. But it is found in the text of the Jena Edition of Luther's works, an edition that originated in the desire to have Luther's works in the most complete form.

we do all things by necessity, and nothing by Free-will, so long as the power of Free-will is nothing and does nothing and can do nothing in the absence of grace; unless you by a new use of terms mean perfection by the word efficacy, in the sense that Free-will is able to begin and to will, but cannot accomplish anything, which I do not believe" (p. 158).

These passages furnish fair illustrations of Luther's argument while reviewing Erasmus's Preface, and while he is arguing along philosophical lines, and before he has begun to prove his position "by the authority of the Holy Scripture," and before he has called in "the proclaimed God" and explained the relation of the human *voluntas* to the call of the Gospel.

And now what is *Liberum Arbitrium*, over against which Luther sets "the hidden God," and the will of the divine majesty? Erasmus had defined it as "the power of the human *voluntas* by which a person is able to apply himself to those things which lead to eternal salvation, or to turn himself away from them" (p. 188); or, as Luther says: "Free-will, according to Erasmus, is the power of the *voluntas*, which is able of itself to will or not to will the word and work of God by which it is led to those things which surpass its thought and sense" (p. 192). Luther denies that there is any such power in man. He says: "You might perhaps rightly attribute *arbitrium* to man, but to attribute *liberum arbitrium* in divine things is too much, because the term *liberum arbitrium* in the judgment of all persons is properly spoken of that which is able to do and does toward God whatsoever things it pleases, constrained by no law, by no commandment" (p. 188).

It will thus be seen that the subject of discussion is the human *arbitrium*, to which Luther denies the attribute *liberum*. Almost at the very beginning of his work he says "*liberum arbitrium esse merum mendacium*, which like the woman in the Gospel, the more it is treated by the physicians the worse it fares" (p. 119); "that watchword: *vis liberi arbitrii est, vis liberi arbitrii est*, is nothing but an empty sound and a noise of words" (p. 168); "Free-will is a title that belongs to God, and can belong to no one except to the divine majesty alone"

(p. 158); "I have already said that Free-will is a title that belongs to God. This no one has yet attributed to it except the Pelagians, not even the Sophists" (p. 192); "*liberum arbitrium nihil est*" (p. 272); "There can be no such thing as Free-will in man, or in angel, or in any creature" (p. 336).

In establishing these assertions Luther appeals first to the foreknowledge and predestination of God. His argument is that if God foreknows nothing contingently and does everything necessarily there is no place for Free-will. On this basis already he claims the victory, even before he advances to the Scriptures, and says: "Thus too I might have put an end to this whole question about Free-will, since even the testimony of my opponents is on my side, and there is no stronger proof than the confession and testimony of an adversary when he witnesses against himself. But since Paul commands us to stop the mouths of babblers, let us advance to the very cause itself" (p. 188).

He now proceeds to show that the texts quoted by Erasmus in support of Free-will prove that man has no power to apply himself to those things that lead to eternal salvation. He then shows that certain texts, as Exodus 9 and Malachi 1, the force of which Erasmus had evaded, are powerful testimonies against Free-will. He makes his appeal first to Paul, "who utters nothing but thunderbolts against Free-will" (p. 338); and then to John "who of himself is an abundant and powerful devastator of Free-will" (p. 351). The argument is at length summed up as follows: "If we believe it to be true that God foreknows and foreordains everything, and that his prescience and predestination can neither fail nor be hindered, and that nothing happens except by his will—a truth that reason herself is compelled to yield—then by the testimony of reason itself there can be no such thing as Free-will in man, or in angel or in any creature. Again: If all believe that Satan is perpetually plotting and fighting with all his might against the Kingdom of Christ, so that he does not let his captives of the human race go, unless he be driven out by divine power, then it is evident that there can be no such thing as Free-will.

“So again: If we believe that original sin has so ruined us as to cause the greatest trouble even to those who are led by the Spirit, through striving against the good, then it is clear that there is nothing left in vain man that can turn itself to the good, but only to the bad. Further: If the Jews, following righteousness with all their might, rushed the rather into unrighteousness, and the Gentiles following after impiety, by grace and contrary to hope have attained to righteousness; then again it is manifest that man by his own work and experience cannot, without grace, will anything except evil. Finally; If we believe that Christ redeemed men by his blood, we are forced to believe that the whole man was undone, otherwise we shall make Christ either superfluous or the Redeemer of the vilest part, which is blasphemous and sacrilegious” (p. 367).

From this summing-up appears what Luther meant by Free-will: It is the natural man, born in sin, blinded in his understanding, alienated in his affections from God, the bond-slave of Satan, so that he is not able to “will the word and work of God.” That is, he is not able to believe on Christ, and “not to believe on Christ is sin. But this sin is not as it were in the skin or in the hair, but in the reason itself and in the will.” (p. 363).

To Erasmus’s inquiry, Why have so many men of excellent understanding been blind on this subject? Luther makes the following reply: “They are blind with the praise and glory of Free-will, that that magnificently boasted power by which a man is able to apply himself to those things that belong to eternal salvation, by which seeing he sees not, and hearing he hears not, much less understands and seeks after them, may be made manifest. To this belongs what Christ, quoting Isaiah and the Evangelists, asserts: ‘Hearing ye shall hear and shall not understand; and seeing ye shall not see.’ What does this mean except that Free-will, or the human heart, is so trodden under foot by the power of Satan that unless it be miraculously raised up by the Spirit of God, it is not able to see or to hear those things that manifestly strike upon the eyes and ears—so great

is the misery and blindness of human nature" (p. 184). He also quotes Augustine as saying that "Free-will by its own strength cannot but fall, and has no power save to commit sins. On which account, says Augustine, it should be called Bond-will (*Servum Arbitrium*) rather than Free-will" (p. 193.) Hence as slaves we "all are compelled to sin ; that is, we will sin and wickedness, we speak sin and wickedness, we act sin and wickedness" (p. 199). "Original sin suffers not Free-will to do anything, save to sin and be damned" (p. 347).

Such being the nature of Free-will—a downright lie, a name without reality, *nihil*—there being no power in man by which he can apply himself to these things that lead to salvation, we do not wonder that he then should say : "It is not irreligious, then, nor curious, nor superfluous, but highly salutary and necessary for a Christian to know whether the will does anything or nothing in those things that appertain to salvation. Yea, indeed, this is the hinge of our disputation, the question at issue turns on this. The object of our discussion is to inquire what Free-will is able to do, what it suffers, how it is related to the Grace of God. If we be ignorant of this then we shall know nothing at all about Christianity, then shall we be worse than the heathen" (p. 131).

The conclusion reached is that Free-will, that is, the human power, can contribute nothing toward our salvation, and can merit nothing from God, and cannot render it condign that God should bestow his favor upon men. Hence we are made entirely dependent on divine grace to begin, to continue and to complete, the work of salvation. This conclusion brings out the positive or real object of this entire discussion. It is exactly what Luther had taught for years in opposition to the Semi-Pelagianism, and to the doctrine of work-righteousness, held in the Roman Catholic Church. It was the revival of a distinct feature of Augustinianism, and is exactly what Luther taught in the Small Catechism four years later : "I believe that I cannot by my own reason and strength believe in, or come to Jesus Christ my Lord ; but that the Holy Ghost has called me

by the Gospel, enlightened me through his gifts, sanctified and preserved me in the true faith"; and of Free-will it is taught in the eighteenth Article of the Confession: "Without the grace, assistance, and operation of the Holy Ghost, man is unable to become pleasing to God, or to fear God in heart, or to believe in him, or to cast innate evil out of his heart."

And as in the Catechism and Confession, so in the *De Servo Arbitrio*, the doctrine of Free-will is made the correlate of Free Grace, or rather of justification by faith alone, out of grace. For since man by his own powers can contribute absolutely nothing to "the word and work of God," it follows necessarily that his salvation must come from without. The *sola fide* has the *Servum Arbitrium* as its necessary preconception, for if Free-will can contribute anything, even the smallest particle, toward salvation, as Erasmus insisted, the *sola* would be excluded; and as proof of all this, Luther now, after quoting Rom. 3:21-25, brings in Paul's five thunderbolts: That the righteousness of God is perfectly distinct from the righteousness of the law; that whatever is not of faith is sin; that all have sinned; that all have come short of the glory of God; that the justified are justified freely (pp. 338 *et seqq.*)—which are united in one vast thunderbolt and hurled at the asserters of Free-will: "By the testimony of their own conscience, then, we prove that Free-will, because it is destitute of the glory of God, is guilty, with all its powers, desires and efforts, of the perpetual crime of unbelief.

"But what will these defenders of Freedom say of what follows: 'justified freely by his grace.' What is this 'freely?' How are effort and merit to be reconciled with gratuitous and freely bestowed righteousness? Perhaps they will say that they contribute the least particle to merit, not even the merit of condignity. But these words are destitute of meaning. For the very object of this search after Free-will is to make room for merits. But if there be no freedom of the will, where is there room for merits? If there is no room for merits, where is there room for rewards? To whom is it imputed if any one be justified without merits?" (p. 341).

Finally the argument is brought down to an alternative: "Thus since Christ is called the way and the life, and that by way of comparison, so that whatever is not Christ is not the way, but out of the way, not the truth but a lie, not life but death, it must follow that Free-will, since it is not Christ nor in Christ, dwells in error, falsehood and death. Whose then is that middle substance, that power of Free-will, which since it is not Christ, (that is, the way, the truth, and life) still is not necessarily error, falsehood and death? * * * Choose then which you will. If you concede that the Scriptures speak by the way of comparison, you can say nothing of Free-will, except that those things that are contrary to Christ, namely, error, death and Satan, reign in it. If you do not concede that they speak by way of comparison, you enervate the Scriptures, and accomplish nothing, and so do not prove that Christ is necessary. And thus while you establish Free-will you make Christ of none effect, and trample all Scripture under foot" (p. 356).

The real purpose then of this treatise is to establish the doctrine of man's moral impotence in the matter of salvation, and his absolute need of divine grace. The doctrine of Predestination is only incidental, and is introduced as a support of the main argument. It is by no means the central thought and does not receive a hundredth part of the attention that is bestowed on Free-will. Moreover, it is connected with "the hidden God," who dwells in the mysterious adytum of his own isolation, and controls all things according to his secret will—a necessary object of thought, but not an object of faith, for faith must have a medium, a ladder by which it can come to God, and as this medium cannot be furnished by the *Lib-erum Arbitrium*, God himself must open a way of access. This he does by giving his Son to be the way, the truth and the life. God cannot become man without ceasing to be God; and man cannot become God without ceasing to be man. But Deity can unite himself with humanity in such a way as to manifest himself to the world, and thus can become "the proclaimed God," over against whom stands

IV. THE HUMAN VOLUNTAS.

The *voluntas* is something entirely different from the *Liberum Arbitrium*. It is that innate power of the soul by which choices are formed. The proper objects of its activity are phenomena. It owes no final allegiance to the postulates and hypotheses of the reason. It must have facts and positive data—a revelation, a *thus saith the Lord*. Here responsibility begins, and here is laid the foundation of faith. *Credo in Deum Patrem*. “The hidden God” may be believed, but he cannot be believed in. He cannot lay a positive injunction on the *voluntas*. By the very supposition he is *supramandane*. In physical nature and in the human soul there is revelation of the *Divine*. Hence the obligations of natural religion. In the Incarnation the revelation is complete. God in Christ sets himself forth evidently before men. Hence the obligations imposed by revealed religion, and the possibility of perfect trust.

This is clearly the position of Luther in the *De Servo Arbitrio*. “The proclaimed God” is made the only object of faith, and the freedom of the *voluntas* is insisted on. The former proposition has been already established. As regards the freedom of the *voluntas* Luther declares that man “acts *sponte et libenti voluntate*” (p. 156). “We act *volentes et lubentes* in accordance with the nature of the *voluntas*, which if it were forced, would not be *voluntas*; for coercion is (so to speak) rather *noluntas*” (p. 157); “he (Pharaoh) was not forced *nolens*, but by the natural operation of God he is carried to an act of willing naturally” (p. 262); “God does not work in us without us. He hath created and preserved us that he might work in us, and that we might coöperate with him” (p. 317).

And as to the responsibility of the *voluntas* in accepting or rejecting the offered salvation, Luther utters no uncertain sound: “Rightly therefore is it said: If God does not will death, it must be imputed to our will that we perish. Rightly, I say, if you speak of the proclaimed God, for he wills that all men be saved, inasmuch as by the word of salvation he comes to

all, and it is the fault of the *voluntas*, which does not admit him. How often would I have gathered thy children, but ye would not, Matt. 23" (p. 222-3). After quoting Colossians 2:3, he says: "Therefore the Incarnate God says here: *Volui et tu noluisti*. The Incarnate God, I say, was sent into the world that he might will, might speak, might do, might suffer, might offer for all men all things that are necessary unto salvation" (227-8).

These quotations show conclusively that Luther held no theory of particularistic election when he came to treat of "the proclaimed God," and of the word of God. The Incarnate God offers salvation to all men. The responsibility of accepting or rejecting the offer, rests with the hearer himself. When Luther comes to the appropriation of redemption, he enters the realm of the phenomenal, and inculcates the facts of experience. The *voluntas* is free—not free in the abstract or formal sense, since "neither God, nor Satan, allows a mere abstract power to will in us" (p. 199); "a pure dialectical figment" (*ibid.*)—but free in the material sense as over against a content of the good or of the bad. This *voluntas* is in a state of conscious activity, and not in a state of mere passivity. It both acts and suffers. It is laid hold of by divine grace, and lays hold of divine grace; so that every Christian has this antinomy in his own experience: He knows that God has given him faith, and he knows that he has believed on Christ. The two facts stand together harmoniously in the Christian experience, but they cannot be reconciled by the categories of science. They stand together, however, in such a way that faith, the subjective factor for the appropriation of salvation, a conscious personal act, is nevertheless referred back to divine grace. The appropriation of salvation and the application of the same are correlates. Divine grace is exclusive, but it is also inclusive. It excludes all merits, but it includes faith, and has no meaning except as it stands correlated to faith, and faith is impossible without the human *voluntas*. All this is involved in Luther's premises, since "God does not work in us without us" (p. 317); neither

is it contradicted by his own blessed experience: "But now, since God has taken my salvation away from my *arbitrium* and has received it with his own, and has promised to save me not by my own work and running, but by his grace and mercy, I am at ease and certain that he, since he is faithful, will not lie to me, and because he is powerful and great no devils and no adversities can overcome him, or can pluck me away from him" (p. 362-3). Salvation is wholly of grace, the human *arbitrium* can contribute nothing toward it; but when we speak of "the proclaimed God," "it must be imputed to our *voluntas* if we perish" (p. 222).

Thus have we analyzed this epoch-making book, and have exhibited its contents. We have found that its Determinism is incidental and collateral, not central and essential, and that its strong element of Predestination, which is correlated with "the hidden God," and is completely nullified by the emphasis laid on the proclaimed God," and on the divine word and by the complete vindication of the material freedom of the human *voluntas*. We have not sought to remove the paradoxes of the book, but to exhibit its chief purpose, which is to show that the salvation of man is taken completely out of his own hands, and is placed in the hand of God, who has made provision for the salvation of all. It is this its chief purpose that gives the book its perennial value, and that doubtless led Luther to say in 1537 that he did not wish it to be destroyed. It contains "the heart of the subject, the head of the cause," "the hinge of the matters in dispute" between Luther and his antagonists (p. 367). As against the Pelagianizing teaching of the times it sets forth the doctrine of salvation by grace more fully and elaborately than had hitherto been done, and brings out those views of "the proclaimed God," and of the means of grace which Luther magnifies as the years roll on.

But the book is a difficult one. Like him whom it seeks to glorify it is a sign to be spoken against. Not even Lutherans have agreed perfectly as to its real meaning. The theological Faculty of Rostock in 1595 declared that Luther spoke very

Calvinistically in this book. The great majority of the Dogmaticians, including such men as Chemnitz, Gerhard, Calovius and Loescher, have excused the predestinarianism of the book on the ground that the light of evangelical knowledge had not yet fully dawned on Luther. Some few have declared that there is nothing erroneous in the book, if only it be taken in Luther's sense. It is easy to justify all these views, for each expresses a part of the truth. But a very comprehensive view is that expressed by Dr. F. A. Philippi, of Rostock († 1882):

“The Reformation, which arose in opposition to the Romish Semi-Pelagianism, and did not proceed accidentally from the Order of Augustine, in the doctrine of sin and grace naturally went back to the correct principles of Augustinism, to the complete bondage of the will through sin, and to the alone-activity of divine grace in the work of conversion. At first the doctrine of Predestination fell comparatively into the back-ground. But when Erasmus in his book *De Libero Arbitrio* directed his attack upon the vital principle of the Reformation, and sought to bring the Church of God to reject the fundamental doctrine of the Reformation, and to return to the Romish Semi-Pelagianism, and in addition treated the absolute Predestination as a necessary consequence of the Augustinian doctrine of sin and grace, and held it up as a bugbear; then Luther, for the purpose of securing the evangelical basis of salvation, made a truly gigantic attack on this theological dwarf, in his book *De Servo Arbitrio*, and did not shrink from drawing also the inferences from his position, and accepted with an over-bold defiance of faith, on the one hand, from the premise of the bondage of the will, the theological deduction of an unconditional predestination; and on the other hand, from the premise of the unconditional omnipotence and eternal foreknowledge, the speculative conclusion of the bondage of the will. But Luther merely accepted the position offered him by his antagonist, and for the moment only allowed himself to be carried by opposition beyond the goal. In reality he sought rather to establish a basis than to draw a conclusion. And then both in his doctrine of justifi-

cation, and in the central position which it assumed for him, and in his doctrine of the means of grace, then already, and as time went on, more and more there was shown an irreconcilable opposition to the doctrine of absolute Predestination, whereby it was bound to be fully overcome. Therefore Luther not only never afterwards repeated this doctrine, but in reality taught the very opposite in his unequivocal proclamation of the universality of the divine grace, and of the all-sufficiency of the merits of Christ, and of the universal operation of the means of grace, and he even controverted this doctrine expressly as erroneous, and by his corrections took back his earlier utterances on this subject."*

Two things may yet be said: The Lutheran Church has not endorsed and adopted the doctrine of Predestination set forth in this book. More and more did Luther drift away from the predestinarian position taken in this book, and emphasized, the longer the name, "the proclaimed God," the offer of salvation to all men, and the potency of the means of grace.

Leaving the consideration of the former proposition for a future occasion, we proceed to establish the second one.

V. THE PROCLAIMED GOD AND THE MEANS OF GRACE.

In the Commentary on Galatians (1535) Luther lays it down as "a rule to be observed that men ought to abstain from curious searching of God's majesty," and says: "You have oftentimes heard of me how it is a rule and principle in the Scriptures diligently to be observed that we must abstain from curious searching of God's majesty, which is intolerable to man's body, and much more so to his mind." He says it is the Pope, the Turk, the Jew, who remove Christ out of sight and speak only of God. "But the true Christian theology (as I often warn) does not bring in God in his majesty, as Moses and other doctrines do, nor does it bid us pry into the nature of God, but to know his will as set forth in Christ, whom he would have

* *Glaubenslehre*, 2 ed., 4, 1, p. 37.

become incarnate, be born, die, on account of our sins, and that this should be preached to all nations. For seeing that the world by wisdom knew not God in wisdom, it pleased him by the foolishness of preaching to save them that believe. Wherefore nothing is more perilous, when struggling with God against law, sin, death, than by our speculations to wander in heaven and contemplate God in his incomprehensible power, wisdom and majesty, as to how he created and governs the world. * * For as in his own nature God is incomprehensible and infinite, so is he intolerable to human nature. * * * Therefore begin where Christ began, namely, in the womb of the Virgin, in the manger, at his mother's breasts. For to this end he came down, was born, conversed with men, suffered, was crucified, died, that by all methods, he might set himself forth before our eyes, and fix upon himself the eyes of our hearts, that in this way he might keep us from ascending into heaven and from speculating about his majesty."*

Let us now see how carefully Luther observed his "rule." In 1528 he wrote to a person who was disturbed on the subject of election, as follows: "Though God knows all things, and though all works and thoughts in all creatures take place according to the decree of his will, yet it is his earnest will, purpose, intention and command, resolved on from eternity to save all men, and to make them partakers of everlasting joy, as is distinctly set forth in Eze. 18:23, where it is said: *God wills not the death of the sinner, but that he should turn and live.* He wills to save sinners, living and moving everywhere under the wide high heavens. Do not by your foolish thoughts inspired by the devil, cut yourself off from the grace of God. For from the rising to the setting of the sun, from midday to midnight, he extends his grace, and overshadows all who turn and truly repent, and desire to be made partakers of his mercy: *For he is rich unto all who call upon him,* Rom. 10:23. But to this corresponds a right, true faith, which expels fear and doubt as to what is our righteousness, as in Rom. 8:22, it is written:

* *Comm. ad Gal.* I, 46-9. See English Translation, pp. 42 et seqq.

The righteousness through faith in Jesus Christ who is unto all and upon all. Mark these words: *in omnes, super omnes*, and see if you do not belong to the number of those embraced in the category of sinners.”*

With like emphasis and to the same purpose Luther speaks in his *Lectures* on the CXXX Psalm (1531-3): “Often and gladly do I insist that outside of Christ you shut your eyes and ears, and say that you know no God except him who was on the bosom of Mary, and sucked her breasts. Where Jesus Christ is that God, there is God entire, there is the entire Trinity, there the Father and there the Holy Ghost are found. Apart from this Christ God is nowhere and is not found. I have known many monks, who, because they thought God could be apprehended by human speculations, fell into the greatest dangers; and had not God by special favor delivered me from the same temptation, I had rushed headlong into ruin. It is profitable for life to be made careful by the dangers of others.

“But though the prophet, as I have said, makes no distinct mention of the temple, yet you will see how he brings in the promise about Christ. For the argument of the Psalm is that there is no salvation, no grace, no righteousness, except in the God who remits sins and pardons. Is there any God except him who has said: ‘The seed of the woman shall bruise the serpent’s head?’ Hence he means God the promissor, and thus shows the Christ who is promised by the Father to be a sacrifice for the sins of the world, and treats the principal subject, namely, that of the righteousness of Christ.”†

In his *Commentary on Genesis* (1536-45) he writes: “The Jews also had representations by which God showed himself to them—the mercy-seat, the tabernacle, the pillars of cloud and fire, etc. ‘No man shall see God and live,’ as he says in Exodus (33:20). Therefore he presents a picture of himself, for thus he shows himself to us, that we may be able to lay hold on him. In the New Testament we have baptism, the Lord’s Supper, absolution and the ministry of the Word.

* *Briefe*, III, 355, 6.

† *Ex. Op. Lat*, 20:180.

"These are, as the Scholastics say, the *voluntas signi* (the revealed will), upon which we must look when we would know the will of God. The other is the *voluntas beneplaciti*, the substantial will of God, or the naked majesty which is God himself. From this the eyes must be removed; for it cannot be apprehended, since in God there is nothing but divinity, and the substance of God is his infinite wisdom and his infinite power. These are simply inaccessible to reason. What God willed by this *voluntas beneplaciti* he saw from eternity.

"We must not seek to inquire into this substantial and divine will, but must simply abstain from it, for it is inscrutable, and God does not wish to set it forth in this life. This he wishes to exhibit by means of certain institutions, as Baptism, the Word, the Sacrament of the Supper. These are the portraits of God, and the *voluntas signi*, through which God treats with us according to our understanding. Therefore we must look only upon these. The *voluntas beneplaciti* must be simply dismissed, unless there be a Moses or a David or some like perfect man, although even these looked upon the *voluntas beneplaciti* in such a way as never to turn their eyes from the *voluntas signi*.

"But the *voluntas signi* is the work of God when he comes to us outwardly, and treats with us through some sign, and through external things, which we can lay hold on, as the word of God and ceremonies instituted by himself. This *voluntas* we do not speak of as omnipotent, though by the Commandments God enjoins what he wills to be done, though it is not done. Thus Christ instituted the Supper that our confidence in mercy might be strengthened, though many receive it unto judgment, that is, without faith.

"But I return to Moses. He says, that God saw the wickedness of man and repented. This is explained by the Scholastics as follows: He sees and repents, namely, *voluntate signi non beneplaciti, sue substantiali voluntate*. We say that Noah's heart was moved by the Holy Ghost so that he knew that God was angry with man, and meant to destroy him. This explanation can be understood, and it does not carry us into those disquisitions about this absolute power or the majesty of God,

which are exceedingly perilous, as I have observed in the case of many persons. In the first place such spirits are inflated by the Devil, so as to think they have the Holy Ghost; and they neglect the word, yea, even blaspheme it and boast of nothing except the spirit and visions.

"This is the first step in the direction of error, when men, leaving the inclosed and incarnate God, run after the absolute God (*nudum Deum*). Afterwards when the hour of judgment comes, and they experience the anger of God, and God judges and tries their hearts, then the Devil ceases to support them. Hence they despair and die. For they walk in the open sun, and reject the shade that protects them from the heat (Isa. 4:6).

"Therefore let no one meditate on the abstract divinity, but flee such cogitations, as hell and as the veriest temptations of Satan. But let each one of us take care to abide by those signs, by which God himself reveals himself to us in his Son born of the Virgin Mary, lying among the beasts in the manger, in the word, in Baptism, in the Lord's Supper, in absolution. For in these representations we see and find God, whom we can hear, who comforts us, gives us hope, and saves us. Other cogitations, those *de voluntate beneplaciti*, or those about the substantial and eternal will, kill and damn."*

Again: Writing about the election of eight persons to be saved in the ark, and of the subsequent "reprobation" of Ham, he says: "Here the Sophists dispute about election, which takes place according to the secret purpose of God. But I have often admonished that we must abstain from speculations about the absolute majesty; for as it is impossible that these should be true, so also are they by no means salutary. Rather must we think of God as he has offered himself to us in the word, and in the sacraments. Nor must we refer cases of this kind to the secret election, by which God arranges all things with himself from eternity. For this (secret election) we cannot

* *Ex. Op. Lat.*, II. 172 et seqq.

comprehend with the mind, and we see that it conflicts with the revealed will of God.”*

Thus we see that in teaching and in preaching, Luther connects salvation *exclusively* with the *revealed* will of God, and repudiates “the secret election” of God as an empirical factor in man’s salvation; he also refuses to know any will of God except the one that has been set forth in word and sacrament, which offer salvation to all. He even declares in this same connection that “they who pursue such sublime things about election according to the purpose of God, pervert souls and drive them to despair.”

Also: “To these (Epicurean) thoughts we must oppose a true and firm knowledge of Christ, as I have often warned that it is in the highest sense useful and necessary that we have a sure knowledge of God, and that it be firmly grasped by our minds; otherwise our faith will be in vain. For if God stand not by his promise, then is it all over with our salvation. On the contrary, it is our comfort, that, though we fear, we flee for refuge to him who changes not, for so he declares in regard to himself: Malachi, 3:6: ‘I am God. I change not;’ Rom. 11:29: ‘The gifts and calling of God.’ Hence in the pamphlet *De Servo Arbitrio*, and elsewhere, I have shown that a distinction must be made when treating of the knowledge of God, or rather of the subject of Divinity. For we must discourse either about the hidden God, or about the proclaimed God. In regard to God, in so far as he is not revealed, there is no faith, no knowledge, no conception of God. Therefore we hold on to the proverb: *The things that are above us are not for us*. For the thoughts that explore what lies above and beyond the revelation of God, are absolutely diabolical, and serve chiefly to bring us headlong to ruin, because they present an object that is past finding out, namely, the unrevealed God. Rather therefore let God retain his decrees and mysteries in secret. There is no reason why we should try greatly to have them revealed to us.”†

* *Ex. Op. Lat.*, 2 : 205.

† *Ex. Op. Lat.*, 6 : 292-3.

These quotations show the true Luther, and weigh as a hundred to one against the few references to Predestination that appear in his works. The emphasis is uniformly and persistently laid on "the proclaimed God," on God's earnest purpose to save all men, on the universal availability of the means of grace, and on man's responsibility with reference to the revealed will of God. We have not found a place in which Luther teaches that secret election is a doctrine of the Divine Word; or that men are warranted in putting their trust in "the hidden God" or in the secret purpose of God. On the contrary, he never wearies of insisting that all looking to "the hidden God" and his secret election, utterly invalidates the means of grace and renders faith impossible, since faith must attach itself to a sign, to a promise, to the revealed God.

And so deeply have these thoughts and principles become imbedded in the very heart of Luther's conception of the way of salvation, that they return for the thousandth time, and consequently render the doctrine of absolute Predestination and secret election *ex beneplacito Dei* impossible for him as a working factor in the economy of redemption. It is true that he cannot always be reconciled with himself; as for instance, when he says: "Though God knows all things, and though all works and thoughts in all creatures must occur according to the decree of his will, yet it is his earnest will, purpose and command, resolved on from eternity, to save all men and make them partakers of eternal joy." We are concerned only with the fact, and we have yet to find a single passage in which Luther ever called Predestination "the article of a standing or falling church;" or "the head and corner-stone which alone begets, nourishes, edifies, preserves and defends the Church, and without which the Church could not exist a single hour," or declared that out of Predestination "flow all other doctrines," or that it "is the sum of the entire Christian doctrine." Luther wrote no dissertation on Predestination, and has left us no sermons on the subject. He did not say a word about it in his Greater Confession, nor in the Schmalkald Articles. But justification by faith alone formed the very warp and woof of all that he preached

and wrote, so that if we should abstract from his sermons, and from his writings, all that he preached and wrote on that subject, the remainder would be an unintelligible jargon, and would exhibit their author as a man destitute of a definite idea about salvation, and would utterly fail to furnish a principle for the Lutheran Reformation, or a motive for the most important evangelical work since the days of the great Apostle to the Gentiles.

Indeed we do not see how it would have been possible for Luther to exalt this doctrine more than he did. Hear him once more in his own words. *Articulus iustificationis est magister et princeps, dominus, rector et iudex super omnia genera doctrinarum, qui conservat et gubernat omnem doctrinam ecclesiasticam et erigit conscientiam nostram coram Deo. Sine hoc articulo mundus et plane mors et tenebrae. Quia nullus est error tam parvus, tam ineptus et insultus, qui non summe placeat rationi humanae et nos seducat, si sine cognitione et meditatione huius articuli sumus. Ideo quia mundus ita crassus est et haebes, necessarium est hunc articulum saepissime tractare et habere maxime cognitum, praesertim si ecclesiis voluerimus consulare. Nihil mali timebimus, si sic in articulo isto discendo plurimum operis ac diligenter posuerimus, plurimum laboraverimus. Quia animus stabilitus et firmatus hac certa cognitione potest in omnibus aliis articulis persistere. Ergo res non est parva et inanis, sed gravis, praesertim his, qui volunt stare in acie et pugnare contra diabolum, peccatum et mortem, et docere ecclesias.**

With such antecedents, it is not a matter of wonder that standard Lutheran teachers speak of Justification as "the eternal principle of Christianity ;" "the chief doctrine of our Church ;" "the material principle," and affirm that no other Church holds that doctrine as the Lutheran Church does, that is, has made it the genetic principle of its system of doctrine, and has sought to reconcile every other doctrine with this principle. As Luther found life and salvation by free justification, and

* Drews *Luther's Disputationen*, p. 119.

learned of free justification through the word, so he came to know God not as "the hidden God," but as "the God clothed in and proclaimed by his word." The Augustinian inculcation of Predestination remained in his head as a reminiscence, but the Pauline principle of justification reigned and ruled in his heart as an experience. Indeed there were two men in Luther. There was the disciple of Augustine, and there was the disciple of Paul. Not infrequently these two were opposed each to the other. The disciple of Augustine never ceased to contend against the disciple of Paul. But evermore did the disciple of Paul triumph, and as Luther grew older, and searched deeper into the divine word, and learned more of *Christus hujus justitiæ fons et origo*,* the disciple of Augustine grew dumb, and the disciple of Paul exclaimed: "In my heart this article reigns, even the faith of Christ, from whom, by whom and unto whom my divine studies, day and night, have recourse to and fro continually, for if this article be lost, then is also the doctrine of truth, life, and salvation lost and gone."†

And as proof that as Luther grew older the doctrine of Justification, and of Christ "the almighty, eternal God," did reign and rule in his heart, and that Predestination fell completely into the back-ground, and that he enunciated in clearest terms the universality of the divine offer of salvation, we point to the following passages:

1. In his sermon on Matt. 20:1-16, *anno* 1534, when he comes to the words: *Many be called, but few are chosen* he says: "Over-curious heads draw many absurd and ungodly conclusions from this passage" and explain the words thus: "Many are called," etc. That is, God offers his grace to many but 'few are chosen,' which means, But he bestows his grace upon few. These imagine that when God has chosen anyone he will be saved without means. But he who has not been called, may do what he will, he may be as pious and believing as he will, yet it is still so ordered by God, that he must fall and cannot be saved. But let him who would know God and

* Jena Ed., IV., f. 643b.

† *Preface to Galatians.*

do his will, go the right way, then he will not be offended, but bettered. But the right way is the Lord Christ. But how does it go? As we are afterwards told in the Gospel, Few are chosen, that is, few so conduct themselves according to the Gospel, that God is pleased with them. * * * *Many are called*, that is, God offers his grace to many, but few are chosen, that is, he bestows his grace on few, because few are to be saved. But this is, indeed, a godless interpretation * * * a diabolical slander. * * * They are elected and please God who diligently hear the gospel, believe on Christ, prove their faith by good works, and suffer what they shall be called on to suffer.”*

The plain object of this comment is to turn the mind away from the secret counsel of God, and to fix it on the gospel, and on Christ, and to make Christ the *prius* in the matter of election. They are elected who believe on Christ, which is very different from saying that they believe on Christ who are elected.

2. In the *Disputationen Dr. Martin Luthers*, published by Dr. Paul Drews in 1895, we have a remarkable representation of Luther's mind and thoughts from 1535 to 1545. In this splendid volume of 999 octavo pages containing scores upon scores of theses and propositions discussed by Luther, the word *Electio* is not used in a single instance in reference to salvation. In only one instance is the word *Praedestinatio* used, and then it is declared that “an account of Predestination is not to be rendered” (pp. 188-9); and when the verbal form is used, it is said that “we are called, elected and predestinated on account of Christ, the Beloved, and remain the beloved of God. This is the revealed will that comforts and cheers our consciences” (p. 191).

In these *Disputations* stress is laid on the universality of redemption, and it is said expressly “that God wills that all men should be saved, without a single exception. * * * But, that all men are not saved, not God, but man is the cause” (p. 723). And in the margin we read as follows: “The knowl-

**Erl. Ed.*, I : 104-6.

edge of repentance and faith is universal. Hence the Church is not isolated and composed of a few persons, because God wills that all men be saved [1 Tim. 2 : 4], therefore not certain ones.

“Response. In the revealed word he wills that all be saved, and if they believe that word, they shall be saved.”

3. In commenting on Genesis 26: 9, he “takes occasion to treat of doubt, of God and of the will of God.” The speeches of those who say: “If I am predestinated, do as I may, I shall be saved; if I am not predestinated, I shall be damned,” etc., he calls “the poisoned darts of the devil, original sin,” “deceptions of the devil,” that bring “despair, contempt of God, of the Sacred Scriptures, of Baptism, and of all the divine blessings by which God means to fortify us against uncertainty and doubt.” Then, after urging his hearers to leave “the hidden God,” and to know “the proclaimed God,” through Jesus Christ, the word, the sacraments, the ministry, all “which are bodily things, corporeal signs by which God reveals himself,” he says: “These things have I desired thus carefully and accurately to exhort and to teach because after my death many will quote my books and from these corroborate their own errors and dreams of every kind. I have written among other things, that all things are absolute and necessary; but at the same time I have added that we must look upon the revealed God, as we sing in the Psalm; He is called Jesus Christ, the Lord Sabaoth, and there is no other God; Jesus Christ is Lord Sabaoth, nor is there any other God, etc. But all these passages they will omit, and will seize only those about the hidden God. Therefore you who now hear me, are to remember that I have taught that we are not to inquire about the predestination of the hidden God; but that we are to rest in that which is revealed through vocation, and through the ministry of the word. There thou canst be certain of thy faith and salvation, and canst say: I believe in the Son of God, who hath said: ‘Whoso believeth in the Son hath eternal life’ (John 3 : 36). Therefore in him there is no condemnation, nor wrath, but the good will of God the Father. These things I have protested elsewhere also in my books, and

now I present them *vis'a voce*. Therefore I am without blame."*

This is not indeed a formal retraction of the *De Servo Arbitrio*, but it is a limitation and a qualification of what he wrote in that treatise, and a placing of the emphasis on the things that directly and immediately concern our salvation, viz., the revealed God, Christ, the means of grace. Hence this excursus on Genesis 26: 9 shows to a demonstration that Luther did not have any practical interest in the eternal predestination and secret election of God, except as they come in *after* Christ and *after* faith, to assure us that God will keep his promises. And this use of Predestination, or, rather, of the eternal fore-knowledge of God, had already in 1522 been brought to high relief by Luther in his Preface to the Epistle to the Romans. He finds the order of the Epistle, which is also the order of salvation, to be as follows: *sin, grace, faith, righteousness, flesh and spirit*, and declares that "chapters 6, 7, 8 urge us to persevere in the work of faith." He does not in any sense connect Predestination with verses 29 and 30 of chap. 8. On the contrary he says: "Let us strive against sin, as we have learned in chaps. 1-8. After that we have come into chap. 8, which reminds us of the crosses and sufferings incident to our lives, we will find great comfort in the thought of God's foreknowledge as explained in chaps. 9, 10, 11."

His meaning is that we must "first of all concern ourselves about Christ, and learn from the Gospel that we are all sinners and need the grace of God," and that we must exercise faith in the Gospel. Then under the cross it is a comfort to know that our salvation is taken out of our own hands and is in the hands of God. Thus "every doctrine has a nature of its own, and must be received in due form, time and age." Babies must not "drink the strong wine," and the unregenerate "cannot think of the foreknowledge of God without harboring bitter resentment against him."

Returning, now, to the Commentary on Genesis, and to the

* *Op. Lat.* 6, pp. 290-300.

later writings generally, we find that Luther constantly urges men to cleave to the revealed God by a firm faith, and he assures them that if they believe on the revealed God and receive his word, the hidden God will be gradually made known; but if they reject the Son, they will with the revealed God, lose also the God not revealed.* And in this same connection he declares that "thoughts or doubts *de praedestinatione* are not a matter of indifference, but are impious, wicked, and diabolical" (p. 297).

Here we bring the first part of our dissertation to a close. We have followed Luther along certain lines during the last twenty years of his life—during the period in which the Lutheran Church was born, grew, and waxed great in the land of its birth. We have not thought to defend a thesis, but to bring out the facts touching Luther's relations to the *primordia* of the Christian scheme. We have seen that when standing in the presence of "the proclaimed God," and of the *voluntas signi*, he says *not one word* in defense of the absolute Predestination and secret Election of God, as conditioning or determining the way of salvation. On the contrary he declares that men are saved and predestinated on account of Christ, and that it is the earnest will, purpose, command of God, resolved on from eternity, to save all men, and to make them partakers of eternal happiness. In these years he increases the emphasis on "the proclaimed God," on Jesus Christ, on the means of grace, on the *sola fide*, and on the all-dominating and all-embracing character of the article of Justification, which article he holds not as an abstract principle, or as a dogma for the understanding, but as a living experience of salvation. Hence this article gave shape to his conception of God, and to the means by which God applies and man appropriates the proffered redemption. Luther's God was the Father, the Source of Redemption, the Son, the Purchaser of Redemption (*propter Christum*), the Spirit the Applier of Redemption through the word of truth. Predestination belongs to the secret will of God, and was post-

* *Op. Lat.*, 6, p. 295.

poned and subordinated, the longer the more, to Justification, and did not at any time enter genetically, centrally, determinatively into his "divine studies." And thus, as not being primary, and as not being a teaching of the divine word, it had necessarily to give way before the emphasis that with increasing energy Luther laid on the means of grace, which offer salvation to all men—in *omnes*, *super omnes*—without partiality, and convey salvation to all who believe. Election must be sought, not in the *secret* counsel of God, or apart from Christ, but *in the Gospel*, and *in Christ*, "who came into the world, that he might will, might speak, might do, might suffer, might offer, for all men, all things that are necessary to salvation."

(TO BE CONTINUED.)

ARTICLE III.

ALCOHOL.

BY REV. R. H. CLARE.

The present agitation of the alcoholic liquor question in Germany may rightly be regarded as one of the most significant and hopeful signs of the times. When we take into consideration the proportions which this movement in favor of temperance, and, indeed, of total prohibition, has assumed, those of us who have always considered German scholarship and German practice generally, as wedded to the custom of moderate drinking, can hardly understand what has taken place to give the temperance movement such an impetus in so short a time. We notice among the principal agitators of the movement towards thorough temperance reform the names of leading scientists, medical directors of hospitals, professors of universities, colleges and academies, those connected with asylums and prisons, and others, whose duty and calling prompt to make a close study of social pathological conditions. Startled at last, by the havoc wrought by alcoholic drinks, as revealed

by observation, and by statistics, these men of science have undertaken the work of investigating, by scientific methods, the causes of poverty and crime, insanity and suicide, and to alter, if possible, a condition which is sapping the life of the nation, and which to their minds has become intolerable. A strong and aggressive movement has begun in favor of the suppression of the existing drink customs, and against the use of every kind of alcoholic liquors. It is a matter of fact that the present movement is not to any great extent in the hands of the clergy, or of the churches. There are pastors, many of them, engaged in the war against established drink customs, but they are not the leaders in the movement which is now on. The agitation is principally in the hands of science, and the appeal is based on the appalling facts, easily recognized by the investigator, as to the havoc wrought by alcohol. It is somewhat difficult to trace the beginnings of this movement. In 1878 Dr. A. Baer, member of the Royal Sanitary Commission, and Chief Physician to the Penitentiary of Ploetzenser, near Berlin, published a book entitled "Alcohol, its Distribution, and its Effect on the Individual Organism," which at the time attracted considerable attention. The work was, however, too large for general distribution, and its exhaustive scientific method of treatment made it of real value only to a limited number of readers. This may, however, after all, have been a real advantage to the cause of temperance, as the work merited and received the attention of scientists, and indicated new lines for scientific investigations. In a later work (1890), the author discusses the question of "Alcohol in its relation to mortality, mental disorders and crime."

Since these publications, and a number of others on the same general subject, there have been organized in Germany, France and Switzerland, a number of societies for the restriction and suppression of the drinking habits, and the traffic in alcohol. At the head of these societies, or actively connected with them, are some of the leading scientists of Germany and Switzerland. Dr. Kraepelin, of the Heidelberg University, is president of the "Total Abstinence Association of German-

speaking Lands," and with him is associated the venerable Prof. Max Von Pettenkofer, of Munich. Director E. Blocher, of Basel, Bishop Augustin Egger, of St. Galle, and others, are actively engaged in the temperance work of these societies.

With the organization of these societies there has also appeared an extensive temperance literature. The question is discussed in tracts and pamphlets; in trade and scientific journals, and the medical journals especially, are devoting large space to its consideration.

Among recent publications we notice the exhaustive work of Hugo Hoppe, M.D., Neurologist, Director of the Provincial Institution for the Insane, Allenberg, Prussia: *Facts Concerning Alcohol*. The first edition of this book was quickly exhausted, and a second edition with the addition of copious statistical tables was prepared—probably the most exhaustive work of its kind ever published. In this volume of nearly four hundred pages the author not only gives us his own researches and conclusions, but besides, the testimony of authorities in the various departments of science, against the use of alcohol as a beverage. It is a work of strict scientific inquiry and investigation, to determine with exactness the origin, nature, physiological effect, and therapeutic uses of alcohol; its effects and influences upon the living human organism in health and disease; upon the varied conditions of social and domestic life; of morals and education; of progress and prosperity; of degradation and crime.

It is this book which has suggested the present article. It will not be possible in the space allotted us, to include statistical tables, or to indicate with minuteness the methods of scientific research, but we hope to be able to show conclusively, that the subject under consideration merits the painstaking and prayerful consideration of every Christian American citizen.

The process by which alcohol is developed is now quite well understood. If starch be moistened with water, in which a little ferment, as yeast, has been introduced, and subjected to a temperature of one hundred degrees of heat, it will change to

grape sugar. If the temperature be maintained in the presence of the ferment, it will be decomposed, and its elements separated with carbonic anhydride and alcohol. The gas speedily escapes, and the alcohol remains dissolved in the water. Distillation separates this from the principal part of the water; the remainder may be removed by certain chemical processes, and absolute alcohol obtained. Alcohol is therefore not a product of distillation as supposed by some, but a product of fermentation, the distillation only separating the alcohol obtained by fermentation from other substances. Alcohol is a powerful solvent, readily dissolving most of the resinous gums and vegetable extracts. Chemically considered, alcohol is composed of three gasses in the following proportions. Carbon 51.88 per cent., Hydrogen 13.70 per cent. and Oxygen 34.42 per cent. The amount of alcohol contained in the various kinds of drinks varies with the different classes and kinds of liquors, the distilled liquors containing from 73.70 in Irish whiskey, down to 51.60 in common gin, and in the fermented drinks from about 23 per cent. in port wine, to $1\frac{1}{4}$ per cent. in small beer. All these drinks owe their toxic properties to the one ingredient—alcohol. In the one class the alcohol is generated by fermentation, and in the other by a process of purification of the ferment by distillation. In all cases the alcohol is generated by sugar decomposition induced by the yeast fungus in a proper temperature.

Dr. Hoppe considers the process analagous to that which takes place in the decomposition of albumen, caused by bacterial life, or pathogenic bacteria. In other words, the alcohol is an effete toxic product resulting from a micro-organism on sugar or glucose, and is not found as a proximate element in living organized bodies, whether animal or vegetable. Its composition entitles it to be classed with the pure carbo-hydrates, and unfortunately it has often been classed with those pure carbo-hydrates resulting from vegetable growth or nutrition—starch, gum, cellulose or supporters of combustion, or respiratory food, when taken into the human system. Such conclusions were not arrived at, however, because of the similarity of

action produced by these several substances when taken into the system, but solely on the fact of their being composed of the same ultimate elements—carbon, hydrogen and oxygen, in proportions to admit of further oxydation outside of the living body. The clear and important distinction between such carbohydrates as starch, sugar, gum, cellulose and dextrine, resulting from vegetable and animal nutrition, and the alcohols, which result solely from retrograde metamorphosis or bacteriological excretion usually termed fermentation, was manifestly overlooked. Briefly stated, the alcohol ferment, or yeast, is a minute cellular plant, which grows rapidly in sugar solution, and alcohol is the product of the sugar decomposition. This decomposition is analogous to that which takes place in albumen decomposition caused by pathogenic bacteria, which enter into the animal tissue, subtract nourishment from the same, and leave behind waste matter. This waste matter, enters, through the blood, into the cells and tissues of the body, and thus gives rise to fevers and other disease manifestations. It is interesting to note that in the fermentative process of the yeast fungus, there are limitations set to the fungus life. When a certain amount of alcohol has been produced in the process of growth, that growth is arrested. That is, the activity of the yeast fermentation ceases, and the fungus dies in its own product, a process peculiar to micro-organisms, and a knowledge of which peculiarity is now made use of in the treatment of certain infectious diseases. Alcohol is therefore a deadly poison to its own originator, the yeast fungus. That it arrests and destroys other organic life is well known, as it is extensively employed on account of its anti-ferment or antiseptic properties. The deleterious effects of alcohol have heretofore been largely attributed to the fusil oil it contains, and laws have been enacted in various countries to restrict the sale of liquors containing fusil oil in what was supposed to be unhygienic quantities. Recent experiments however seem to indicate that these effects are to be attributed to the alcohol alone. Prof. Strassman says :

“Experiments in the clinic, and on animals, lead us to conclude that the more harmful effect of a liquor containing from

0.3–0.5 per cent. of fusil oil, as over against a pure spirit, has not been proven, but the deleterious effects must be attributed to the alcohol itself.”

As to the physiological effect of alcohol, when taken into the animal organism, it must be recognized and has been abundantly proven to act always as a poison, and always disturbs, and in certain concentrations completely arrests the life-processes. According to Hodge (1897) the growth of the yeast-cell is arrested by the addition of 1–1000 per cent. of alcohol (2 drops in 4 quarts aprox.), and further additions accentuate the retardation until the complete arrest of growth at 14 per cent.

The life process of Algae and similar growths ceases in an infusion of 4 per cent. Ridge noticed the death of the water flea (*Daphnia*) in a solution of 1–20,000. Dr. Overton of Zurich, in experimenting on the effect of alcohol on plant cells found, that while these cells have more or less power to exclude other injurious substances, alcohol readily passes through the walls of the cells and destroys their protoplasm. He also observes that “when different cells are brought under the influence of alcohol in different solutions or concentrations, the finest and most complicated parts of the plant organism are those first arrested in their activity, and then the others, in regular order to the most simple or course.”

In like manner does alcohol affect the animal organism. It is diffused through the system. It enters the cell walls and arrests protoplasmic activity. When taken into the stomach even in small quantities it excites the glands, and increases the secretions. If the ordinary ethylic alcohol is taken into the living stomach undiluted and pure, it acts directly on the tissues with which it comes in contact as a destructive, corrosive poison. If taken in the form of fermented or distilled drinks, largely diluted, it is readily diffused, imbibed by the glands, and carried by the blood into every organ and tissue of the body. More or less of it again appears in the excretory secretions and eliminations of the lungs, kidneys, bowels, skin, etc., as a foreign non-assimilable substance.

These statements are confirmed by the direct experimental investigations of distinguished physiologists and physicians, such as Drs. Boecker, Aiken, Lankester, F.R.S., Virchow, Richardson, Prout, Harley, Ringer, Branston, Kraeplin, Kurtz, Hoppe and others, many of whom claim that no digestion of alcohol really takes place in the stomach, but that it is absorbed by the blood-vessels and thus sent on its circuit of destruction, that it does not directly assist digestion, and can not from its nature do so ; and any benefit derived from it at all, must come from reflex action after the brain and nerves have been affected by it.

Dr. Aitken in his "Practice of Medicine," says : "When spirituous liquors are taken into the stomach, they tend, in the first place, to coagulate all the albuminous articles of food or fluid with which they come in contact. As an irritant, they stimulate the glandular secretions from the mucous membrane, and ultimately lead to permanent congestion of the vessels, and to thickening of the gastric tissues." A bumper of beer, containing from $1\frac{1}{2}$ to 3 fl. drams of absolute alcohol, will necessarily retard digestion in a healthy stomach. Prof. Baer mentions a case of syringotomy, where the process of digestion could be observed, and in which there was a marked retardation of stomachic digestion after the administration of 3 ccm absolute alcohol ($\frac{3}{4}$ dram *aprox.*) in 170 ccm water ($4\frac{1}{2}$ drams *aprox.*)

Prof. Hoppe claims that even very small quantities of alcohol depreciate the value of food as nutriment, and Dr. Bunge claims that the nutritive value of vegetable food especially suffers loss.

When alcohol is taken into the stomach it is quickly absorbed by the blood vessels and enters the circulation. Its effects upon the blood itself, according to Drs. Berkley and Friedenwald (1897), is to check the movements of the white blood-corpuscles and to cause shrinkage of the red blood-corpuscles and a reduction of haemoglobin. The experiments of Dr. Boecker lead him to say : "Alcohol poisons the blood, arrests the development, and hastens the decay of the red blood-

corpuscles." This view is sustained by Dr. Virchow and others. The extensive experiments of Dr. W. Evelyn, of San Francisco, confirm this view. He administered alcohol to horses in varying quantities and at different times, and noted a change in the blood substance. The red blood-corpuscles became granulated, of a darker color, and shrunken. The white corpuscles showed signs of disintegration. The serum became colorless in comparison with that of animals in normal condition, and the blood pigment showed signs of dissolution. According to Biel the sugar-forming (fermentation) power of the blood is lowered, more or less, according to the length of time and quantity of alcohol consumed. According to Dogel the blood of an animal under alcoholic stimulation coagulates more slowly and contains less fibrin than that of one in normal condition.

The blood and lymphatics conduct the alcohol to the different parts of the body, and, as we have seen in the case of plants and their cells, the finer and most complicated parts are those first affected. The brain, the seat of mental activity, is the first to suffer loss, as is evident from universal observation. A small quantity of alcohol often is sufficient to change man in his whole being and nature. It is this exciting effect upon the brain that makes man seemingly cheerful, lively, careless, reckless and witty that has helped King Alcohol in his victorious onward march among the sons of men. The associated narcotic effect must also be taken account of, which enables men to forget their sorrows, and which is often sought to quiet a disturbed conscience.

But what is the testimony of science as to the effect of alcohol on mental activity? Dr. Helmholtz, in an address delivered on the occasion of the Helmholtz Jubilee, Nov. 2, 1891, among other things, said: "Having, in the pursuit of my labors often found myself in the unpleasant predicament of a halt for favorable ideas, my experience as to the when and where of their coming, may be of some value to others. They often steal into the range of thought when at first we do not realize their meaning and significance. At other times they

come suddenly, without effort like an inspiration. According to my experience they never come to a tired brain, nor at the desk. It was necessary for me to examine my problem in all its bearings and from all sides, and to explore all its intricacies and windings without the use of a pen. Then, after the fatigue had passed off, I would need an hour of bodily freshness and relaxation, when ideas would be formulated. A climb over wooded hills in sunny weather acted most favorably. The smallest quantity of alcoholic drink seemed to dispel them."

August Forell, Prof. of mental diseases, Zurich, says: "As for the mental faculties, alcohol paralyses, first and most effectually, what is highest, most complicated and finally, what we call ethical and aesthetic perceptions, the conscience and reason."

If then, alcohol hinders and prevents the exercise of the highest mental activities, what must be its effects in the mental processes of the ordinary life. Dr. Kraepelin, Prof. of Psychiatry, Heidelberg, 1892, instituted a series of investigations to ascertain the effect of alcohol on the sensory and motor nerves of a class of young men, students and assistants. The tests covered a wide range, and consisted in part of the exact tests of the sense of touch after given signals, time tests, prelection, solving mathematical problems, spatial relations, and other tests of sense perception. These tests were made under normal and alcoholic conditions. It was found that even small quantities of alcohol—4 to 5 drams—weakened normal powers and functions, and that recovery to the normal in many instances, was not attained for several hours. In some instances he records an acceleration of motion and sense perception at the first and for a very brief period, to be followed however by relapse far below the normal. In the motor tests, what for a short time seemed to have been gained in acceleration, was more than overbalanced by want of exactness. In the purely mental tests the thought processes became clouded, and a tendency to verbosity manifested itself—wordiness without contents. Prof. Kraepelin sums up the results of his experiments as follows: "The composite picture obtained by these experiments is one readily recognized. The various lines in its trac-

ings are those we are familiar with in everyday life. Our tests but modestly indicate that which we have seen in its brutal perfection in the completer forms of acute alcoholic poisoning. The deteriorated capability of comprehension in the tests correspond with the inability of the drunkard to adjust himself to his environment—to find his way. The difficulty experienced in an attempt to excite his attention, and the stupefaction of his mental powers even to complete insensibility. In the weakened ability to judge in regard to associated transactions and occurrences, is manifested the veiling and sinking of the intellectual powers. The inability to make or to comprehend detailed statements; to judge of his own or another's mental productions or processes; the want of clear reflection as to the effect of his own words and deeds; the tendency to trivial or stereotyped words and phrases, and silly witticism; the qualitative changes of associations; all these indicate the shallowness of the thought processes. The accentuated motory reaction is the cause of the feeling of increased strength, but also the cause of all the thoughtless, objectless, impulsive and violent acts, which have given renown to alcohol, not only in the records of foolish and supercilious pranks, but also in the annals of violent acts of passion. To this must also be attributed the manifest want of a company under the effects of alcohol to resist the tendency to become noisy; to sing and laugh immoderately, as well as the tendency to set aside those psychic checks known to us as timidity and embarrassment; all those considerations which under other circumstances in human intercourse govern acts and speech with minutest exactness. The tendency is to become nettled, unrestrained, regardless of others. The imbiber is inclined to babble out his secrets, revealing the most sacred emotions of his soul without constraint to those altogether indifferent and unconcerned."

The effects of a single potion of 80 gm. ($2\frac{1}{2}$ ounces aprox.) of alcohol may be noticed even after the lapse of from 24 to 36 hours, and if the dose be repeated before the effects of the first have passed away, a cumulative effect is produced, denoting the first stages of chronic alcoholism. If the daily use of such a quantity as to produce cumulative effect be indulged in

for a week or two, decided injury will have been sustained and if the drinker be a laborer, his labor-value will have sustained a loss of from 25 to 40 per cent. This reduced labor-value may not be so apparent in the physical and mental activities of ordinary daily life, but there will manifest itself a decided loss of creative skill; a loss of tact and preciseness, and an incurable disability in the performance of tasks of great difficulty and responsibility. And, even after the cutting off of the supply of alcohol after such a debauch it will be a difficult and wearisome, and it may be impossible, task to recover the former normal condition. A permanent injury has been sustained. A susceptibility to alcoholic effect will follow the imbibitor a long time after, and possibly he can never recover his former self. The effects of alcohol in this respect are somewhat similar to those of morphia.

As to the effect of alcohol upon the muscles and nerves, Dr. J. Ridge, of London, found that 4 to 8 ccm. of alcohol (1 to 2 drams approx.) blunted materially the sense of touch, of hearing and of sight, or vision, and Dr. Kremer, *Experiments with Narcotics*, noticed a material reduction of skin-sensibility after the administration of 60 gm. of old Cognac ($1\frac{1}{4}$ drams absolute alcohol). Prof. Hoppe calls attention to the effect of alcohol on the vaso-constrictors—nerves whose office it is to constrict the blood vessels. These become relaxed, and the face, particularly the nose, of the alcoholic becomes red or blue-red, a condition often noticed. The enlarging of these blood-vessels has a deleterious effect upon the heart on account of decreased blood pressure.

Dr. Horatio C. Wood (1890), in speaking of the stimulating effects of alcohol, which in all cases he considers but temporary, mentions a case of chloroform narcosis where recourse was had to alcohol on account of its stimulating effects, and he noticed "a rapid decline of the pulse, and of arterial pressure."

When alcohol is taken in small quantities respiration is at first accelerated, but to be retarded below the normal after a time. In large doses it is quickened for a time, but becomes superficial, and may, by increased doses, be arrested altogether. Recent investigations seem to point to a hunger for oxygen as

the cause of quickened respiration. The alcohol is rapidly oxydized in the body, and carbonic acid is produced, which in time is eliminated from the system by the skin, kidneys and lungs. This amount of elimination has been differently estimated by pathologists—according to Strassman, 10 per cent. and Bodlander, 5 per cent. When alcohol is used there is a greater consumption of oxygen, and hence the effort of the lungs to supply the induced insufficiency by increased, or accelerated respiration. But as the supply even then is inadequate to the want created, a draft is made upon the tissues of the body, which readily yield their supply to the poison, thus retarding the digestion of nutriment in the stomach and bowels. And as the poison also extracts the oxygen from the blood corpuscles and eliminates carbonic acid, we can explain in a measure the loss of appetite and the accumulation of fat deposits. Schmidt speaks of a poisoning by the retention of carbonic acid on account of insufficient elimination, induced by superficial respiration.

This leads us to another very important and interesting phase of the alcohol question: That of its supposed food value. If alcohol destroys protoplasm, and acts as a corrosive poison on the mucus membrane of the stomach when taken in sufficient quantities; if it hinders and retards mental activity, can it when administered in any form or quantity assist in building up waste tissue? or in other words, is alcohol a food? The arguments in the affirmative have been based on several considerations. 1. It has been quite generally considered as true that if alcohol be taken at regular and frequent intervals, the weight of the body is increased. 2. All forms of food substances may be arranged in two general classes, viz.: nitrogenous and carbonaceous. And as alcohol contains so large a proportion of carbon, it was assigned a conspicuous place in the list of respiratory food substances. The first point in the argument we have already considered in part. We know that the process of living and dying, or of composition and decomposition, is going on in all parts of the human system from birth till death. When a particle of matter has served its pur-

pose in the human system it loses its power further to serve that system, and its further presence is detrimental to health. A healthy body will throw off this waste matter. If, however, alcohol, the tendency of which is to antagonize the natural tendency to decomposition, be taken into the body, there necessarily must be a retention of effete matter. Its action on the nutriment in the stomach and bowels; on the blood and serum; on the respiratory organs—all lead us to believe that the increased weight of the body after the use of alcohol can be accounted for on the supposition that the retained effete matter has given to the body the additional weight. As to the second point in the argument, we would say, that the mistake of Baron Liebig, early in the progress of analytical and organic chemistry, in assigning to alcohol the functions and powers of a pure carbo-hydrate was, that he seems not to have recognized the distinction recognized to-day by most scientists between those carbo-hydrates resulting from vegetable growth or nutrition, starch, gum, sugar, cellulose, or supporters of combustion, or respiratory foods when taken into the human system, and the alcohols which result from retrograde metamorphosis or bacteriological excretion, usually termed fermentation. The first class of carbo-hydrates named, starch, sugar, cellulose, gum, undergo such digestion and assimilation or molecular changes that their identity is lost in the blood and tissue of the healthy animal body, and their products produce no degenerative or unnatural excitement or disturbance in any of the functions or processes of the otherwise healthy body. Their use creates no craving or morbid appetite, and if taken in excess the superabundance is readily rejected with the ordinary faecal matter of the intestines. But alcohol as a carbo-hydrate of the second class undergoes no such change when taken into the stomach or digestive apparatus. Undiluted it acts as a corrosive poison upon the tissues, and when diluted, as in the case of fermented or distilled drinks, it is readily absorbed into the blood, and forwarded with it to every tissue and organ of the body. This has been proven by hundreds of experiments. And then, more or less of it appears again in the excretory secretions,

and eliminations of the lungs, skin and kidneys like other foreign non-assimilable substances and materials. There can therefore be no true similarity, pathological or histological, between these two named carbo-hydrates. If another supposition be considered, one which is urged sometimes in favor of alcohol as a food substance, it will be found to rest on an equally untenable assumption. It is this, viz.: Alcohol supplies by its oxydation, energy to the organism, for its activity and heat, hence it has food value. Dr. Davis, of Chicago, more than twenty years ago took up the question of the development of animal heat from alcohol, and by carefully conducted experiments he demonstrated the fact that so far from the heat of the system being increased under the influence of alcohol, it was actually decreased. Nutritious food increases the temperature of the body, but alcohol in any form or mixture will depress the temperature below normal, the extent of the depression corresponding to the amount taken. Heat and strength are not increased by alcohol, as the tests of Dr. Davis with delicate thermometer and dynamometer abundantly proved.

Aside from the above consideration we can readily see that a body to be recognized as food must possess other functions besides the accidental one of caloric. All particles of the body eliminated by physiological functions and the waste of disease must be replaced. Any substance that will, by assimilation with the system, build up waste tissue and thus assist the system in its normal growth must be recognized as a food substance. But alcohol does not do this. Its most ardent friends cannot, and do not, make such a claim. Alcohol destroys protoplasm; therefore it cannot build up protoplasm; a substance that corrodes tissue and degenerates blood corpuscles cannot be a conservator of normal conditions. In a pamphlet entitled, "*Is Alcohol a Food or a Poison?*" by Dr. Max Kassorvitz, Prof. in the University of Vienna, translated from the German by Mrs. J. H. W. Stuckenberg, of Cambridge, Mass., the eminent author says: "We can no longer think of administering the toxin of the yeast-germ as food, with the idea of retarding tissue waste in febrile states or wasting disease. It would be a

strange procedure to introduce into the body for the purpose of retarding waste, a substance which itself attacks and destroys living protoplasm." T. J. Mobins, M.D., a nerve specialist of Leipsic, says: "The fact is, all this talk about the nutritive value, the strengthening and curative properties of alcohol, is nothing but a cloak the drinker employs to conceal his appetite. If people did not care about drinking, nobody would concern himself about the trifling nutritive value claimed for alcohol." "We cannot be too energetic," says Dr. Henry Meyer, "in denouncing the assertion that alcohol is nourishing and strengthening, useful and necessary to the laboring classes; that it improves plain food by making it more palatable and that it assists its digestion; that it warms the body in winter, and then turns about and cools it in summer. Nothing of all this is true." Experience in the armies and navies of the world have abundantly established the truth of that assertion.

When in 1862, the Army of the Potomac was encamped in the Wilderness, an order was promulgated allowing each officer and soldier 150 gm. (5 ounces aprox.) of whiskey, in two potions. The sanitary condition of the army, however, declined so rapidly after this measure, that the commander saw the necessity of rescinding the order after it had been in force only four weeks, and Dr. Frank Hamilton, a medical attache, expressed himself as follows: "It is to be hoped that such experiments will not be repeated in the future. Experience and observation has firmly convinced us that the use of alcohol in case of healthy persons, is in no sense beneficial. We make no exception as to weather or climatic conditions, nor even in the case of former imbibers as soon as they become soldiers." It is a matter of record that Lord Kitchener, commander of the English army in Africa, insisted on the withholding of liquors from the army, and returned to England in his transports the beer that without his knowledge had been shipped with the troops. The *London Times* and *Daily News* lauded the General for his order, and spoke of the return of the beer as a wise sanitary measure.

Medical experts connected with the armies of the leading na-

tions of the world, seem to be agreed in their testimony against the use of alcoholics among troops, and many of them are in favor of total prohibition. General Leitensdorfer, an officer in the army of Bavaria, in his "*Militaerische Training*," 1897, expresses his convictions as follows: "However valuable alcohol may be as a stimulant when, in case of acute disease, it may be necessary to assist the heart or the organs of respiration momentarily when necessity demands haste in a crisis, or to guard by its use against utter exhaustion, so illusory is its worth as a means of stimulating energy in muscular exertion. Its effect in the latter case is not only too brief, but exceedingly hazardous because of the relaxing and soporific reaction induced. It is quite evident that the muscular energy for sustained exertion begotten of alcohol is not only superfluous, but most harmful, and not of the nature of that sought in military training. We therefore recognize the wisdom of the prohibition of liquor in the higher sports, and in military service where valor and bravery are demanded. An army consuming no alcohol is far superior to one using it. The former far exceeds the latter in power of will, endurance and moral worth. A time is coming, when conflicts will not be decided by exactness of aim, or range of gun and masses of men, but according to the physical and moral ability of the contestants. Until that time, it will be well, in the training of the individual or the masses, to recognize temperance and sobriety as the principal virtues of the soldier, and alcohol as the most dangerous enemy of discipline, and a bridge to a condition of physical and moral flaccidity which must lead to the undoing of any army."

Of like import is the testimony of those engaged in the merchant marine and in polar and naval expeditions. The general conviction among captains and masters of vessels is that alcohol interferes seriously with necessary discipline, and that it is not a necessity either in the tropics or in the polar regions. Nansen (according to Hoppe), crossed Greenland with his men, and the greatest hardships were endured without the use of alcoholics. In his subsequent Polar expedition he and his men spent three years in high polar regions, and he

attributes the success achieved to the non-use of alcoholics. "My experience" says Nansen, "prompts me to the emphatic declaration against the use of alcoholic stimulants and narcotics of every kind. It seems to me to be a sound principle, to live at all times as natural and simple as possible. And especially do I consider this course necessary when confined for any length of time in regions of extreme cold, where the physical organism is taxed to the utmost in the expenditure of strength. The idea that there can be a gain by the artificial stimulation of the body or mind betrays, to my thinking, ignorance of the simplest physiological laws; a want of experience, or want of ability to profit from ordinary observation. Stimulants offer the body no nutriment, and the anticipated energy can only be momentary, and must be followed by a corresponding exhaustion and depression."

John Ross, in his second "*Voyage de Decouvertes*," etc., 1829, claims to have shipped no spirituous liquors, and won his men over to his own temperance principles. He says: "It is difficult to convince men, even those who would frown upon the habitual use of stimulants, that they do not strengthen, but rather weaken the body. They are stimulants, infusing momentary courage. And this effect is supposed to be increased strength. It is not necessary to be a close observer in order to be convinced that the result is far otherwise."

Count Von Gaetzen, who crossed Central Africa in 1893-94, in an address before the Scientific Association of Frankfort (1896), declares it to be his firm conviction that success in explorations within the tropics can only be expected by a recognition of the principles of temperance or, "better still, total prohibition."

I. R. Ballet in his "*Voyage aux mers polaires sur le Prince Albert* (1852-54), expresses himself as follows: "We had on board neither wine, beer, nor other spirituous drinks, and I do not hesitate to ascribe to this wise regulation the excellent demeanor, and the contentment of our crew, in spite of privations and the lack of comforts to which we were exposed." Nansen, whose expedition was for more than three years cut off from the rest of the world in comfortless and horrible solitude, de-

scribes very interestingly how he succeeded in harmless ways in banishing the feeling of loneliness and tediousness, without the use of liquors. In a journey of fifteen months on sleds, not a drop of liquor was used, and a want of it was not expressed nor felt. The Belgic marine officer de Garlach in his expedition to the South Pole for scientific research, ordered alcoholics in the shape of drinks to be excluded from the supplies to be shipped. Dr. Livingstone's testimony is unequivocal: "I have, for twenty years, lived according to the principles of total abstinence from alcoholics, and I believe the most difficult labor can be performed, and greatest hardships can be endured without their use."

Count Von Gaetzen at a convention of naturalists in Frankfurt A. M., 1896, said: "The temperate use of, nay, the total abstinence from, alcoholics in expeditions and explorations within the tropics is a fundamental principle for success."

Emin Pasha declares: "One who avoids the use of alcholic drinks can safely smile at the nursery-tales of danger of life in the tropics."

Professor Wahltman says: "The greatest enemy the Germans have in Africa is alcohol in the form of beer, and cognac, and wine. It is not the African fever that is so much to be dreaded, but the effects of the use of the stimulants, predisposing the user to the inroads of disease." Dr. George Kolb, 1898, make the following declaration: "I am not a 'temprenzler' in the ordinary use of the word, but I do not feel that I am on that account debarred from saying that I consider the use of stimulants in the form of alcohol, as altogether unnecessary here in Germany, and my experience leads me to declare their use in Africa to be extremely dangerous; absolutely so under all circumstances, in all latitudes and altitudes. I know it will be difficult to bring Germany, where temperance is so much derided, to a recognition of this truth, and it is therefore more the duty of every patriot to call attention to the fact that the use of beer, wine, and brandy, in a tropical climate is far more dangerous than all bacillae and plasmodia." Dr. Riedel, of Delhi, India, claims that the health of Europeans in India is conditioned on their use or non-use of alcoholic stimulants.

Dr. Fiebig declares that persons addicted to the daily use of 20-60 grains of alcohol, can not harden themselves against a tropical climate. "Many moderate drinkers suddenly collapse. Their life goes out like the snuffing of a candle." The French General Gallieni declares it to be less dangerous to drink unwholesome water in the tropics, than any kind of alcoholic drink.

Alcohol plays a most important part as a cause of disease. A single excess, to slight intoxication, may be followed by a number of physical disorders, according to the individuality of the imbiber and the quantity of alcohol imbibed. One excess frequently causes catarrh of the stomach, headache, nausea, increasing until vomiting is induced, bodily and mental dullness and sullenness. In many cases other organs are involved. Dr. Glasser instituted a minute examination of fifteen persons, after forty alcohol excesses. After each excess the urine contained abnormal elements—an indication spoken of by physicians as inflammation of the kidneys. In the deposits there were present crystals of oxilate of lime, and uric or lithic acid. These pathological elements ceased to appear after one or two days. The larger quantity of the crystals voided is an indication of the power of alcohol to change and injure the proper assimilation of matter. If these alcoholic excesses be indulged in for any length of time, it will not be long before other organs will become involved. The cells become fatty and cease to exercise their normal functions, the circulation is disturbed, and the kidneys may become permanently injured. Dr. Struempl, of Erlangen, considers nephritis the most prevalent disease among drunkards. Dr. D. Formad found evidences of the drunkard's kidney in 248 out of 250 cases. It is not the wine and brandy drinker alone that is thus affected, but particularly the beer drinker. "A man dies suddenly in the best of his years, of inflamed kidney, and your conclusion amounts to a certainty, that he was a lover of beer or other strong drink." The moderate use of beer even may lay the foundation for degeneration of the kidney, though the effect may not manifest itself until the age of fifty (*Brit. Med. Journal*, 1872). To find the urine heavily loaded with albumin is nothing un-

usual in the case of even moderate drinkers. In Munich, where large quantities of beer are drunk, the degenerated kidney is so frequently found in post-mortem examinations, that it has become customary to speak of a "beer kidney."

With equal frequency probably, in sections, is found the "beer heart," an enlargement of the heart substance, idiopathic heart hypertrophy. "The comparative weight of the hearts of the men in Munich is greater than that of other sections, owing to beer excess" (Dr. F. Bauer and Prof. O. Bollinger, Munich, 1892.) In many instances the enlargement is so excessive that physicians speak of an "oxheart" (Boucardia). "The first symptom," so Anfrechts describes the disease, "is shortness of breath on slight exertion. In this stage of the disease there may be recovery, if the patient will abstain from the use of alcohol. Later on there are evidences of the progress of the disease when recovery can not be hoped for. The muscles of the heart become hypertrophied, the liver is enlarged, and the kidneys show signs of degeneration. The patient has not drunk too much, never was intoxicated, and yet the inner organs have received irreparable injury. The heart has been balasted with fat, it has greatly increased in volume, and the arteries have suffered. These vessels have been subjected to a fatty and atheromatous degeneration. Their walls have been plated with lime, causing them to loose their elasticity (artero-sclerosis), and by their rigidity greater labor is imposed on the heart, causing palpitation and inviting rupture of the vessels."

Edgreen (1898), in an examination of 124 patients found 31 cases of artero-sclerosis, 25 per cent. traceable to alcohol. Dr. Lankester, F.R.S., in his *School Manual of Health*, observes: "Even diluted in the form of beer or wine, alcohol is found to act injuriously on the delicate membranes of the stomach and other digestive organs. When taken in larger quantities in any of the diluted forms, it acts most injuriously upon the stomach, liver, brain, heart and other organs of the body." The organs most affected by alcohol through the stomach are, according to Professors Perrin and Lallemand, of Paris, "the liver, and the substance of the brain." That intemperance is

one of the conditions tending to inflammation of the encephalon is recognized by most writers upon the subject. In many cases apoplexy, paralysis, and epilepsy with intemperance, the relation is as cause and effect. Stomach and intestinal catarrh has, in by far the greater number of cases its origin in the use of alcohol. This stomach catarrh is recognized by the morning vomit, "water colic." Ulceration of the stomach frequently accompanies this morning sickness, and may lead to hemorrhage or perforation, and end fatally. Gout (arthritis) is another of the diseases frequently induced by alcohol. Until recent years this was, at least in England, not a disease of the poorer classes. Since the drinking of porter has become more prevalent it has spread widely among all classes.

It seems hardly necessary to call attention to the fact that the use of alcohol predisposes to consumption (phthisis pulmonalis). This can hardly be otherwise when we remember the harmful effects of alcohol on the organs of respiration and digestion. The system has been weakened, so as not to be able to resist the inroads of disease. The superficial breathing, the heart insufficiency and defective nutrition, all mark the subject as predisposed to provide a camping ground for the bacillus tuberculosis, especially as the blood serum has been weakened as to its bactericidal powers. According to Fournier, Lanceraux and Mackenzie (1897), the tuberculous infection develops very rapidly in the case of drunkards, and the disease speedily ends in death. Dr. Volland says: "The life of a tuberculous drunkard is generally suddenly extinguished, like the snuffing out of a candle."

Another disease with which alcohol stands in intimate relation is the loathsome syphilis, which, with other sexual diseases, is often contracted in a condition of drunkenness or semi-drunkenness. The abuse of alcohol has a tendency to make men more sexual, and more disposed to follow the promptings of sexual lust. Prof. Kraeplin, Jena, 1900, in "Psychiatric Problems of the State" says: "There is no doubt that syphilis is often contracted by young men, especially students and officers, when in a condition of drunkenness." Prof.

Fick, in "The Scenes of Drunkenness after the Banquet" (1892), speaking of the festival held in honor of the International Congress of Physicians, Berlin, in August, 1890, says: "4000 cards of entry were issued, 15382 flasks of wine, 300 cognacs, and 22 h. l. of beer (1 h. l. is 26 2-5 gal.) were consumed. The scenes of drunkenness after the banquet in the great saloon, upon the stairways, and in front of the building were disgusting beyond measure. As the muck-fly scents the carrion, so there had gathered, in front of the city hall, a swarm of venal maidens, who gathered a rich booty from the drunken, reeling, staggering, tottering guests. I shudder to think, that an honored head of a family was enticed into an act which brought to him a syphilitic infection which may entail ruin upon a beloved family, and may be transplanted and perpetuated for generations." Of course such awful consequences of the hilarious debauch may never be known, but every experienced physician knows only too well that they are not among the rarities.

It is well known that all diseases affect alcoholics with greater severity and intensity. Recovery from wounds and operations are tedious and more uncertain. A simple wound that would heal readily on a person in normal condition, may lead to serious consequences and to death in the case of an alcoholic. Especially dreaded is the drunkards' frenzy, which frequently supervenes a wound or an operation. Dr. Hayfelder noticed that in the case of Tartars and Turks many complicated bodily injuries were readily overcome without fever or other deleterious symptoms, whilst in the case of Russians in the same hospital ward, and attended by the same physicians and surgeons the process of recovery frequently was tedious and complicated. He claims that the Turkish troops are superior to the Russians in power of endurance, and in the ability to resist the inroads of disease, and he ascribes this in a large measure to the fact that the Russians are imbibers, whilst the religion of the Turks binds them to the strictest observance of the principles of prohibition from alcoholic drinks.

Life insurance companies have long since recognized the increased risk assumed in insuring alcoholics. The United

Kingdom Temperance and General Provident Institution was organized in London in 1841, with the avowed understanding of restricting its risks entirely to total abstainers. It was found however that this class was not sufficiently large to bring the cost of insurance within the expected limits, and the choice presented itself of either retiring from business or extending insurance to non-abstainers. The latter alternative was accepted, but distinct lists of the two classes were kept, and the results, down to 1874 were published. "In the abstinence department the actual experience fell short of the expectation in death-rate about 39 per cent., whilst among moderate users of alcohol the death-rate was also below the expectation, but only one-tenth of one per cent." Although these data are from too limited a field to show a general rule, they are worthy of serious thought. Mr. Nelson, the English actuary, investigated the risks of life companies with special reference to the effects of alcoholism, and his conclusions are embodied in these propositions.

1. When in a given number of risks, ten persons of temperate habits die between the ages of 15 and 20 inclusive, eighteen intemperate persons die.

2. When in a given number of risks ten temperate persons die between the ages of 21 and 30 inclusive, fifty-one intemperate persons die.

3. When in a given number of risks ten temperate persons die between the ages of 31-40 inclusive, about forty intemperate persons die.

The average expectancy of life is given by him as follows :

At twenty, a temperate person may live 44.2, years, an intemperate person, 15.6 years.

At thirty the figures stand respectively 36.5, and 13.8.

At forty, temperate 28.8, intemperate 11.6 years.

The above life insurance company has prepared tabulated statements of its two classes of policy-holders, in periods of five years with results, as follows :

PERIODS.	TEMPERANCE CLASS.		GENERAL CLASS.	
	Expected Deaths.	Actual Deaths.	Expected Deaths.	Actual Deaths.
1866-1870	549	411 or 74.8 p.c.	1008	944 or 93.0 p.c.
1871-1875	723	511 or 70.1 "	1268	1330 or 104.9 "
1876-1880	933	651 or 69.6 "	1485	1480 or 99.6 "
1881-1885	1179	835 or 70.8 "	1670	1530 or 91.6 "
1886-1890	1472	1015 or 68.9 "	1846	1750 or 94.8 "
1891-1895	1686	1203 or 70.1 "	1958	1953 or 99.7 "
1896-1899	1506	1098 or 79.9 "	1634	1482 or 90.7 "
1866-1899	8048	5742 or 71.1 "	10869	10469 or 96.3 "

The Mutual Life of New York, in a circular dated January 17, 1878, through its trustees, gave emphatic warning to all its policy holders, by stating that there had been an alarming increase in the death rate "of late years," caused directly or indirectly by the increased use of intoxicants. The circular concluded as follows: "In taking this action the Board of Trustees is not to be understood as casting any imputation upon the integrity or the habits of the great body of the insured. It is believed that the membership of this company, as a class, is superior in intelligence, sobriety and thrift, to that of any similar organizations in this country, and any intention to enter the arena of debatable questions in religion, morals or political economy, is expressly disavowed; this is purely a matter of business, in which the company relies for its protection on a proper administration of the laws of contract." "During the past year many policies upon the lives of persons who had become notoriously intemperate, have been canceled. It is our determination to pursue this course in the future; and if any to whom this circular shall come are conscious that persistence in evil ways is invalidating their legal claims upon the company, we warn them that they may be laying up a legacy of disappointment, instead of the beneficent provisions against want which an honorable fulfillment of their engagement will secure."

It is quite generally recognized that the toxic effects of alcohol are the cause of many forms of psychic degeneration.

According to Wilkins, drunkenness, directly or indirectly, is a greater cause of insanity than all other causes combined.

According to the report of the Prussian Imperial Sanitary Commission, there were received into the public and private institutions of Prussia in 1886-1888, 32,068 patients; 3531 of these, or 11 per cent. were delirium tremens patients. The number of those suffering to a more or less degree from psychic degeneration induced by alcohol were, 1886, 40.4 per cent.; 1887, 42.3 per cent.; 1888, 44.5 per cent. In 1893 the city of Berlin had 4398 patients in its institution for the insane, 50 per cent. of which were alcoholics. Of 623 men received into the Hertzberg Institution of Berlin in 1895-96, 280 or 44.9 per cent. were alcoholics. For Dresden the figures stand as follows: 1892, 33.2 per cent., 1893, 32 per cent., 1894, 30.4. In the Bremen Institution there were received, 1876-85, 1223 patients, 33.9 per cent. of which were alcoholics. In Frankfurt A. M. in 1897-98, 35.6 per cent. of the patients received into the institution were alcoholics; 14.4 per cent. of all patients received into the public institutions for the sick and insane in Breslau, 1896-97, were alcoholics.

The above represents the condition of things in almost every institution for the care of the insane in Germany, France, Switzerland and Austria.

Since 1889 insanity has been on the increase in England. The rate of increase for London is given at 25 per cent., whilst the rate of increase of population is stated to be 6 per cent. In Birmingham the insane from alcohol number 24.4 per cent. of the male, and 24.8 per cent. of the female inmates of the Hospital for the Insane.

There were received into the Edinburgh Insane Asylum in 1896, 470 patients, 22.34 per cent. of whom were sufferers from alcoholism. Drunkenness among women is increasing rapidly in England. In 1898 the number of male inmates of public and private institutions for the insane, sufferers from alcoholism, was 36 per cent. and that of the women 25 per cent. of the whole number. According to the report of Dr. Parish of the State Board of Lunacy of the State of New

York, the institutions of that State received from 1880-1895, 19,237 patients. Of these 1776 suffered psychic degeneration induced by alcohol.

In Massachusetts the seven State Institutions for the Insane received 1891-1898, 8475 male patients, and 7950 female patients. Of the former 23.5 per cent., and of the latter 8.5 per cent. were sufferers because of induced alcoholic degeneration.

And, what an important part alcohol plays in the annals of crime!

Lord Chief Justice Coleridge of England declared in 1897: "Most acts of violence and crime have their origin in the tavern and originate in drunkenness. We would be able to close nine-tenths of our prisons and jails if we could make England sober." In Edinburgh, 1874-78, 58.3 per cent. of all arrests were on account of alcoholic excesses. In 1872 the arrests for drunkenness and for crimes committed in a condition of drunkenness was 64.8 per cent. of all arrests. Liverpool 62.3 per cent., Leeds 42.7 per cent., Rockdale 43.5 per cent. Of 2421 persons arrested in Philadelphia, 2020 were alcoholics. Dr. Harris claims that 80 per cent. of all criminals imprisoned in the State of New York owe their imprisonment to alcoholic excesses. Of 53,459 persons arrested in Massachusetts in 1872-74, 35,755, or 66.9 per cent. were arrested for drunkenness or for crimes growing out of drunkenness; 81.9 per cent. of all persons convicted of crime and sentenced owe their sentence directly or indirectly to drink.

Of 40,807 arrested in Pennsylvania in 1872, 32,755 or 80.3 per cent. were arrested on account of drink. In the State's prison for the eastern districts of Pennsylvania there were, from 1892-1894, 1728 prisoners; 50.7 per cent. were classed as moderate drinkers, 32.7 per cent. as immoderate drinkers, and 16.6 per cent. as abstainers.

In the state's prison of Missouri in 1875-1876, 58 per cent. were classed as drunkards. In the State's prison at Elmira, New York, 1892, of 132 prisoners, 52, or 39.39 per cent. were classed as occasional drunks, 65, or 49.25 per cent. as habitual drunks, and 2, or 1.51 per cent. as periodical drunks. Of all

criminals in Canada, 90 per cent. of the men, and 95 per cent. of the women are made such through strong drink.

We had hoped that we would be able to trace the effects of the drink custom upon home life, its relation to divorce, and infanticide, and race degeneracy, but our article already exceeds the limits we had intended, and there remain but two phases of our indictment to which we desire to call attention.

And, first, as American citizens we must learn rightly to estimate the saloon and its power for evil in the community and in the State. It is through this agency principally that alcohol has been able to intrench itself among us, work its baneful influence and attain its awful power.

It is through the saloon that alcohol can defy the law ; subsidize the press and anesthetize judges and jurors. In a small volume published two years ago, *Chicago's Dark Places*, the author shows, as quoted by the *Arena*, the methods employed by the liquor interests to subvert the law and defy all considerations of common decency. He says: "The Brewers' Association stands ready to pay the costs, and defend its members in all cases, whether they have been guilty of violating the law or not." When it is taken into consideration that the Chicago Brewers' Association is but one of hundreds of similar associations in every part of our country to protect its own interests, and the interests of its saloon keepers ; and that the associations or the individual brewers own most of the saloons, and the saloon keeper is in most cases, and in fact must be, the willing tool in the hands of those representing vast capital, it can readily be seen that this power can defy all law and order, and that the citizen who would dare to protect his own home against a hellish curse is placed beyond the protection of the law. The above author further on has this to say: "The law requires the saloonist to keep closed on Sunday, yet a large number of saloons are open every Sunday in defiance of this law. The saloon keeper is required not to sell to minors without a written permit from parent or guardian, and yet there are thousands of saloons which pay no regard to this requirement. They are forbidden to harbor women of bad repute. And yet

we are informed that one saloon in Chicago keeps from twenty-five to forty harlots, while in hosts of other saloons special arrangements are made for the gratification of all forms of nameless immoralities which spring from lust, fed and inflamed by rum." Since the opening of the present year a new scheme has been put in operation by one of the Chicago liquor firms; a firm that has in hand the business of the "high class" saloons of the city. It has opened a "Ladies' Store," in order to supply the "home trade." "'Ladies' will wait on the customers, among congenial surroundings, and orders will be filled with intelligence." The stigma which until now has attached to woman's direct contact with the saloon is to be removed, and the degradation of the home is to be made more respectable. And why is it that decent society permits these outrages against law and order, and against the common decencies of moral life? Because moral society in America has been hypnotized by the drink evil. No municipality in Illinois, nor in any other license State, can of itself shake off the curse. The web and woof of society in the cities lack moral courage, and unless the rural districts and prohibition States rise to the occasion, and that speedily, the condition will become irremediable. To-day the saloon interests own the State. The saloon interests control votes enough to turn the tide of any election. These interests control primaries; they control county and state conventions and elections; they control, for they have subsidized, the press. It is the "deadly upas" of the twentieth century civilization. In Chicago alone, there are over 6000 saloons. The author of *Chicago's Dark Places* claims that in the year ending March 1, 1901, the expenditure for beer alone, in Chicago was forty million dollars. He places the population at about 1,200,000. This gives an average of \$33.25 for every man, woman and child in Chicago, and this he claims is "conservative figuring." If this vast sum was spent for beer alone, it can be taken for granted that Chicago's drink bill for that year exceeded eighty million dollars. And that, at a time, when the local papers claimed that there were thirty thousand men in the city unemployed, wandering about seeking for means to earn their daily

bread. At a time when the inspectors in the interests of the compulsory school law reported that there were a great number of children in the city so destitute as to be absolutely unfit to attend school, "decency forbidding that the sexes in far more than semi-nude condition should mingle in the schoolroom." "One night in February, 1901, one hundred and twenty-four destitute and homeless men begged for shelter in the cells of the police stations. Of these sixty-eight were native-born Americans. Fourteen men passed the night in a space eight by nine and a half feet, some standing part of the time to afford others room to sleep on the floor, packed like sardines."

The story of *Chicago's Dark Places* is the story of every great city in this country, and comparatively that of every town and hamlet in license States within the Union. Let any older citizen in any town or village where taverns and saloons exist pass through one of its streets and count the homes to his right and left that have been blighted and the minds that have gone out in darkness; and call up from the pages of memory the faces of those whom he knew in the freshness and bloom of youth, and saw go down into a drunkard's grave, and think of the tears and anguish and pain and poverty and disgrace that came between the first glass, and the thud of the sod upon the coffin lid, and he will realize in a measure the curse of drink. Only in a measure. For it requires a judgment day, and the records of a just and omnipotent and omniscient God to reveal it all.

Well, but what of the future? Prof. Hoppe furnishes me this thought. If in former ages the rich, the high and exalted indulged to excess, the great body of the middle class and the poor remained untouched, and when, after two, three or four generations such a class had exhausted its physical and psychic power, it sank out of sight, and another class whose predecessors had husbanded their strength, in poverty it may be, took its place. And when, in the past whole tribes and races wasted their power and energies in profligate living, they were pushed to the wall, or utterly obliterated by other tribes or races not thus weakened.

What, however can be the hopes for humanity, poisoned

through and through by the poison of alcohol? Where is there a people to-day free from its blighting influences. Our lust of greed has seen to it that Africa, India, China, Japan, Australia, the Philippines and every isle of the sea in every habitable part of the globe, is placed under tribute to the universal curse. Where can we look for a reserve force to stem the mighty tide. When humanity shall have lost its physical and psychic strength, who or what people will be equal to the mighty intellectual problems of the future, and settle and adjust the problem arising from conditions of congested populations, and other conditions, which will demand for their solution the highest possible physical and mental development.



ARTICLE IV.

THE TAKING OF THE CROSS: A DEVOTIONAL STUDY OF THE CRUSADES.

BY REV. JAMES A. B. SCHERER, PH.D.

With the twelfth century, while the dawn from the Dark Ages was as yet unbroken, appeared that romantic and spirited movement of history known as the Crusades. Europe had been sleeping; not the sleep of sweet rest and pleasant dreams, but the distressed, horrid slumber of nightmare. During the ninth and tenth centuries there had been no less than fifty incursions of the Northmen throughout France, which they swept as with a besom of destruction; while countless whirlwinds of the Huns devastated the whole of Europe, until the fields were actually left untilled, becoming, as in primeval times, the dwelling-place of numberless wild beasts, which herded in human homesteads, unafraid, and, in turn, less dreaded than these human beasts of Huns. They were wandering shepherd tribes, natives of the north of Asia, and inhabiting the vast plains between Russia and China. "They had no houses. They lived in tents, in which they also stabled their horses. From being constantly on horseback their legs were crooked. They were short men, broad-shouldered, with strong muscular

arms; had coarse, thick lips, straight, black, wiry hair, little, round, sloe-like eyes, yellow complexions, and sausage noses. They were filthy in their habits. Their horrible ugliness, their disgusting smell, their ferocity, the speed with which they moved, their insensibility to the gentler feelings, made the Goths, with whom they first came in contact, believe they were half demons. They ate, drank, and slept on horseback. Their no less hideous wives and children followed them in wagons. They ate roots and raw meat. They seemed insensible to hunger, thirst, and cold." To complete the repulsiveness of this interesting picture from the pages of Baring-Gould, we need only to add that the weapons with which these frightful folk fought were the sword, the spear, the battle-axe, and, chiefly, the terrible Tartar bows. They seemed created and equipped of the arch-fiend himself.

With the coming of barbarians into the land, there was a revival of barbarism among the people. "One feels almost, in reading the foul and frightful annals, as if the ancient Pagan temper, driven into the air or trodden into the soil before the armies of the empire, had settled back densely and heavily upon Europe, and was infecting and poisoning the very springs of spiritual life." This was true, not only of the people, but also of their princes, and even of the popes. It is no figure of speech to say that the "vicars of Christ" became the devotees of Satan. Not only were satanic rites actually practiced at the Vatican, but the spirit of evil reigned there, the pontifical palace at one time becoming little else than "a vast school of prostitution." These are not the slanders of Protestantism. Why, indeed, should not we feel as deeply as the Roman Catholics the shame of those awful days, seeing that the Church of Rome is the mother of us all? The French Catholic, Mabillon, out of many that might be cited, confesses that most of the popes of the tenth century "lived rather like monsters, or like wild beasts, than like bishops." Let us hear also from Cardinal Newman on this subject. In his "Essays, Critical and Historical" he declares that "no exaggeration is possible of the demoralized state into which the Christian world, and especially the

Church of Rome, had fallen in the years that followed the extinction of the Carolingian line (A. D., 887). * * * * At the close of the ninth century Pope Stephen VI dragged the body of an obnoxious predecessor from the grave, and, after subjecting it to a mock trial, cut off its head and threw it into the Tiber. He himself was subsequently deposed, and strangled in prison. In the years that followed, the power of electing to the papedom actually fell into the hands of intriguing and licentious Theodora and her equally unprincipled daughters. * * * * Boniface VII (A. D., 974), in the space of a few weeks after his elevation, plundered the treasury and basilica of St. Peter of all he could conveniently carry off and fled to Constantinople. * * * * Benedict IX (A. D., 1033), was consecrated pope, according to some authorities, at the age of ten or twelve years, and became notorious for adulteries and murders. At length he resolved on marrying his first cousin ; and when her father would not consent except on the condition of his resigning the papedom, he sold it for a large sum, and consecrated the purchaser as his successor. Such are a few of the most prominent features of the ecclesiastical history of those dreadful times, when, in the words of St. Bruno, 'the world lay in wickedness, holiness had disappeared, justice had perished, and truth had been buried.' " It was a Pagan revival of indefinitely greater strength and evil than that of Julian the Apostate ; for then Paganism was without the Church, but now the Church itself is Paganized. Tiberius and Caligula, those monsters of heathendom, were now outdone by the "holy fathers" of Christendom, who vied with one another in the practice of the vilest vices, the rule of the Christian Church being actually called, and truthfully called, a "Pornocracy."

The distress of the people was most profound. As though the natural terrors were not sufficiently acute, they fell into abnormal fear of the supernatural. It was believed that the end of the world was nigh. Fearful portents were seen in sky and sea. Every night men laid weary heads upon their pillows, in dread expectation of the midnight trump of doom.

Each morning the sun blanched their faces with the promise of a burning world. Nerveless, they forsook accustomed tasks, awaiting in idle cowardice the final hour. Famine fell upon the land. Greece, Italy, France, and England were involved in it. The people actually fell into the horrors of cannibalism. "Men ate earth, weeds, roots, the bark of trees, vermin, dead bodies." Mothers devoured their children, and children their mothers, in the frenzy of hunger. Men were murdered to be eaten, and human flesh was almost openly sold in the markets. Storrs says: "The multitude of the dead was so great that they could not be buried, and wolves flocked to feast on their bodies. Great numbers were tumbled promiscuously into vast trenches. A state of fierce cannibal savagery appeared likely to mark the end of a fallen and ruined race, for which the Lord had died in vain. It was not wonderful that men following their dead relations to the grave sometimes cast themselves into it, to end at once their intolerable life." The Roman Catholic historian, Michelet, has dramatically pointed out that "the very statues of the period are sad and pinched, as if the dreadful apprehension of the age had sunk into the softened stone." It was the age of the power of darkness. The whole world lay in wickedness, and the Church of Christ was asleep.

Then, in that darkest, stillest hour, which is just before the dawn, a silver bugle rang clear and shrill, like the call of the chanticleer. It was God's breath that filled it; and it thrilled with the music of Christ's name. From sea to sea, from land to land it sounded. Men rubbed their eyes; leaped to their feet in the darkness; buckled on their scabbards; flashed blades high in the unresponsive air; shouted to chill gray dawn, "It is the will of God!" and rushed, six hundred thousand strong, towards the holy city of Jerusalem, "to break the heathen and uphold the Christ." Seven times it roused new sleepers to the hurry of impetuous warfare; seven times the sons of re-awakening Europe flung themselves across these as against the sullen Saracens, who stood like a dark wall between them and the holy home of their Lord the Christ—only to be cast back on the sodden shores, clotted with the blood of defeat, or else pale corpses, Even children, a score of thousand children,

mere tender babes, piped with their treble voices, "It is the will of God!" and sought to redeem, with swords in their dimpled hands, the home of the Babe of Bethlehem; but they, too—O pitiful!—were lost, a myriad babes in the wood, their only shroud the leaves, their only priest the robin.

What a catastrophe! men will say, have said. The Crusades—what a failure, what a vast mistake of history! But, in the end history does not make mistakes. When we cannot understand her, it is only because we are not wise enough. For history is the handmaid of the Almighty, and "facts are the finger of God." The Crusades? Men of science tell us that to every sleeper, in every night, comes a moment fraught with the baleful threat of death. The tide of his blood is ebbing. The hammer of his pulse is silent. The great engine of the heart throbs its last and faintest. Then, they tell us, unless at that fearful time there come some stir of warning to the sleeper, some whispering call from the deeps of the darkness to startle the engine to its work again, and the pulse to its duty, and the blood to its flow—then the heart sleeps forever, and when friends come in the morning they find a dead man there. So we may say that the call to the Crusades saved the life of Europe. Their origin has been a mystery. Historians have stood amazed at this vast sudden movement of millions towards the same frail sentimental goal. But the call to the Crusades was the call of God. The sleepers stirred. Their pulses set a-beating to the quick throb of war drums. The sluggish blood sprang once more like a brook. The Crusaders were defeated, but Europe was saved, because she was awake. The darkness was overpast. New life came, as always, out of the East into the West. From that moment the page of history brightens. The period of those strange holy wars, apparently so unsuccessful, is precisely the period of the dawn from the darkest age that has ever eclipsed the world since Christ was slain, into the requickened life of day. And so, in the wiser way, those wars were gloriously successful. God's thoughts are not as man's thoughts. "He moves in a mysterious way, His wonders to perform." The call to the Crusades was a thoughtfull loving device of the great watchful Father to save

his sleeping children from the sleep of death, as he waked them with the music of Christ's name.

Moreover, the Crusades did a service not for Europe only, but for the whole world; not for that age alone, but for all time. Think what a flower grew up from the blood of those fallen knights! It is the flower of chivalry. Shame on that cheap humor that would pawn our holiest traditions for a laugh! Pity it is that all of us "Yankees" could not go and dwell for a season in King Arthur's court, there to learn at least a higher worship than the worship of the dollar. No single gift has come to us from Christianity, that great source of all best gifts, which is of sweeter influence in the mutual relationships of men than the spirit of chivalry. The knights, once sworn to a noble cause, were always malcontent with ignobility. Unsuccessful in attaining the material object of their warfare, they did but learn a firmer grasp on the snowy fields of the ideal. Failing to gain possession of the Holy Land, they yet were led, through pursuing a noble and romantic purpose, to know of a holier land, of that fair kingdom of God which is within. The inspiring history of that holy city, Jerusalem, which they sought in vain to take and keep, told them of a greatness which is greater than that of taking a city. Schooled in the noble discipline of fighting, unafraid, whole hordes of overwhelming heathen, they were wed forever to the battle of the weak against the strong, and so returned from fighting the strong men of the East to fight for the weak of the West. The knight's banner, once uplifted, never falls: for it is the essence of knighthood to battle for ideals, and ideals are unaffected by material failures. You cannot hurt a spirit. See, then, what rich bequest comes to the world from these fanatical Crusades. They taught the world the battle of the weak against the strong; the battle for the spiritual against the material and gross; the battle of ideals against dollars; the battle for women against villains; of romanticism against realism; of poetry against the prosaic; of right against wrong. But for the Crusades, men perhaps would not know the manly gesture of baring the head to women—that remarkable tribute of physical

strength to spiritual strength. But for the Crusades there might be now no clear-eyed lad to defend a child against a bully. But for the Crusades, our minstrelsy would be unspeakably impoverished; for the story of the foolish doings of those romantic knights has been the theme of all our wisest music since their time.

Tennyson's glowing pages draw all their light from chivalry. The great Victorian poet has, indeed, uttered the very creed of knighthood for us, when, speaking as King Arthur to his knights, he cries :

“I made them lay their hands in mine and swear
To reverence the King, as if he were
Their conscience, and their conscience as their king,
To break the heathen and uphold the Christ,
To ride abroad redressing human wrongs,
To speak no slander, no, nor listen to it,
To lead sweet lives in purest chastity,
To love one maiden only, cleave to her,
And worship her by years of noble deeds
Until they won her ; for indeed I knew
Of no more subtle master under heaven
Than is the maiden passion for a maid,
Not only to keep down the base in man,
But teach high thoughts, and amiable words,
And courtliness, and the desire of fame
And love of truth and all that makes a man.”

What ear so dull as to be deaf to that noble music? What heart so numb as not to thrill with the charm of knightliness? Chivalry! it may be called the fairest flower of history, sprung from the root of that tree which Roman soldiers planted one day, high on Calvary. For as the source of knighthood is the Crusades, so the source of the Crusades is the cross.

That is what the word means. A crusade is a war for the cross. The sign of enlistment was not a cap and a row of buttons, it was a red cross on the right shoulder. Becoming a soldier-knight was in those days called the taking of the cross, *the taking of the cross*. Peter, the Hermit, on a pilgrimage to Jerusalem, had witnessed for himself the pollution of the holy places by blasphemous Mohametans, and secured per-

mission from the Patriarch of the East and the Pope of the West to announce these pollutions to all Christendom, with an appeal for redress and deliverance. Pope Urban II gave him the enthusiastic support of his influence and his eloquence. At Clermont, in the year 1095, the great orator addressed a vast concourse composed largely of proud knights, whose chief business had hitherto been plunder and feud. "Yea," he exclaimed, "the knighthood of Christ hath even plundered Christ's fold, exchanging the deeds of a knight for the works of night. As ye love your souls, now go forth boldly, and, quitting this mutual slaughter, take up arms for the household of faith. Christ himself will be your leader, as, more valiantly than did the Israelites of old, you fight for your Jerusalem. It will be a goodly thing to die in that city, where Christ died for you. Let not love of any earthly possession detain you. It were better to die in warfare than behold the evils that befall the holy places. Start upon the way to the holy sepulchre; wrench the land from the accursed race, and subdue it to yourselves. Thus shall you spoil your foes of their wealth and return home victorious, or else, purpled with your own blood, receive an everlasting reward." As the voice of the speaker died away, there went up one cry from the assembled host: "It is the will of God! It is the will of God!" "Then raising his eyes to heaven and stretching out his hand for silence, Urban renewed his speech with words of praise: 'This day hath been fulfilled in your midst the saying of our Lord,' "Where two or three are gathered together in my name, there am I in the midst of them." Had not the Lord been in your midst, you would not thus have all uttered the same cry. Wherefore I tell you it is God who hath inspired you with His voice. So let the Lord's motto be your battle-cry, and when you go forth to meet the enemy this shall be your watchword: "It is the will of God! It is the will of God!"' " The multitudes flung themselves prostrate before the sign of the uplifted cross. Proud knights bent the knee, and even groveled in the dust, before the sign of Calvary, pledging with kisses and with vows their devotion unto death. On the right shoulder the insignia was affixed;

garments were destroyed that each might bear proudly on his shoulder the sign and seal of his undying devotion, even the red, the bloody cross. The Crusades were wars for the cross. The thought uppermost in the hearts of all re-awakened Europe at that time was this, and this alone: The Taking of the Cross.

What transformation is denoted by that phrase! The cross had been, but a few centuries before, the symbol of unutterable shame. Crucifixion was the lowest of deaths; men spoke of "the ignominious death of the cross," a death of peculiar shame, reserved for the lowest degraded criminals. Yet now, in those ages of the Crusades, it had become a badge of honor, worn proudly by the lordiest knights. It is a wonderful transformation—as though in our day men were to begin to paint the gallows upon their coats-of-arms. Think of what it means! A Jewish peasant bearing the common name of Jesus, had spent three years of his life in such away as to make even his own family say he was "beside himself." Deserted at the last even by his own chosen twelve, one of them delivered him into the hands of Roman soldiers, who mocked him, scourged him, slapped him, and spat in his face. His boasted crown turned out to be but a crown of thorns, plaited by the coarse thick fingers of some Roman guardsman. For his scepter, they put a reed into his hand. Then they knelt, with mocking laughter, and hailed him as a king. Silent, pale, helpless, he could not save himself. So the Roman soldiers crucified him, and speared him, and at the foot of his cross raffled away his garments. So died he: in perfect loneliness, utter defeat, and profoundest shamefulness. Yet, because of a rumor that spread abroad shortly after his death, people began to believe in him again, and a sect sprang up. This sect gained a following at length in Rome; because, as the citizen Tacitus bitterly confesses everything worthless and vile drifted to the capital. Nero burnt these fanatics. Trajan outlawed them. The gentle Aurelius did not scruple to murder them. Decius slew them wholesale. Diocletian and Galerius sought them out man by man, woman by woman, child by child, determined

that not one of the vermin should remain to corrupt the Roman State. Then, after two hundred and fifty years of this fierce and bloody work, the State rested in weary satisfaction and celebrated its victory.

But the next emperor is a Christian. He takes the eagles from his standards, and replaces them with crosses. The badge of shame becomes a sign of glory. He bids his Roman soldiers fight in the name of the crucified Jew. Roman soldiers bow the knee to Him whom Roman soldiers scourged. Again do they put a crown upon His head and a scepter in His hand, but not in scorn. Jesus is their King, above Cæsar. Galilee has conquered Rome. The empire becomes Christian by imperial decree. Christians, no longer wandering about in deserts or dwelling in the caves of the earth, drive in gilded chariots of state, becoming the most honored officers of the empire. They have exchanged their goat-skins for brocades, the purple of mourning for the purple of rule. The poor are rich, the debased are exalted, the vanquished are the victors. "Constantine the Defender" succeeds "Galerius the Butcher." The Crusaders did but follow Constantine when they took the cross; and millions since have followed the Crusaders in choosing as their highest, proudest symbol that which was, till Jesus died, the badge of shame. To-day it is the center of our noblest paintings. Women wear it pendant on their breasts. Plain men choose it as their single ornament. Our books are stamped with it. It gleams, gilded, from the summit of our noblest architecture. And always there dwells in this simple transverse figure a dignity and glory belonging to no other symbol known to man.

Why is it so? Why this remarkable transformation of an ancient gallows into a modern emblem of glory? Marvelous as it may seem, this is the simple reason: because that outlawed Jew did die thereon. Because this cross was the scaffold of the Man of Nazareth; because it upbore in death His suffering body, therefore it has become a symbol loved and adored and glorious. He it was that uplifted it. Because of Him who bore the cross did Roman emperors weave it with gold

upon their purple standards. And it was supreme devotion to Jesus Christ, a thousand years after He had died, and in the darkest of all ages since the black year of His death—it was supreme devotion to Him that led those millions of Crusaders to the taking of the cross. Let us seize this thought in all its full significance: the supreme attractiveness of that grand figure whose death could glorify a gallows! “I, if I be lifted up,” said He, “will draw all men unto me.” Superbly is that prophecy proved true. Hearts of iron have leaped irresistibly and forever unto Him, the Great Magnet. Thousands of earth’s knightliest souls have taken the cross and followed Him.

Beginning with His own earliest disciples—what a splendid vision had the beloved John of the supreme kingliness of Jesus! “Behold a white horse! And He that is seated thereon is called Faithful and True, and in righteousness He doth judge and make war. His eyes are as a flaming fire, and on His head are many crowns—many crowns! And He hath a Name written, which no man knoweth, but He Himself. And He is clothed in a vesture dipped in blood; and His Name is called the Word of God. And the armies which are in heaven follow Him, upon white horses, clothed in fine linen, white and clean. And He hath on His vesture and on His thigh a Name written, King of kings and Lord of lords.” Simple contact for three short years with this superb crucified King uplifted humble John the fisherman into John the rapt seer, the poet, and the saint. Think also of that other Gallilean fisherman; hard-handed, harsh, soiled with his unseemly trade, whose brittle character was transformed into the Rock of the Church through his apperception of the knightliness of Jesus: “Who,” as Cephas cries with divine enthusiasm—“Who did no sin, neither was guile found in His mouth; Who, when He was reviled, reviled not again; when He suffered, He threatened not; but committed Himself to Him that judgeth righteously.” So, by the firm yet gentle and supremely faithful knightliness of his Leader was this impetuous, uncouth and faithless fisherman transformed into one who was faithful to his Master even unto death, humbly requesting, when they led him, too, to be crucified, that they affix him to the cross head-

downwards, since he was not worthy even to die in the same manner as had His knightly Lord.

Ah, those white-clad heavenly armies of John's vision—those ascended followers of Jesus, who follow in their Master's train: see them as they march, that glorious cavalry, clothed in glistening linen, white and clean! Hear their shouts of supreme devotion to Him for whose sake they were led on earth to take the cross, whereas now in heaven they wear the crown. Leading that host of white-clad armies is the fine old chieftain of Tarsus, who fought a good fight, who kept the faith, and who went half regretfully (since to live was Christ) to the gain of the crown of righteousness, his need for the taking of the cross. Once he had despised that cross. But a single eye-to-eye vision of the kingly Christ transformed him from enemy to friend. Hear his devotion utter itself in angelic eloquence as he cries: "For I am persuaded that neither death nor life nor angels nor principalities nor powers nor things present nor things to come nor height nor depth nor any other creature shall be able to separate us from the love of God, which is in Christ Jesus our Lord." "Unto this King eternal, immortal, invisible, the Only Wise God, be honor and glory for ever and ever!"

Out of those thousands voices of ascended knights a few dim echoes come to us. Hear Augustine's ascription of devotion to his Leader, as he cries: "O Truth who art Eternity! And Love who art Truth! And Eternity who art Love! Thou art my All, to Thee do I sigh night and day. When I first knew Thee, Thou liftedst me up, that I might see there was somewhat for me to see, and that I was not yet such as to see. And Thou streaming forth Thy beams of light upon me most strongly, didst beat back the weakness of my sight, and I trembled with love and awe: and I perceived myself to be far off from Thee in the region of unlikeliness." And yet—"For Thyself Thou madest us; and our hearts are restless until they rest in Thee." There comes to us also the impassioned voice of the monk Bernard, who preached the Second Crusade: "If thou writest, nothing therein hath savor to me, unless I read Jesus in it. If thou discourest, nothing there is agreeable to

me unless in it also 'Jesus' resounds. He is as honey in the mouth, a melody in the ear, a song of jubilee in the heart. He is our medicine as well. Is any among you saddened? Let Jesus enter into his heart, and thence leap to his lips, and lo! at the rising illumination of His name, every cloud flies away, serenity returns." Often are the words of this medieval monk on our lips as we sing,

"Jesus, the very thought of thee,
With sweetness fills my breast,
But sweeter far thy face to see,
And in thy presence rest."

Next we hear the peaceful prayer of the sweet German mystic, Thomas à Kempis: "Grant to me above all things that can be desired, to rest in Thee, and in Thee to have my heart at peace. Thou art the true peace of the heart, Thou its only rest; out of Thee all things are hard and restless. In this very peace, that is, in Thee, Thou One Chiefest Eternal Good, I will sleep and rest."

The turbulent Luther, whose words were "half-battles," turns for peace and soothing to the Gentle Cross-Bearer, whispering ever so gently to his heart, "Keep still and He will mould thee into the right shape." A hundred years later, we hear the consecrated voice of Francis de Sales pledging his will to Christ's in everything; "without reserve, without a 'but,' an 'if,' or a limit." Then Fénelon offers himself in total sacrifice with the words, "Smite, or heal; depress me, or raise me up; I adore all Thy purposes without knowing them; I am silent; I offer myself in sacrifice; I yield myself to Thee; I would have no other desire than to do Thy will." In our own time, there has lately entered into the company of that white-clad throng one who prayed, "O Lord, who art as the shadow of a great rock in a weary land, who beholdest thy weak creatures weary of labor, weary of pleasure, weary of hope deferred, weary of self; in thine abundant compassion, and unutterable tenderness, bring us, I pray thee, unto thy rest." And then the clear-eyed Christian poet of the South, Sidney Lanier; hear him, after he has set all of earth's greatest names beside the name of Jesus, how he cries with transcendent admiration,

“But Thee, but Thee, O sovereign seer of Time,
But Thee, O poet’s Poet, Wisdom’s Tongue,
But Thee, O man’s best Man, O love’s best Love,
O perfect life in perfect labor writ,
O all men’s Comrade, Servant, King or Priest,
What *if* or *yet*, what mole, what flaw, what lapse,
What least defect or shadow of defect,
What rumor, tattled by an enemy,
Of inference loose, what lack of grace,
Even in torture’s grasp, or sleep’s, or death’s—
Oh, what amiss may I forgive in Thee,
Jesus, good Paragon, thou Crystal Christ?”

What a goodly company have followed Jesus in the taking of the cross! How many thousands of stainless knights have claimed Him as their leader! Truly, after this brief backward glance into the devotional history of the purest hearts that ever have throbbed on this old earth, we may sing with new understanding the words of that grand ancient hymn, the hymn of the valiant Crusaders themselves. As they marched on their venturous quest against His foes, the fair meadow-lands of France smiled to them of the gentle love of Christ, and the mighty German forests whispered of His majesty. In the dazzling Eastern sun that shone by day they saw His light, and in the silent wonders of the heavens by night they read His glory. To this terrible army with banners all created things did but speak of Him their Creator, Who was to them the Bright and Morning Star, the One Among Ten Thousand, and the Altogether Lovely. Thus it is that the music of this great “Crusaders’ Hymn” rolls through the ages down to us, throbbing with the martial tread of the armies of the Lord of Hosts, pulsing with the heart’s devotion of a myriad of Christian knights—

Beautiful Saviour! King of Creation,
True Son of God and Son of Man!
Truly I’d love Thee, truly I’d serve Thee,
Knight of my soul, my Joy, my Crown!

Fair are the meadows, fairer the woodlands,
Robed in the flowers of blooming spring;
Jesus is fairer, Jesus is purer,
He makes our sorrowing spirits sing.

Fair is the sunshine, fairer the moonlight,
And all the sparkling stars on high ;
Jesus shines brighter, Jesus shines purer,
Than all the angels in the sky.

Beautiful Saviour ! King of Creation !
True Son of God and Son of Man !
Glory and honor, praise, adoration,
Now and forevermore be Thine.

ARTICLE V.

A PAROUSIA INTERROGATION.

By REV. M. COOVER, A.M.

There is a natural desire to be an undeluded witness of a trustworthy fulfilment of prophecy. The privilege of immediately satisfying such a wish is given to any one that is patient enough to examine a query of Jesus and weigh the evidence. The query is finding its implied negative answer as fulfilment not in the conduct and disbelief of the unregenerate world alone, but in the exegesis and dogmatic treatment of the Bible record by avowed teachers and followers of Christ. This query of Jesus, the answer to which is being so strangely yet perceptibly realized in Christendom, is the question appended to the parable of the Unjust Judge : "Howbeit when the Son of Man cometh shall he find the faith on the earth ?"* The parable seems to teach nothing more than the lesson taught by the parable of the ungrateful Friend at Midnight. But the keynote of the parable is found in the last verse, which differentiates this parable significantly from the lesson of importunity addressed to the disciples in the parable of the unsympathetic friend. A poor woman whose rights are invaded by some rascal, and who is unable to maintain herself against his encroachments, appeals to the common public judge for defence of her property or her claims. But he is as much a villain as her adversary, and she gets no redress for her wrongs. The woman,

* Luke 18 : 8.

however, continues her application until the judge grows tired of her petitions, and jokingly says, "I will avenge her of her adversary lest she come and hit me under the eye." "Hear what the unjust judge saith," Jesus now remarks to his disciples. This villain at last yields to a poor helpless woman; "And shall not God avenge his own elect, which cry day and night unto him, though he bear long with them?" And then he adds: "Howbeit when the Son of Man cometh, shall he find the faith on the earth?"

But what has this remark to do with the parable? If God's elect continue crying day and night unto him through years of refusal or retarded answer, they must manifest a large measure of faith. Spasmodic prayer is consonant with want of true faith; but ceaseless petition regards God as interested in human need and welfare and reveals a reposed confidence in God's ability and final willingness to help. And yet in respect of a time, when the cries and yearnings, the ceaseless fervent prayers of believing humanity, are rising up to a trusted God, Jesus asks, "When the Son of Man cometh, shall he find the faith on the earth?"

But it is *the* faith; it is the definite article that gives this faith a peculiar significance. Righteousness will not have ceased on the earth; faith in God, and in his Son as the world's Redeemer, will not have died out when the Son of Man cometh. It is *faith in his real coming again* for the consummation of his kingdom and the judicative reparation of all wrongs that shall wane and disappear. In the long list of commentaries from Meyer to Plummer this passage is spoken of faintly. The former thinks it is dread lest the faith in Jesus as Messiah shall become obsolete. The latter is at sea in regard to the passage. Goebel, in *The Parables of Jesus*, teaches that faith in the final redemption will be weakened by the times of tribulation. Bruce, in *The Parabolic Teaching of Christ*, suggests that faith in God's providence will have all but died out.

But in *The Expositor's Greek Testament*, Bruce at last comes to this statement expressed in one brief sentence: "Not absolutely, but in reference to the second coming, hope deferred making the heart sick."

While men are growing in spiritual susceptibility, and their characters are making a rich appropriation of Christian virtues, the idea will prevail that the moral order will continue this way forever. They will be forgetful of something Jesus deemed important, forgetful that the Son of Man will yet come to effect a finality, to consummate his kingdom. The disciples possessed irrepressible faith in the coming of Christ during their life time. Yet among the many that believed in an early parousia and lived in this eager anticipation were some that began to doubt. Jesus had not left them more than a quarter of a century till men began to say, "Where is the promise of his coming, for since the fathers fell asleep, all things continue as they were from the beginning of creation." Paul taught watchfulness for the parousia, but not a Chiliasm. There was to be no realization of a perfected kingdom on earth. It was not an earthly utopia that he presented as a parousia-doctrine; no realistic eschatology after the symbolism of John's Apocalypse. To the Thessalonians, grieving over their dead who failed to survive to the expected coming of Jesus, Paul wrote the comforting assurance that those who were living at the time of the parousia would not precede the beloved dead, and added this significant statement, that the living must be changed. There must be a transmutation of the physical to the spiritual for entrance into a supersensible kingdom. The perspective of the future saw events that must intervene before the end, but no definite and orderly history with concluding events as a known foreclosure to the world era. There were no cataclysmic indications, no unmistakable foretokens to men in the era of Christ's first advent. Scientific evidence for a divine consummation of all things, physical or social portents presaging with undoubted surety a finality to this world's history, are not to be expected. But a consummation is a biblical assurance. Jesus had no foreboding that righteousness and faith in him as Messiah would cease as a preliminary to his return. But Jesus has not yet come, and is not expected; and when he does come he will find this the prevailing opinion still. It is not what the biblical record teaches, but what from present indications we think it ought to teach, that has become the criterion

of eschatology. The doctrine concerning the last things is one of the most difficult subjects for Biblical Theology. The scientific method of dealing with Christianity is bringing religious life under the general law of natural development. The worth of moral striving is not to include any attained goal of perfection, for that would be the final elimination of all forthreach of the will. The *summum bonum* does not consist in perfection, but in becoming. We are told not to regard the future good of man as a state of complete fulness, for the result of that would be a cessation of all volitional forthreach, an imperturbable, inane calm. The true value of life is its content of progress. End there is none; and the significance of the game of existence is not to be found in the goal, but in the playing of the game. The good is not to be found in perfection, but in process. There is no worth in the ends delusively sought, for attainment means stagnation. A realized goal is a meaningless, superfluous dream. Moral perfection or degradation reaching its ultimate ushers in a time described by Browning, when

"Man's face finds no more play or action
But joy, that is crystalized forever,
Or grief, an eternal petrification."

Perfection attained is followed by dissolution. The matured flower, the ripened fruit, decays. "What's come to perfection perishes."

A maturing purpose, however, differs slightly from a ripening plum; and an attained moral perfection doubtless follows a career different from a matured tuberose. When analogies are made to go on all fours, truth is made to sacrifice something of the intellectual and spiritual to give place to the animal. Is the consummation of the kingdom ever to be a realized fact? or is it only a progressive dream, a symbol of development without finality? No one can consistently study the New Testament and build up a Biblical Theology without recognizing a consummation. Most biblical scholars teach a consummation, but leave no room for it. The statements concerning the parousia find themselves wondrously distorted. In the

sifting of the biblical material the teaching of the New Testament is spiritually sublimated, and consummation becomes a mathematical surd. But even evolutionary teaching admits of world-dissolutions. It is not the believer in a consummation of all things that has the short view of organic process, but the short-sighted disciple of goalless endeavor, who is so steeped in process as to be unconscious of any *terminus ad quem*.

The fluctuating opinions and hypotheses of both physical and religious science, the utter materialization of the world, on the one hand, and the ultra-spiritual sublimation of it, on the other, create a feverish unrest. And the sad "unrest of the world" is doubtless due to the fact that science has not found her God.

The law of organic development and of social environment creates a historic explanation of Jesus. But as organic evolution knows no intrusion of the supernatural into the realm of matter, or into the forces of human character, the supersensible element must somehow be eliminated from the personality and power of Jesus. The historic conception should not be mongrel, but pure and consistent. Natural forces account for the supposedly superhuman.

Weiss, in his *Biblical Theology of the New Testament*, I, § 33, and *The Life of Christ*, III, 92, conceives the mind of Jesus to have been prepossessed by conceptions derived from the form of Old Testament prophecy, which lacked true perspective, commencement and consummation being viewed as one. Progressive development which lies between beginning and end was overlooked, and the fulfilment was closely connected with the incipient movement of history. But Weiss neglects to observe the fact that Old Testament prophecy knew nothing of a second coming of the Messiah. It announced but one parousia. The conception of a second advent is one peculiar to Jesus, and the New Testament development. The mind of Jesus in its prevision was not limited or restrained by Old Testament prophecy. Jesus transcends the perceptions and predictions of the Old Testament prophets, and both foresees and teaches development before consummation. More keenly

than Weiss, Beyschlag, in his *New Testament Theology*, I, 199f., says of the prevision of Jesus, "The indefinite point extends into a line in which a beginning and an end with something lying between may be distinguished. In other words, Jesus comprehended the realization of the kingdom of God, which is generally represented by the prophets as momentary, like a flash of lightning, rather as a process of growth, a historical development; and according to the same law he consciously viewed also the future completion of his work as a course of history, achieved not in a single act, but in an advancing series of acts."

It is to be admitted that Jesus suffered limitations to his divine power in becoming true man. There was voluntary and essential self-emptying to become one with us. But when this limitation is made to influence his teaching to the extent of contracting his spiritual conceptions, and of narrowly circumscribing his qualifications as a religious guide within the illiberal circles of Jewish education and preconception, we have an invalidated Christ. The moderate limitations of Jesus' prevision set by Weiss soon run into the extreme humanistic confines of knowledge expressed by Schwartzkopff in chapter IV of *The Prophecies of Jesus Christ*. The contracted mind of Jesus permits of no comprehension capable of authoritative teaching. His dependence on natural education, and on the ideas of others, renders him incompetent to express independent and authoritative judgment in respect of things supersensible.

Wendt, in *The Teaching of Jesus*, II, 343ff., says of this concluding verse of the parable that it "seems like that of a pessimistic doubt on the part of Jesus as to the permanent continuance of the success of his messianic work on earth." Jesus was self-deceived as to the immediateness of his parousia. He had no consciousness that its nearness was only apparent and perspective. His conception that the earthly conclusion of his kingdom was comparatively near was out of correspondence with the real circumstances. And to overcome this offence at the ignorance of Jesus we are to bear in mind the "psychological presupposition" that Jesus was free from speculations as to the

time of his coming, and of the transition of the kingdom from its earthly state to its heavenly perfection, confessing to know neither the day nor the hour. But in attempting to penetrate the psychological state of Jesus, Wendt voluntarily fails to discern the significance of this verse, and calmly overlooks several of the most distinctive parables of Jesus. The whole field of evidence is not taken in, and the mind of the Master is not seen in its fulness.

While Jesus' followers were walking on the clouds of ecstatic expectancy believing that the kingdom was immediately to appear, Jesus, at short intervals, delivers the parables of the Pounds and of the Talents. Amid the fervor of popular expectation of immediate glory, Jesus on his last journey from Jericho to Jerusalem, tells the multitude that as a nobleman he is going to visit his suzerain to receive the investiture of a kingdom; but a great deal of merchandizing is to be done before his return. And on Mount Olivet, to the eager inquiry of the disciples as to the coming of the kingdom, he describes himself as a traveler going into a far country, who gives to his servants all his property to do business with; and it is a long time till the Lord of those servants cometh. Preceding the parable of the Pounds the disciples and general followers of Jesus are all *qui vive* for an immediate and glorious consummation. The kingdom is surely imminent. The rich young ruler makes all haste to secure his *quid boni*. James and John deem it expedient at once to present their candidacy for high office. But Jesus is calm and collected. There is no mental confusion. There is no need of haste on the part of his followers. There will be ample time to cool and settle, to correct errors of opinion and expectation; time for the aspirations of the ambitious to be reformed, and for men to conceive new purposes and be elevated by noble pursuits. The malice of the captious and disaffected will have capacious opportunity to vent itself. Privileged embassies may be dispatched to the suzerain to resist the rights of investiture.

Subsequently to the parable of the Pounds an occasion called from Jesus an exhortation to live in an attitude of watchful-

ness for his return. The expectancy of the disciples was to be keen, their alertness intelligently active, a readiness symbolized with lamp in hand well-provisioned with oil. In the parable of the Virgins he taught the disciples the spirit of proper waiting. "Watch, therefore," he said, "for ye know neither the day nor the hour wherein the Son of Man cometh."

But Jesus well knew the mind of his followers, how expectant they were of a very speedy coming, and followed his instructions concerning waiting with a parable which inculcated the necessity of working while they waited. The thought of Christ's speedy coming made the near future pregnant with glorious anticipations. So intense was this spirit that a discount was put on the present, and hearts were quickly palpitating with the happy expectation of what was about to be. This attitude, pensive of the future, and listless of the present, was becoming the prevailing temperament. It was deeply felt and plainly manifested subsequently by the Thessalonian Christians to whom Paul preached.

The expectancy of Jesus' speedy return annulled the value of present life. Men left their employment and walked about aimlessly awaiting the early appearance of their Lord. When Paul learned of it he rebuked their conduct, and told them to improve their time: "For we hear," he said, "that there are some which walk among you disorderly, working not at all, but are busybodies. Now them that are such we command and exhort by our Lord Jesus Christ, that with quietness they work, and eat their own bread." These watchful, loquacious busybodies were encroaching on the hospitality of others, and absorbing others' time in waiting for their Lord. Their lamps were in readiness for the Bridegroom, but their days were passed in unoccupied waiting, the prolongation of which was becoming socially and industriously disastrous.

They were errorists not in the expectation of the coming of Jesus, but in the idleness of waiting. This is just what Jesus foresaw as the result of a one-sided view of truth, and added as a corrective the parable of the Talents. The spirit of expectancy was not to annul the duty of industrial activity.

They were not to stand lamp in hand, but to set it on a lamp-stand and go to work. When he came they were to be found at the mill, and in the field, as well as on the house-top.

Differing from the Synoptists, John, in his gospel, associates the second coming chiefly with the dispensation of the Spirit. Jesus in his bodily absence will be present to his disciples as Holy Spirit, who is his *alter ego*, not merely to act as Comforter of orphans, but to be an advocate, a lawyer, to plead and defend Christ's cause. He will be with them alway to empower them to disciple nations, and to teach them to observe the things which make qualified citizens, and moral worth for his kingdom. John's teaching thus accords with the conclusion of Matthew's gospel. The parousia in John's gospel is not sublimated into a mere spiritual dispensation. Jesus is going away, but to prepare a place for his own. He will come again that where he is there they may be also. There is no haste, nor is there wanting a prevision of a consummation. His coming as Advocate does not exclude his parousia as judge. There is in John a *last day* from which the idea of consummation cannot be wholly eliminated.

Yet a smile of incredulity plays on the countenance of the critic. This showing of evidence by grouping the sayings of Jesus is mere fustian. The traditional conception of a parousia is sublime nonsense. The array of Scriptural evidence is only an air-castle which falls before the more comprehensive criticism of the gospels. Stevens, in *The Theology of the New Testament*, p. 159f., makes a radical sundering of these parables from any teaching whatever pertaining to the parousia.

"The parable of the Unjust Judge," he says, "which expressly purports to teach the certainty that prayer will be answered, is allegorized by Luke and applied to teach watchfulness in view of the Lord's second coming. We, therefore, see in this discourse traces of the tendency to apply to the idea of a final parousia sayings and parables whose form and content do not naturally yield themselves to such an application. In like manner, I cannot but regard it as improbable

that the parable of the Pounds or Talents originally referred to the parousia. * * * A candid review of the passages appears to me to leave no room for doubt that all three Synoptists have applied to a final coming sayings of Christ which could not have been originally intended to refer to that event. Exegesis must, indeed, maintain that the passages in their present form relate to that subject, but criticism—which is only a name for a more comprehensive estimate of the facts—cannot regard this reference at any rate in most instances as the original one.” This is the weakest passage in Professor Stevens’ work; for in it he avowedly sunders exegesis from Biblical Theology.

The Synoptists then have misrepresented Jesus’ teaching. The gospels are adaptations to the preconceptions and predilections of their authors; chronicles of traditional anticipations; the outcome of the ecstatic glorification of Messianic dreams. The record does not contain facts, but a faulty interpretation of facts. We do not have a factual Christ, but an eclectic interpretation of him. The gospels are not durable in the light of the more comprehensive criticism. Their absolute truth is now undiscoverable, and their statements are usable only by very careful postulates. The Synoptists and the authors of their logia or records were honest men, but the bias of their predilections led them into a series of artless errors.

They either misconceived or misinterpreted the sayings of Jesus, and there is no getting back of their preconceptions to establish convincing truth. There is only one answer possible to this kind of reasoning; and that is the negation of silence. When the critic makes his statement from predilection of personal opinion, and then creates his own evidence to support it, there is no basis for argument. The sundering of exegesis from theology, the sifting and superseding of Biblical records by superior judgment titled a “more comprehensive estimate of the facts,” makes a pretence of reaching facts without a record. The whole body of such development rests on subjectiveness.

Gilbert, in *The Revelation of Jesus*, chap. VII, spiritualizes the whole content of the parousia. He classifies the state-

ments of the last things under two heads ; *the coming on the clouds of heaven*, and *the coming with the angels* ; the former refers to the Jerusalem era of destruction ; the latter is a "figurative announcement of a grand luminous *Finis* at the bottom of the last page of earthly history." It is not clear whether a real *finis* is meant, or a symbol of an endlessly progressing economy of glory. The idea of a consummation is but a rhetorical climax, an intricately subscribed, but faintly legible, colophon, marking a conclusion of history as far as it can be symbolized. It follows the bent of Ritschl, who, in his system of theological development, makes a complete rejection of eschatology. Christianity is a service to humanity, and its keynote is "Altruism." The interests of the kingdom are pre-eminently earthly and social. "He shall come to judge the quick and the dead" is a buried tenet of belief.

These forms of doctrinal development cryptically pave the way to an idealism of the subjectively pantheistic type. There is a religious idealism being taught by our metaphysicians to which Christianity is unconsciously allying itself, an idealism in which, for a religious end, God ceases to be an undivided object and becomes an experience. The soul finds immediate union and communion with God. Man is suffered without reproof to rise above reason, not to rest on faith, but to interpenetrate God, to become part of the consciousness of the Absolute. Professor Royce, in his concluding *Gifford Lecture* says, "*We need not conceive the Ethical Individual, however partial he may be, as in any sense less in the grade of complication of his activity or in the multitude of his acts of will than is the Absolute*" (italics Prof. Royce's.) God ceases to be unique and indivisible, and allows or plans man's rise into the participation of the divine essence. We need to heed the warning of Plotinus that when man tries to rise above reason, he falls outside it. When God's immanence entirely absorbs man, evil becomes part of God's good. Pantheism always becomes detectable by its aspects of the fact of sin.

It must make room for evil as a phase of good. As dirt is

merely "matter misplaced," so evil is "misplaced good," or "good in the making."

There is then no judgment to be feared ; no sifting of character for the separation of the good from the evil ; no parousia in the biblical sense ; and no judicatory consummation. We all are divine. We all share absolute ethical harmony with God. The trend is patent. No Jesus need be looked for in the future, for the Jesus of the past is not the one we so long dreamed him to be, since the pious disquisitions of his ecstatic followers concerning him are the delusions of false ideas, the preconceptions of a realistic, unspiritual age. Modern prophet and priest, philosopher and religious teacher, express no faith in a Christ coming to consummate his kingdom. Before our eyes is a present-day fulfilment of prophecy ; verily, "when the Son of Man cometh, shall he find the faith on the earth ?"

ARTICLE VI.

BIBLE AND PULPIT.

BY REV. WILLIAM KELLY.

The Bible is an indispensable adjunct to the Christian pulpit, its teachings and principles being the basis on which the latter stands. Other volumes may be carried into the sacred desk : this book must be used in the pulpit. The desk from which it is excluded ceases to be Christian.

The clergyman should be a man of wide reading, research and breadth of information. He should enrich his mind with treasures of knowledge gathered from every conceivable field of scholarship, and the result of his literary explorations may be clearly manifested in his thought, style, and expression ; but he is not a true minister of Christ, qualified to address a congregation on the doctrines of Christian belief, unless his principal study is the Word of God. No breadth of scholarship along philosophical, theological or ethical lines can be substituted for an acquaintance with God's Word. The strong preachers of the centuries, not those who created an ephemeral *furore*, but

scholars who left the stamp of their genius on the life, thought and sentiment of the Church, as an abiding force, were not men who drew their inspiration mainly from the early fathers—the philosophies of Aristotle, Plato or Zeno, from Bernard, Bonaventure or Aquinas—they were men who made the Bible their touchstone, dug golden nuggets from its exhaustless mine, selected their weapons from its well-stocked arsenals, and drank deep and long from its fountains of truth. The more we study the lives of the great Christian orators during the Apostolic, Patristic, Medieval, Reformation, and Modern periods, the more we are convinced of the power of God's Word and the more we are impressed with the fact that the Bible is the true source of thought, instruction and eloquence, from which the pulpit must be supplied. The very design of the establishment of the Christian ministry shows that the Bible is for the pulpit and the pulpit for the Bible. The divine command, "Go ye therefore and make disciples of all the nations" led to the establishment of the pulpit as an essential part of Christian teaching, instituted with the design that living men might use it to proclaim the Gospel and publish the Law.

But to do this efficiently, the occupant of the pulpit must use the Bible as his constant companion and text-book. In the wideness of its scope as a book for the ministry of the entire Church, the Bible occupies a unique position. In the study and practice of Law, each nation has its own text-books; the same is true of medicine and other branches of knowledge, but as a standard of authority the Bible stands alone, the single authorized religious standard for the entire Christian world. If it be said there are Creeds and Confessions that are also authoritative, as the Apostolic and Nicene Creeds, the Augsburg and other Confessions, we admit the truth of the statement, which simply establishes our contention, for the Creeds and Confessions named are only authoritative because they draw their inspiration from the Word of God.

There are manifest advantages that accrue to him who in his pulpit ministrations appeals persistently to the authority of this book, for deny the question of authority as we may, there

must be an authoritative standard somewhere, if the pulpit is to deal efficiently with the problems of life. The professor in the classroom must speak with authority or the students will despise his instructions. The physician must give his remedies as though conscious of their worth, or he will lose the confidence of patients, and the clergyman must speak with assurance, or the pulpit will lose its influence.

The biblical preacher is always sure of his ground; entrenched on God's Word, he stands, not on the boggy quagmire of idle speculation or uncertain conjecture, but on the firm and stable rock of assured and immutable truth. This consciousness invests him with a courage and an assurance he would not otherwise possess—a confidence that is in itself an inspiration—takes possession of his own mind and reacts on the minds of his hearers. Believing that the verses he reads to his audience, from the Word, are emanations from the wisdom of the Infinite Mind, that the sentences he expounds from Holy Writ are Spirit and Life to the devout and attentive hearer, that the message he proclaims is the living word of truth, the Bible instructor, who, in the language of Watts—

“Preaches as if he ne'er would preach again,
And as a dying man to dying men,”

is, unconsciously to himself, clothed with an air of authority, tempered with mildness, such as should characterize the ambassador of Him whose teachings astonished the multitude and “whose Word was with power.” Nearly every Christian minister can testify to the discomfort, uncertainty, and uneasiness that possessed him when, drawing his inspiration from Plato, Kant, Mill or Spencer, he stood before his audience, and of the sudden bracing of the mind and confidence of assurance that came to him when discarding the brittle arguments of metaphysics and philosophy, he held aloft the naked sword of the Spirit, crying, “Thus saith the Lord!”

We do not believe the influence of the Bible is on the wane. We do not think it is in danger of becoming obsolete. In no era of the world's history was it more widely circulated, or in

greater demand than it is to-day, and it is a well-known fact that the preachers who have attracted the largest audiences in recent times, were men who regarded the Bible as the very Word of God. Spurgeon and Parker in England, Moody in America, Stocker in Germany, Gavazzi in Italy, Monod in France, and others scarcely less eminent, were biblical preachers in the best sense of the term.

But what part of the Bible should be employed in the ministrations of the pulpit is a pertinent question? In some quarters the notion seems to prevail that the New Testament alone is worthy a place in the sacred desk, that the Old Testament has become antiquated, that it has accomplished its mission, that it may be referred to as a volume of archaeology, history, poetry, customs, or reference, but that its practical religious value is at an end. Personally we hold that the Bible for the pulpit is not a partial and emasculated fragment, but the completed volume of the Gospel and the Law—the New as well as the Old, the Old as well as the New. There can be no doubt the expurgating tendency shown by many in their treatment of the Bible has tended to the serious injury of religion.

Everyone remembers the story of the man who had what he called "The Minister's Bible." His Pastor asked him what he meant by that, and received the reply, "I have sat five years under your ministry and have used this Bible. When you say anything is not authentic I cut it out. I have already cut out the Books of Job and Revelation and a great deal more beside." The minister tried to get the Bible from the parishoner, but failed, and meanwhile the process of elimination went on until one day the man returned from church with the cover under his arm—all that was left of his minister's Bible. This story, of course, is largely overdrawn, and yet it contains an element of truth. In too many quarters, men with superficial pretensions to learning, imagine they can best show the validity of their claim of scholarship by mutilating the Holy Scriptures. Persons who have never been heard of outside their pulpits or classrooms have been foisted into notoriety because of their attacks on the Word of God, leading others to

suppose that they, also, by similar methods might possibly emerge from obscurity to fame. There is considerable force in the sarcastic doggerel :

“Let us then be up, and doing
Things unorthodox each day,
Ripping Gospels up, and strewing
Old beliefs along the way.
Be not like dumb, driven cattle—
That would be a foolish crime,
Flout the Holy Bible, that, ll
Make you famous every time.”

The unfortunate tendency to mutilate the Word of God should be assiduously guarded against. The Christian Minister should not forget the honor the Great Teacher put on the Old Testament when he said, “Ye searched the Scriptures, because ye think that, in them, ye have eternal life ; and these are they which bear witness of me.” And again when he exclaimed, “If they hear not Moses and the Prophets neither will they be persuaded though one rose from the dead”—words spoken by the Master, when the canon of Scripture was the Old Testament only.

But while the Old Testament will always be used in pulpit ministrations, for the Law is still a school-master leading to Christ, the New Testament, especially, is the pulpit text-book. Here are found the precepts of Him who declared, “The Words I speak unto you are Spirit and Life.” Here are contained the clearest expositions of the great Christian doctrines ; the institution of the sacraments ; the life, character, teaching, and sacrifice of our Lord ; the first history of the establishment and extension of the Christian Church ; the Pauline and other Epistles, so rich in thought and fruitful in instruction ; and the Revelation of coming events when He who is the King of kings will take His power and reign !

The Bible will always be needed in the pulpit ; the skeptic, the scoffer, the so-called higher critic may affirm it has seen its best days, that its teachings are antiquated, its precepts obsolete, its influence on the wane ; they may tell us that some new

Gospel of ethical science will eventually supersede it in the pulpit and pew ; but such assertions do not alarm the student of Church history. They have frequently been made in other centuries. Systems of thought have been exploited in the past with much gush, plausibility and assurance ; some of these systems their authors and adherents confidently predicted would destroy the authority and influence of the Word, but the Bible still lives ; its power increases ; its influence extends ; and in the light of its past record those who revere it as the very Word of God, who remember the prediction, "Heaven and earth shall pass away, but My Word shall not pass away," as well as the words of the inspired prophet "The grass withereth, the flower fadeth, but the Word of our God shall stand forever"—those who hold, on the authority of Christ himself, that as long as the world remains, sinful men in need of salvation will continue to esteem and revere the Book and insist on its continuance as the true pulpit standard of instruction, and that, until the moment comes when the Night of Time shall be lost in the Dawn of Eternity, the Divine command will be given and obeyed, "Go stand in the temple and speak unto the people all the words of this life." Such persons believe the philosophies of the present may be superseded as other philosophical systems have been ; that the science of the present may pass as other systems have vanished ; that the legislation of to day may disappear before the influence of wiser and more equitable laws ; that social revolutions may overturn the present systems of civilization, order and government as preceding systems have been destroyed—but they also believe that God is not only in, but back of, the Bible and that the Divine Power is pledged to maintain the perpetuity of the Book.

It is held by certain so-called Liberals that the pulpit should be free ; that its occupants should present their individual ethical views and select their own text-books ; such men affirm that to require the use of the Bible in the pulpit is a restraint of individual liberty and tends to narrowness. In the sense that the Bible in the pulpit tends to the exclusion of false and pernicious teachings, injurious to the intellects, morals and con-

sciences of men, that it safeguards the pulpit, throwing around it needful and wholesome moral and spiritual restraints, investing it with a legitimate and wise narrowness that is a blessing to the souls of men, this charge is true—but to affirm that the use of the Bible makes the pulpit narrow, in any other than the holiest and wisest sense, is a slanderous charge against the teachings of the Book that points to moral and spiritual freedom by proclaiming to mankind the perfect law of liberty.

The Bible in the pulpit tends to shut out license, scepticism and the vagaries of science, falsely so-called, but there is not one solitary truth in real science, philosophy, nature, art, poetry, history, or literature which may not be used by the Christian minister to sustain, unfold, expand and amplify the teachings of the Word. With the Bible in the pulpit, the preacher is strong; without it he is weak—hence when men point him to the resources of philosophy and literature, as a substitute for the Word, his answer is akin to the reply of David when the hardy stripling, rejecting the armor of Saul, exclaimed, “I have not proved it.” Every true Christian pulpit will be provided with a copy of the Bible; every true Christian minister, no matter what may be the name of the denomination to which he belongs, will go to this Book for his facts and principles, his doctrines and inferences.

It was the writer's privilege to be present at the unveiling of the Luther monument in the City of Washington, in the year 1884. The splendid bronze figure of the great Reformer standing on its granite base, was draped with American flags, shrouding it from view, but when at an appropriate part of the ceremony the cords were pulled and the coverings fell from the colossal form, the assembled multitude looked on the statute of Luther, standing erect, one hand supporting the open Bible, the other placed upon it, and the face upturned. So should the Christian minister, with upturned face, invoking God's blessing on His message, enter the pulpit, open reverently the Bible, and proclaim fearlessly, boldly, and earnestly, to the congregation the precepts and principles of God's Word, exclaiming as he does so, “Thus saith the Lord!”

ARTICLE VII.

PETER'S THOUGHT OF THE CROSS.

BY REV. R. B. PEERY, PH.D.

The cross of Jesus is highly honored to-day. It crowns our most beautiful and costly buildings, decorates our polished marble shafts, and, overlaid with gold and jewels, is worn as a highly prized ornament on our bosoms. It is the world-wide mark of that merciful organization which has done so much to lessen the pain and horror of battle, the Red Cross Society. So often has this symbol been associated in our minds with all that is purest and best in life that we have come to think the shape of the cross itself artistically beautiful. The average man to-day seldom looks upon this holy sign without having his soul stirred by noble thoughts of self-sacrifice and love.

But it was not always so. Before the Prince of Glory hung upon that tree and forever glorified it, it was the "accursed tree," the symbol of a base felon's death. It stood for the lowest form of execution known to the Roman world. So shameful was it thought to be that a Roman citizen, no matter how vile his crime, could not be subjected to its ignominy; it was reserved as a special humiliation and disgrace to be visited upon condemned foreigners and slaves. Translated into modern speech, it represents that word which we hardly dare speak in polite society—the gallows. Just as death by hanging means infamy and disgrace, not only to the miserable offender but to his relatives as well, and especially to his children, so did the cross mean supreme contempt and disgrace. It signified to the ancient world just what the gallows does to the modern.

The disciples of Jesus naturally held this view of it, and shrank from contact with the cross with intense hatred and loathing. So strong was their feeling that Jesus dared not tell them of his approaching ignominy until late in his life, and even then he always hastened to connect the idea with his

resurrection glory. And although Christ gradually and cautiously introduced this coming fact to them, and dwelt upon its necessity, they were not able to understand it, nor to receive it. There was too great a contradiction in their minds between the glory and majesty of the expected Messiah and a low criminal's death to admit of any reconciliation. Therefore, when Jesus told them that he should be delivered up to the Gentiles, and mocked, and scourged, and spit upon, and killed, we read that they understood none of those things. It was not until after the resurrection that they were able to bear the idea of the cross; and not until very much later were they able to understand its full meaning.

We have data for tracing the gradual development of Peter's idea of the cross, and in this paper we purpose to trace that development. And in his attitude toward the cross Peter may well be taken as a representative of the other disciples, as their thought is not likely to have been in advance of his.

I. The first stage of Peter's thought that we wish to consider is that which he occupied when with his Lord in the flesh. His idea at that time is clearly shown in his attitude when Christ made the first formal announcement of his approaching sufferings and death to the twelve at Caesarea Philippi. We read in Matt. 16 : 21, 22, "*From that time began Jesus to show unto his disciples how that he must go unto Jerusalem, and suffer many things of the elders and chief priests and scribes, and be killed, and the third day be raised up. And Peter took him, and began to rebuke him, saying, Be it far from thee, Lord; this shall never be unto thee.*" He flatly refused to believe Jesus' announcement, and failed utterly to comprehend its necessity. The idea of a suffering Messiah was no part of his thought or expectation. With the whole body of his race he had overlooked the Messianic prophecies which refer to the humiliation and death of the coming King, or had explained away their natural meaning, and was looking only for a powerful, conquering Messiah, far removed from all suffering and pain. Many of the old prophets had referred to his humiliation and death, but their words had been explained otherwise. Espe-

cially had Isaiah foretold that he should be "*led as a lamb to the slaughter*," but the Jews understood him not. And Peter and his brethren, in following Jesus, had no other thought than that he would, in the flesh, finally triumph over all his foes, and set up a glorious visible kingdom, again establishing in all its glory the magnificent throne of David and of Solomon. For this purpose they conceived that the Messiah had come; but for some inexplicable reason he was not yet exercising his kingly power, and they were constantly astonished at it. Even the Baptist seer, seeing Jesus' humble and lowly course, was caused to doubt, and sent to ask if he really were the Messiah. Down to the very last the twelve still maintained this 'conception of the King, and expected him at the critical moment to confound his enemies and show forth his power and glory. And when he did not do this they were so surprised and disappointed that they all forsook him and fled.

There were two points in which the disciples entirely failed to understand their Lord until after his resurrection and ascension; and these were, the Nature of His Kingdom, and the Necessity for his Death. After all his teaching about the Kingdom, and striking parables illustrating its nature, they still failed to comprehend his meaning; and so on the very morning of his ascension we hear them asking him, "*Dost thou now at this time restore the kingdom to Israel?*" That his Kingdom was a spiritual kingdom, and that it had already come in his own person, and was quietly developing in their midst, they could not realize. Neither could they appreciate the necessity for his death. That he was to be perfected through suffering, and that his humiliation had a vital connection with his saving work, were thoughts far from their minds. Rather, to them the cross was a stumbling-block, a frustration of his designs, a falsifying of his claims.

For this reason when Peter came into actual contact with the cross he recoiled, doubted, stumbled, and fell. The others were so stunned that they forsook him and fled; but Peter, with a wild conflict of emotions, followed afar off; and in the hour of his fierce trial failed miserably. In this first period then, the

cross was to Peter a stumbling-block and rock of offense, the frustration of the Master's work, and the destruction of his own hope—a misunderstood and a hated thing.

II. In the years immediately succeeding the resurrection and ascension of Jesus we find the second stage in the development of Peter's thought. Although far from grasping the clear and full truth, he has advanced beyond his former position, and is able to follow the mind of the Master further into this mystery.

Peter's chief thought concerning the crucifixion at this time was that it had been a great and heinous crime, the evil effects of which God had frustrated by raising up Jesus from the dead. In his address in the first chapters of Acts he always refers to it as such, and urges the Jews to repent of it in order that they might escape the swift judgments of God. In Acts 2 : 22-23 we read, "*Ye men of Israel, hear these words : Jesus of Nazareth, a man approved of God unto you by mighty works and wonders and signs, which God did by him in the midst of you, even as ye yourselves know ; him, being delivered up by the determinate counsel and foreknowledge of God, ye by the hand of lawless men did crucify and slay.*" Later, standing in Solomon's porch, he spoke to the people thus, "*The God of Abraham, and of Isaac, and of Jacob, the God of our fathers, hath glorified his servant Jesus ; whom ye delivered up, and denied before the face of Pilate, when he had determined to release him. But ye denied the Holy and Righteous One, and asked for a murderer to be granted unto you, and killed the Prince of Life, whom God raised from the dead*" (Acts 3 : 13-15). And again from the 17th verse, "*And now brethren I wot that in ignorance ye did it, as did also your rulers. But the things which God foreshewed by the mouth of all the prophets that his Christ should suffer he thus fulfilled. Repent, therefore, and turn again, that your sins may be blotted out, that so there may come seasons of refreshing from the presence of the Lord.*"

These passages show Peter's main conception of the cross at that time to have been that it was a great crime, for which the Jewish nation was responsible before God. The other disciples doubtless looked upon it in much the same way.

But Peter had progressed far enough to see that this sad event was in accord with prophecy. It had been clearly foretold, and should have been expected by them. In this Pentecostal Sermon he quotes from David,

“I beheld the Lord always before my face ;
For he is on my right hand, that I should not be moved ;
Therefore my heart was glad, and my tongue rejoiced ;
Moreover my flesh also shall dwell in hope :
Because thou wilt not leave my soul in Hades,
Neither wilt thou give thy Holy One to see corruption,”

making the prophecy apply to the death and resurrection of Jesus. And in 3 : 18 he says, “*But the things which God fore-shewed by the mouth of all the prophets that his Christ should suffer he thus fulfilled.*” He recognized this event as a part of that great scheme of prophecy, a fact which he had failed to recognize before the resurrection.

Not only had Peter learned this as a foretold event ; he had also come to recognize it as being in harmony with God's will, and hence, in some sense, of God's contriving. He says Jesus was delivered up “*by the determinate counsel and foreknowledge of God.*” And again he says that Herod, and Pontius Pilate, and the Gentiles, and the peoples of Israel, had conspired to do “*whatsoever thy hand and thy counsel foreordained to come to pass.*”

This, it seems to me, is a fair representation of Peter's view of Jesus' death at that time. He regarded it as a great crime ; but one that had been foretold, and permitted by God for the accomplishment of his own inscrutable purposes. This is plainly taught in the first chapters of Acts ; but nothing beyond this is taught there. We search those records of the early Church in vain for a statement of any connection whatever between the death of Christ and our salvation. That his death was a sacrifice, effecting redemption for men, or a means of atonement with God, Peter did not yet see. It is true he exhorted the Jews to be baptized in the name of Jesus, unto remission of sins, and told them that God had sent his Servant to bless them in turning them away from their iniquities ; but

this is a very different thing from our common doctrine of the atonement. He did not say how their sins were to be remitted ; nor did he hint at any connection between that remission and Jesus' death. He simply preached faith in Christ as the expected Messiah, and taught that a hearty acceptance and following of him would turn them away from their sins, and bring them salvation. It is easy for us, with our inherited ideas, and dogmatic notions, to find more than this in these passages ; but if we will empty ourselves of all preconceived thoughts, and honestly study the first chapters of Acts, putting ourselves back into that time, we will see that this is about all they teach on this subject.

While Peter did not yet see all the truth, he had made a distinct advance upon his former position ; for he now recognized the despised cross as a part of God's plan, foretold by his prophets. How did this progress in thought come about ? What influences opened Peter's eyes that he might see this much of the truth ? I think we can find some of them. When the women who had followed him from Galilee went to the tomb on the resurrection morn and found not his body they were greatly troubled and perplexed, and just then, we are told, two angels appeared unto them, saying, "*Why seek ye the living among the dead ? He is not here, but is risen : remember how he spake unto you when he was yet in Galilee, saying that the Son of man must be delivered up into the hands of sinful men, and be crucified, and the third day rise again. And they remembered his words, and returned from the tomb, and told all the things to the eleven, and to all the rest.*" Thus was recalled to them the Master's own words concerning the necessity of his death, and their minds were made to dwell on those words. After they realized his resurrection they could the more calmly and intelligently contemplate those dark sayings at which they had formerly been offended.

On the way to Emmaus the risen Lord had himself said to two of his disciples, "*O foolish men, and slow of heart to believe in all that the prophets have spoken ? Behoved it not the Christ to suffer these things, and to enter into his glory ?*" And then

beginning from Moses and from all the prophets, he interpreted to them the scriptures concerning himself. These words were promptly related to the whole band of believers, and doubtless went far toward opening their eyes.

And afterwards the Lord appeared unto the others where they were gathered together, and said unto them, "*These are my words which I spake unto you while I was yet with you, how that all things must needs be fulfilled which are written in the law of Moses and the prophets and the psalms concerning me. Then opened he their mind that they might understand the scriptures.*" In this way Jesus not only recalled these truths, but explained and applied them; and thus they finally came to see that his death, instead of disproving his claims to be the Messiah, was a necessary part of God's revealed plan, and hence really proved those claims.

But further than this they had not yet progressed. The cross, while foretold and permitted, was still regarded as a hindrance rather than a help. The fact that the Christ they preached had died this ignominious death was thought to be one of the chief things in the way of rapid spread of the Gospel. To ask men to believe on one who had been crucified seemed to them a hard thing, as it really was. The great problem of reconciling the humiliation and suffering of the cross with the glory and majesty of the Messianic King was still unsolved.

III. The third stage in the development of Peter's idea is that revealed in his epistles. There we have his matured view, which he held and taught in the last years of his life. And in regard to the significance of Christ's death it is very far in advance of his view when he made those speeches recorded in Acts.

Peter proclaims his final thought concerning the cross in I Peter 2 : 24, "*Who his own self bare our sins in his own body on the tree, that we, having died unto sins, might live unto righteousness; by whose stripes ye were healed.*" And again in 3 : 18, "*Because Christ also suffered for our sins once, the righteous for the unrighteous, that he might bring us to God.*"

Here he undoubtedly teaches that Christ died in our stead, and that through his death we have remissions of sins. What is this but the Church's old doctrine of a vicarious atonement? Christ willingly endured his humiliation and suffering in our behalf; he hung upon the cross as our substitute, nailed there by our sins; he accomplished reconciliation, that is, "brought us to God," by his death.

Peter has at last learned the meaning of Isaiah's prophecy, "*Surely he hath borne our griefs, and carried our sorrows; yet we did esteem him stricken, smitten of God and afflicted. But he was wounded for our transgressions, he was bruised for our iniquities: the chastisement of our peace was upon him; and with his stripes we are healed. All we like sheep have gone astray; we have turned every one to his own way; and the Lord hath laid on him the iniquity of us all.*" For does not Peter quote Isaiah's very words? "*By whose stripes ye were healed. For ye were going astray like sheep; but are now returned unto the Shepherd and Bishop of your souls.*"

He had at last reached a position, too, where he could appreciate his Lord's words and imbibe their spirit. Jesus had told him long before, "*The Son of Man came not to be ministered unto but to minister, and to give his life a ransom for many*" (Mark 10 : 45). At the Last Supper he had solemnly proclaimed, when he gave them the cup, "*This is my blood of the covenant, which is shed for many unto remission of sins.*" Peter recalled these sayings, and repeated the same ideas almost in the same words, in his own statement of the purpose of Christ's death. At last he has come to see the truth as Jesus taught it to him in the olden time, when his eyes were blinded and his ears dull of hearing. Finally he is at one with his Master.

What circumstances brought about this great change in Peter's view? By what processes was he led on from that doubtful position shown in Acts to the higher and fuller ground on which he stood when he wrote the epistles? These epistles were written between the years 63 and 68; so that about thirty years had elapsed since the events recorded in the early chapters of Acts occurred. Doubtless he had given constant

thought to the subject, carefully reviewed all the Old Testament prophecies concerning the Messiah, and pondered long and deeply Christ's own words, during all those years. And we must never forget that the promised Spirit was now with him, to recall the things of Christ, to bear witness concerning Christ, and to guide him into all the truth. By long and deep meditation on these things under the guidance of the Spirit, he and the others were finally led to see the full truth about the cross.

It seems quite likely that Paul was the first to grasp fully the real meaning of the crucifixion. Not having been personally acquainted with the details of Christ's life, nor having experienced the humiliation and anguish of those trying days, perhaps his mind was more ready to free this great event from the accidental and temporal, and to see its real meaning, than were the minds of the other disciples. He had been directly taught in the mysteries of the faith by the Holy Spirit, and besides, he had a theological mind, capable of grappling with these great questions. So it is not unlikely that he first arrived at clear and definite convictions about some of them, and helped the other disciples to a clearer understanding of them, too. In Cor. 15 : 13, written about the year 57, Paul proclaims his doctrine of the cross, "*Christ died for our sins according to the Scriptures.*" In Rom. 3 : 24-25, written about 58, he says, "*Being justified freely by his grace, through the redemption that is in Christ Jesus : whom God set forth to be a propitiation through faith by his blood.*" So Paul has already arrived at his conclusion long before Peter wrote the epistles. We learn from Gal. 1 : 13 that Paul had once spent fifteen days with Peter in Jerusalem, and during that time they must have conversed much about the deep things of their common faith. And does it not seem probable that this great subject of Christ's death, and its relation to our salvation, was one of the subjects of their conversation? Very likely Paul's clearer and more logical mind was able to help Peter to unravel some of the tangled threads of his thought, and see certain truths more fully and plainly than he had before.

This, then, is what I conceive to have been Peter's thought of the cross at the different stages of his life; at first it was a stumbling-block to him; next he recognized it as a part of God's plan, but did not understand the reason of it; and finally he came to see that it was the very culminating point in Christ's work, and the means whereby remission of sins and salvation are offered to men. And so to him, too, the cross, which had once meant ignominy and shame, came to be the beautiful symbol of reconciliation and atonement, so that he could glory in it, and rejoice when he was counted worthy to die upon it.

ARTICLE VIII.

CURRENT THEOLOGICAL THOUGHT.

I.

ENGLISH AND AMERICAN.

BY REV. M. COOVER, A.M.

In *The Bibliotheca Sacra* for January, the Rev. S. W. Howland describes *The Story of Eve's Creation* after the method of evolutionary development. The chief purpose of organic development was the evolution of a rational being. The divine Mover by the method of evolution developed life in ascending stages from the lowest organisms to that species of animal nearest man in physical constitution. From animal parents sprang the first pair of human creatures. The capabilities of human parenthood did not involve rational powers. The rational endowment came by supernatural action upon the animal soul descended from purely animal parentage. The initial moment of human existence was effected by a *superadditum* of rational power to the animal nature. The economy of evolutionary process would demand but one originaive action to produce the genus *homo*.

But the beginning of the human race as described in Genesis, chap. 2, represents the human pair as having separate and

different origins; man created from dust and inbreathed by God with spirit, and woman formed from man, a rib constituting the framework of a new personality. This surgical and structural method of erecting a helpmeet for Adam is poetical and not scientific or historic. The economy of natural forces indicates that Adam and Eve were brother and sister, twins of animal parents. One divine act, one brooding spiritual contact, produced a human pair in one matrix. At birth the human pair were united in body by cartilage as were the Siamese twins. The "ensiform cartilage," or breast bone, was probably the form of conjunction. This was torn asunder by accident, or intentionally, by the rude animal parents. In the wild state of nature the human pair were separated and lost to each other in early years before the advanced condition of intelligently observing personality. In the years of loneliness Adam marked the difference between himself and the animal creatures about him, and longed for a companion possessing the properties of his human personality. Then Eve came by casual meeting, and Adam found his counterpart. A bone protruded from her breast or side, which corresponded to the cartilaginous socket in his side, and Adam exclaimed, "bone of my bone, and flesh of my flesh." He thought a rib had been taken from his side around which a companion had been built; and he called her "woman, because she was taken out of man." It was during the sleep of infancy's self-unconsciousness that the separation took place, and in their union in maturity they were again one pair. The protoplasm of the primal germ under the one act of the divine economy developed into a human pair, which became the parents of an unbroken human race.

In his suggestive romance the Rev. Mr. Howland misses the true biological continuity of the human race in his advocacy of creationism as the theory of the origin of each human soul born into the world.

A more adequate hypothesis would regard creationism as a single divine act in the matrix of the animal parent. The theory of traducianism alone fits evolution. Propagation from

parental life by natural human descent carries all the properties of the human personality.

In the same number of the magazine, the editor, Dr. Wright, gives an account of the scientific opinions respecting the recently found *Lansing skull*. The skull is evidently of considerable antiquity, and yet it shows a brain capacity approaching that of the American Indian. The theory long in vogue among thoroughgoing evolutionists required an almost inestimable period of time for the development of *homo sapiens* from the anthropoid ape. The transformation by development was incomparably slow and gradual. Geological time necessary for the world's preparation for animal life was formerly estimated in the hundreds of millions, but astronomers and physicists have now reduced the time to twenty-four millions of years. The length of time formerly demanded by hypothesis for the advance of man from savagery attending his animal origin to civilized conditions has now also been much modified. No appreciable change in the capacity of the human skull can be observed from the earliest dawn of civilization in Egypt and Babylonia to the races occupying the same lands to-day. The *Neanderthal* skull of more western development, among the lowest in form, yet deemed human, was pronounced by Professor Huxley to be capacious enough for the brain of a philosopher.

The *Lansing* skull according to the older theory of evolution should be midway between the capacity of man and the ape. Guesses and presumption must give way to accumulating facts which go to substantiate a sudden rise of *homo sapiens* from previous conditions of animal life. Professor Wright says, "There is no adequate scientific evidence going to show that the origin of man, even on the evolutionary hypothesis, was not through a sudden leap, which may well involve a divine interference, and might properly be called a miracle."

Glacial man was not so very ancient. The stretch of time now granted by geologists does not permit a recession greatly beyond the period of historic antiquity in the East. The

"missing link" between the anthropoid ape and man seems, even on evolutionary principles, to be a "sudden leap," leaving no traces of any intermediate physical development. The missing connection may well be the divine or miraculous factor, producing the creature in the rational likeness of his Creator.

While primitive man is being proved to be more modern than was formerly supposed, his civilization also is now being pushed back to a greater antiquity to meet and coalesce with his primitive physical condition. We will shortly have more filial respect for our first parents when their social and economic conditions will have shown a supra-savage state with moral and spiritual development more becoming to beings having similitude to a rational Creator.

The discovery and decipherment of the *Code of Hammurabi* takes us back to a distinctive civilization dating about 2250 B. C., which is the product of preceding centuries of growth. Babylonia reached its prestige under king Hammurabi with a commercial, juridical and architectural elevation very commendable to trade, art, and jurisprudence. As the patron of agriculture the king constructed great systems of canals for the irrigation of the fertile plains.

Commerce demanded laws for the control of distant dependencies of the empire. The king could be omnipresent in his domain only by a codified legislative system executed by sub-officers and forms of magistracy. The inventive mind added to its wealth of retentive forces by cuneiform writing on the easily prepared loam of the river valley. Inscribed tablets preserved the past product of mind, and gave incentive to greater mental and educational achievements. For six centuries, or more, subsequent to King Hammurabi, the empire of Babylonia was supreme among the Eastern states. But after a thousand years, about the twelfth century B. C., the kingdom of Elam is found in the supremacy, and the treasures of Sippar find a home in Susa, the Elamitish capitol, there to await the spade of the excavator and the skill of the decipherer in the

twentieth Christian century. Fifteen months ago the Code of Hammurabi was discovered at Susa by M. de Morgan. It was first translated into French by Prof. Scheil; then into German by Dr. Winckler, from whose copy an English translation was made and published in the *Independent*, Jan. 8, 15, and 22, 1903. A complete English translation has been made by the Rev. H. C. W. Johns, Lecturer in Assyriology, Queens' College, Cambridge, to be issued by the press of T. & T. Clark. Comments on the code appear in *The Expository Times* for March by the Rev. Mr. Johns, and in *The Biblical World* for the same month by Professor Kent, of Yale.

The monument bearing the code represents King Hammurabi standing with rod and circle in hand before the sun-god of Sippar receiving the law. The front of the monumental slab bears 16, and the back 28 columns of legislation, about 3600 lines in all, giving three times the legislative matter contained in the Mosaic code.

There are 245 distinct laws decipherable. About thirty-five more, contained in five columns, were erased, or chiseled off by some king of Elam, probably for space to inscribe the glory of his own achievements. The code covers the regulation of matters social, economic, and judicial. A well organized society with a breadth of civilization is manifested by the character of the legislation. There are classified trades and professions; officers with specialized functions, occupations of wide commerce, a well ordered judiciary, and a central government with which the whole organized social order is co-ordinated. The wide-reaching acts of legislation embrace human rights and responsibilities in significant detail. Whether contractor or barber, tradesman or real estate agent, each finds his office and duty defined, with fees, wages, rent, and prices, all fixed by statute. Medicine and surgery as well as commercial engagements are found with their province described and fixed by law. It is purely a civil code. It contains no religious regulations. Comparison with the Mosaic code shows similarity in the civil enactments; but a deeper humanitarian spirit is manifested in the laws of the Hebrews, revealing superiority of moral concep-

tions. The Hebrew race was a sharer in the advance of civilizing culture and order. While the civil laws of Moses are not purely an immediate divine revelation, nor a creation of Hebrew genius, but a part of the legal conceptions of the great Semitic family, yet the superior moral imprint shows a divine superintendence, a divine addition through Hebrew agency. When Abram left Ur of the Chaldees for the west land, he came from the commanding civilization of ruling Hammurabi, bearing in memory and juridical temperament the laws of the East.

After ten centuries while the code of Hammurabi goes with an Elamitish conqueror to Susa, the Hebrew race comes out of Egyptian bondage and begins its national and legislative existence. No more direct connection between the codes of the two kingdoms is yet shown than that of the generally prevailing civil order and culture of politically paramount Babylonia. Distinctive divergences of dialect had long arisen separating an immediate coalescence of national conceptions and customs. The moral code of Moses has yet found no counterpart in Babylonia of the age of the Mosaic legislation.

To the historic consciousness required by an obdurate evolutionary hypothesis this signifies that the moral code of the Hebrews did not exist in the days of Moses. It is still recent that mistaken criticism denied the possibility of any literary culture in the Mosaic age. It was thought that civilization had not advanced far enough for any literary achievements in Israel before the time of David. It is still asserted that no laws could have been codified in Israel before the days of the prophets who wrote their message in the eighth century B. C., and that the Deuteronomic legislation originated in the sixth century B. C., following the imposition of the priest Hilkiah. The Tel el-Amarna tablets, 1400 B. C., disprove the lack of literary culture in western Asia. A wide-spread literary correspondence was then already prevalent. But exceeding all former conceptions of the antiquity of literature, the code of Hammurabi brings to light a distinctively high social order and intelligence in ancient Babylonia. As many centuries of pro-

gress most probably preceded Hammurabi's finished code as have elapsed since his clerks inscribed the laws for him on his monument. The high art of the artificer found in the tombs of the most ancient kings of Egypt, reigning in the fourth millennium before the Christian era ; the materials for writing and the form of literary inscription, and the mode of burial, have revealed the fact that this ancient civilization came from Babylonia, which preceded Egypt with centuries of culture.

The mental photograph of the man of antiquity with its moral colors is not a bad picture. He seems to look not much the worse the older we find him. While archaeology supplies us with man's ancient products, and physical science brings him in his origin nearer to completer observation, we may not expect the boundaries of historic fact from each department to converge and the full perspective present us with historic man in his cradle, yet we may hope that a better perspective will reveal at least some dignity in his primitive condition.

The dignity of man is not lacking its defenders even among thorough-going evolutionists. Hypotheses may take an anthropological or a religious turn as well as serve mathematical and physical science.

Simultaneously with the London *Fortnightly Review* the *Independent* of February 26th, publishes an article on *Man's Place in the Universe* by Dr. Alfred Russel Wallace, the distinguished evolutionist. Dr. Wallace thinks that the universe was made for man ; that our solar system occupies the center of the physical universe, and that the sole and sufficient purpose of the entire starry system is the evolution of the human soul. The certainties of the case are not of mathematical demonstration, for the matter constituting the discussion is in the distant bounds of the universe and incapable of perceptual analysis and synthesis. But Dr. Wallace offers a rational hypothesis combining conclusions of astronomical and physical science with inferences legitimately drawn from them. The hypothesis is no more incredible than many other deductions of evolutionary science.

As the universe is nothing without thought, it may well exist for the purpose of thought. Is the starry system infinite in extent? Is there no center because there is no circumference? Scrutiny by telescope and camera seems to show that there is a limit to stars, since in the outermost region of space they are fewer in number.

If stars were infinite in number and scattered in profusion through space, there would be no dark spaces between stars, and the heavens by night would be a dome of brilliancy giving light as intense as the sun at noonday. But the light furnished by all the stars is equal to but one-fortieth of our moonlight. But there are dark spaces called "coal sacks" where no stars exist, and beyond the outermost stars are regions of non-luminous space. There must be a center, for a circumference can be circumscribed. The "Milky Way," the great nebulous ring of star clusters, encircles the heavens, and bounds a disk in the plane of which our solar system occupies practically the center. We are center in a cluster of suns precisely located in the Galaxy and centrally placed in the plane. The physical conditions of our earth furnish the only possibilities for living creatures. Conditions of heat, gravity, and atmosphere, are suitable only on our sphere for human habitation. Spectrum-analysis shows the universe to be composed of the same elements as our globe, and existing under the same chemical and physical laws. The physical conditions of the stellar heavens show no adaptations for organisms like man. Summarizing his conclusions Dr. Wallace deems our solar system and our earth the centrally purposeful work of a beneficent and intelligent Creator producing man through ages of time and almost infinite wielding of a plastic universe.

At the request of the editor of the *Independent* Professor W. H. Pickering, of the Harvard observatory, makes reply to Dr. Wallace in the issue of March 12. Professor Pickering finds no fault with facts as stated by Dr. Wallace, but offers some objections to his conclusions. The stars are less numerous at the utmost bounds of the universe, but may not that be due to

an absorbent, non-luminous gas lying between the most distant visible stars and probable luminous bodies located beyond? Such non-luminous gas constitutes the "coal-sacks," the unoccupied dark regions in our own visible heavens. Our whole starry system may be but a little universe in one of these dark pockets, while infinite space beyond, separated by absorbent gases, may contain unbounded systems.

Professor Pickering admits that our solar system may be within one degree of the medial plane of the "Milky Way," but doubts that it is located within ten per cent of the radius of the central position in that plane. The original nebulae, however, from which our system sprang, most probably began to condense into stars in the vicinity which we occupy, so that our sun is one of the oldest, judging its solar type by the spectrum.

As to the physical conditions conducive to organic life on other spheres, we know very little. Mars manifests some prepossessing possibilities of climate and of surface conditions observable by the telescope.

The four planets beyond are less capable of scrutiny. Properties of heat and atmosphere may exist for animal life on one or more of them. Neptune, the outermost one, receives light from the sun intense as rays from an ordinary electric light at a distance of five or six feet, and judging from rotation and cloud formations, possibly possesses an atmosphere to which the conditions of organic life might be adapted. Yet Professor Pickering thinks "we cannot do better than adopt the views enunciated by that great astronomer, Sir William Herschel, that the stellar universe, as we know it, is in the form of a flattened disk, such as might be formed by two watch glasses, and that we are not far from the center of it." Hypothesis is simply met by hypothesis. The inferences of Dr. Wallace are not deemed impossible, nor unqualifiedly improbable, but only incapable of proof.

The field of argument is one of free opinion. The inferences are inconclusive, for the hypotheses are physically undemonstrable. One man's faith may accept them, another's predilection decline them. *Talis homines, qualis sententiae.*

The traditional conception of the nightly visit paid by Nicodemus to our Lord is that of a timid, man-fearing creature stealing through the streets of Jerusalem to an *Aliyah*, or upper room, to meet with Jesus.

But did Jesus ever stay in Jerusalem by night? Was it not his invariable custom to retire from the city in the evening and go out to the Mount of Olives, or to Bethany? Professor Ramsay, in his new book, *The Education of Christ: Hillside Reveries*, suggests that the "Man of Nazareth" was visited by Nicodemus on the Mount of Olives, where the quiet breezes whispered, and symbolized the Spirit's movements.

It was the miraculous in the deeds of Jesus that awakened the interest of Nicodemus and turned his thoughts discerningly to the source of the supernatural. Dr. Swete, of Cambridge, calls attention to the creeds in their declaration of the miraculous in the life of Jesus.

The Christian consciousness of the early Church expressing itself in respect of Gospel miracles in the framing of confessions gave prominence to the two miracles opening and closing our Lord's earthly career. These two, the Virgin Birth, and the Resurrection, and none other, find mention in the creeds. And these two are passive in the experiences of Christ, miracles of personality which Jesus himself underwent. The miracles wrought by Jesus, which lie between, are passed over by the creed framers. It is an evidence of the keenness of the religious consciousness that the early Church chose the fundamental principle of miraculous power. We are not justified, probably, in saying that the creed framers acted more wisely than they knew, but they gave expression to a very significant principle when they based the Christian faith on the supernaturalness of Christ's person, and not on the miraculousness of his deeds. The product of Christ's miraculous ministry follows naturally upon his personality as a supernatural product. Nicodemus was keen enough to discern that the deeds of Jesus were great, and yet not so great as the God who was with him. The product of divine action reverts to a divine source. The Virgin

Birth and the Bodily Resurrection are the two buttresses of the bridge of salvation; and these are the two miracles the validity and authenticity of which are now being so warmly contested. Incarnation becomes an inconsequence when the virgin birth is nullified. A genius becomes Savior. An ethical restoration takes the place of a divine atonement. And this demands for its accompaniment a Jesus who can be accounted for naturally, a life marvellous indeed, but ending in a death in a certain sense vicarious, but without sacrificial merit, followed by a spiritual rising into ethical oneness with God. But the bodily resurrection of Christ is the best attested of miracles, with evidences converging from both Gospels and Epistles. The conduct of persons and the strangeness of events can be psychologically and historically accounted for only on the plain statement of the facts as they are recorded. The evidence can be invalidated only by a *tour de force*. The strenuous desire for the banishment of the supernatural must resort to violent procedure in the handling of the records.

Professor Chase, President of Queens' College, Cambridge, in an address on the supernatural elements in the Gospels, recently delivered and printed, gives emphasis to the miracle of the Virgin Birth as recorded by Luke. This evangelist was careful, and in a large measure critical, in the choice and use of the materials and sources.

Luke was a companion of Paul, and Professor Chase thinks that during Paul's imprisonment at Cesarea Luke attended him, and while near to Jerusalem collected the materials and facts which compose his Gospel.

In gathering information from James and other members of the holy family he secured the facts relating to the Virgin Birth. His Gospel contains positive information respecting Christ's infancy, and not traditional fiction.

Gleanings from, and thoughts suggested by, articles in *The Expository Times* for February and March.

II.

GERMAN.

REV. S. GRING HEFELBOWER, A.M.

The first half of the fourth section of Hauck's *Kirchengeschichte Deutschlands*, which appeared about ten months ago, has received very favorable notices from critics of very different theological tendencies. Yet this was to be expected, for the work is generally recognized as the most important contribution in the field of Church History that we are receiving at the present time, and as an historical work won for its author several years ago the Berlin medal, which is given for the most important contribution to history produced within the preceding five years. In fact Hauck is recognized as the greatest historian of the Middle Ages, whether ecclesiastical or secular, and was honored by a call to Ranke's chair in Berlin University, which he refused. At present Harnack is generally recognized as the world's greatest church historian, at least he is most widely known. But there are many who regard Hauck as his equal or superior; and even some of Harnack's disciples believe that their master has passed his zenith and that Hauck is still rising, in spite of the fact that he is Harnack's senior by seven years.

It will be interesting to note Hauck's observations on the conditions of the Church at the beginning of the twelfth century, with which this volume opens. (On the basis of review in *Theologische Rundschau*, Dec., 1902). Although the church institutions remained, they have a different content when compared with the conditions at the beginning of the ninth century. This can be noticed in the case of the episcopate, which, because of its political position, had sunk. The archdeaconate also showed change, for it constituted the greater part of the ecclesiastical activity of the Bishop. The pastoral office had also risen in importance, and the town parish sprung up in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. This was the work of the burgher class; and here for the first time laymen (not only

kings and princes) begin to be active in the Church. And with this a new factor enters into the church life, which is just as important as the new elements of piety. The religiousness of the beginning of the twelfth century has much more personal content than that of the early Middle Ages. The emancipation of the individual was appearing. Christian piety began to deepen; the break with ecclesiastical authority lay within the realm of the possible.

It is evident that Hauck placed this presentation of the conditions in the German Church at the beginning of this volume in order to prepare the way for a complete understanding of the new epoch in German Church History, which began with the Concordat of Worms, 1122. For Lothair of Saxony and Conrad III no longer lead the German Church, but, according to the principles of the Georgian party, recognize the Pope as over-lord, even in temporal affairs. The papal administration of the Church developed. But the results of this centralization were not fortunate; the papal court became the greatest business chamber in the world. Even the friends of the Curia complained of the evils of the papal rule, for it paid little attention to justice and righteousness, and fostered widespread discontent among the German peoples. The attempt to rule the Church from Rome was not successful. Such was the situation when Frederick Barbarossa appeared. It is true, he did not succeed in renewing the imperial influence on the papacy, yet in his relation to the German Church he was victorious. But his reign, so far as the future was concerned, meant only a fruitless reaction.

The twelfth century showed plainly that the secluded cloister life of the monk was at an end. He wanted work, with which he could sustain his intellectual and spiritual power. This accounts for the decline of the Benedictine order and the small results of the Cistercians. On the other hand the Augustinians became active in spiritual matters. If the monk was to remain an important element in the life of the Church, he must become an important element in the life of the cities. This was accomplished by the mendicant friars.

By calling attention to these and other chief view points, Hauck sheds much new light on the history of this period, and really succeeds in making that which is generally considered the driest portion of Church History interesting to read. In his hand the history of the late Middle Ages becomes a living, moving, coherent whole; viewed from one standpoint, it makes progress along many lines; viewed from another standpoint, which cannot escape the reader, the dark background is preparing, on which the light of the Reformation is to shine.

Though the problems that the fourth gospel presents are not the chief battle-ground between constructive and destructive criticism, they are involved, directly or indirectly, in almost all of the great New Testament questions of the day. Very few subjects in this field can be discussed without assuming some attitude to the fourth gospel. Several years ago, Arnold Meyer, of Bonn, published a small pamphlet, in which he gave what purported to be a *résumé* of recent critical study of the book as to the question of authorship. But his presentation was unfair and very misleading. He left the reader under the impression that there was scarcely anybody of scientific standing in all Germany who held the Johannine authorship of the fourth gospel. To show the utter falsity of such an impression, we mention the following leaders who defend it: Zahn, of Erlangen, Hauck and Ihmels, of Leipzig, Kaehler, Haupt and Loofs, of Halle (Kaehler the most influential conservative dogmatician of all Germany, Haupt rather liberal in tendency and Loofs a conservative Ritschlianist), Schlatter, of Tuebingen, Cremen, of Greifswald, and Seeberg, of Berlin, who, in spite of the negative spirit of that university, is probably already as influential as Kaftan. Harnack's view is that the book was written by the Presbyter John (Bousset and Delff are of the same opinion), who was closely associated with the Apostles, and was perhaps an eye-witness of many things in the life of Jesus. Loofs characterized this, in private conversation, as a foolish opinion (*eine thörichte Ansicht*). Haupt said, when speaking

of Harnack's standpoint in an introductory lecture to the exegesis of the book, "I do not see what is the matter with the man that he persists in making such assertions." Even A. Meyer acknowledges (August, 1902) that confidence in tradition has been growing, though he adds that, in spite of this, the real genuineness and authenticity of the gospel seems to be past forever. He is also of the opinion that the tracing of the gospel to Gnostic sources is not at all likely to receive much consideration in the future.

Some conservative critics had begun to entertain the hope that the struggle was approaching an end. So many of the old objections to the genuineness and authenticity of the book seemed to have been overcome, so many of the reasons that men gave forty years ago for doubting were no longer mentioned, that they were justified in thinking that the end of the conflict was approaching. But appearances were deceiving. The growing silence along the old battle-line merely showed that there was a new battlefield, that destructive critical thought was finding a new place of attack. The favorite position of those who do not regard the fourth gospel as offering a trustworthy narration of events is that the author, perhaps John the Apostle, handled his materials very freely, even going so far as to change and make up events in the life of Christ, for the sake of presenting certain teachings. The theory that assigns the gospel to the Presbyter, who was perhaps a disciple of the Apostle, does not seem to have many advocates. One of the most recent solutions of the various problems connected with the fourth gospel seeks to find in it proof of sources and redaction. It is simply the application of the favorite method of critically studying the Old Testament to the real and imagined difficulties in John. In this way its advocates would satisfy both the claims of those who name the Apostle as the author, and the objections of others who claim a later origin. But, as was to be expected, though their method is essentially the same, their results differ widely.

Perhaps the most prominent advocate of this theory is Wendt, who advanced it about ten years ago in his *Lehre Jesu*. He claimed that the basis of our present gospel was a genuine

Johannine source containing utterances of Jesus. His position was severely criticized by almost everybody who wrote concerning it. But he continued working along the same line, and two years ago he published *Das Joh. Ev. Eine Untersuchung seiner Entstehung und geschichtlichen Werthes*, which is generally recognized as the most important presentation of the theory of sources that has appeared up to the present. We indicate briefly his method, and some of his results, on the basis of several reviews that have appeared.

No certain results can be reached from external testimony. The authority of the Gospel must rest on an investigation of its contents. Of course the norm for testing it must be the synoptics, however, with some limitations, for even in them there are added formations, which were developed farther in John. The early appearance of Jesus' Messiahship and the high estimate placed on miracles are marks of a later method of thought (*i. e.*, the dogmatizing of man), which, in the individual parts of John, appear much more plainly than in the first three gospels. In fact the author of the fourth Gospel not only evidently uses, but also prefers the secondary, later accounts of certain events which we find in the synoptics—all of which shows, according to Wendt, that the Apostle John, the eye-witness, could not have been the author of the whole book as we have it.

But Wendt finds a noticeable difference between the historical parts of the Gospel and the "words of Jesus," that are joined with them. In these addresses Jesus does not appeal to His miracles, but to His works, which include the entire working out of His calling, His acts of mercy and His making Himself known. Wendt claims that the evangelist misinterprets certain expressions of Jesus, *e. g.*, 11 : 19 and 22 ; 7 : 37 sq.; 12 : 32 and 33, and that history and quotations stand in evident wrong relation to each other, which is seen most plainly in 5 and 6, while the section 7 : 15–24 originally belonged immediately after 5. He also notes many other places in which the order has been changed, particularly in the closing address (as Spitta and Bacon), for 14 : 31 seems to be the real end. On the basis

of these and other like observations he concludes that a primitive collection of sayings of our Lord was used by a later hand, worked over and given historical relations, a sort of historical frame.

Wendt believes that he can go through the entire gospel in this way, and reconstruct this original source, though perhaps not in every individual instance, yet in all fundamental characteristics. The result is a sort of catalogue of the portions that probably made up this original document. The author of this collection of the sayings of Jesus speaks in the language of the Johannine letters, which influenced Ignatius and Justin, while they were not acquainted with the historical narrations of the fourth gospel. John the Apostle probably collected these sayings of Jesus, and some later writer, not wanting to see a gospel without a history, put it into its present form.

By this method Wendt gets rid of the bodily resurrection, the appearance of the resurrected Jesus and the "crass miracles" (such as that of Cana) of the fourth Gospel, *i. e.*, by one bold stroke of his creative fancy he sets aside all that which, granted that there is a supernatural, is very probable, in order that he might establish that which, on the basis of his many theories, is merely possible. By such a structure of hypotheses, one resting on the other, you can prove almost anything.

These speculations of Wendt, and those who follow the same general method, have received but little sympathy from the leading students of the New Testament in Germany. In fact he has been almost universally criticised, and generally with great severity. But the fad for the new, one might almost say for the sensational, in theology, will probably lead some of the younger theologians to take up and defend his theories, so that, though it is not at all likely that his views will exert any great or lasting influence, we must expect that he will find some zealous followers, and that his positions will be popular for a time within a limited circle.

Pastor Kupfers, of Gross-Lichterfelde near Berlin, has just published a pamphlet on the synoptic problem, which, in spite

of a pedantic appreciation of the greatness of his supposed discovery, is interesting because of the revolutionizing character of its conclusions. Wuttig, in his book on John's Gospel (1897), claims that the commonly accepted theory, that John wrote last of all, is not well founded, and that it is much more probable that his was the first Gospel written. This suggestion was taken up by a number of pastors who were well trained in theology, but by no university professor, so far as we have been able to learn. In this large pamphlet Kupfers, tries to fit this theory into the other gospels so as to form a complete picture of the genesis of all the gospels. In general John describes only Jesus' visits to Jerusalem at the feasts and leaves great gaps between, which Luke sought to fill out. Matthew seeks to give the exact chronological order of events in the life of Jesus. Mark had Matthew and Luke before him, and sought to give more accurate details, to be in a way supplemental. Kupfers dates the Gospels as follows: John soon after 44; Luke from 53 to 57; Matthew about 60; and Mark soon after 64. Schuerer of Goettingen in his criticism of the work puts the whole thing aside lightly, remarking that it is chiefly of pathological interest. However, the problem as to the inter-relations of the Gospels is far from being satisfactorily solved, and it may be that the traditional late dating of John is wrong. Inspector Jaeger of the Tholuck Konvikt in Halle is thoroughly convinced that the fourth Gospel has much greater historical value than most scholars are willing to recognize in it, and doubts the traditional late dating. There are other scholars of New Testament Introduction who are of the same opinion.

ARTICLE IX.

REVIEW OF RECENT LITERATURE.

FLEMING H. REVELL COMPANY, CHICAGO, NEW YORK, TORONTO.

Theologia, or the Doctrine of God. Outline notes based on Luthardt. By Revere Franklin Weidner, D.D., LL.D., Professor of Theology in the Chicago Lutheran Theological Seminary. Author of "Studies in the Book," "Christian Ethics," "Biblical Theology," "Theological Encyclopaedia," etc.

The title of the book is drawn from the old terminology, as the usual designation of the subject. The plan of presentation is comprehensive and incorporates, besides what strictly belongs to *Theologia*, a large measure of what belongs to Apologetics, in relation both to the existence of God and the reality of a supernatural revelation from Him. The content of the book is further enlarged by the inclusion of what may be called theology, in notice of doctrinal development and the diversities of view by the dogmaticians of different churches. The discussion of the subject is made to follow the order: (1). The teaching of the Old Testament. (2). The teaching of the New Testament. (3). The teaching of the Dogmaticians. (4). Modern criticism of the doctrine. This order is illuminative.

The presentation of the doctrine, though given only in outline statement, is so arranged as to treat of all its usual divisions and branches and offer to the student or reader a compendious systematic view, such as the conservative theologian would furnish as guidance and suggestion for study in a theological school. The *Outline Notes* are, indeed, as the author informs us, the result of twenty years' discussion in the class-room, and have gradually assumed the present form. Though based in the main on Luthardt's Compendium, the author has by no means limited himself to what was there available, but has enriched the material by his own statements and by a vast amount of quoted matter from Christian writers, both theologians and philosophers, of all periods and almost all branches of the Church. He has thus supplied a great wealth of helpful suggestion for the use of the discriminating reader or student. We welcome the work as an able and valuable contribution to our aids for theological study.

M. VALENTINE.

GINN AND COMPANY, BOSTON.

The Future of War in its Technical, Economic and Political Relations. By Jean De Bloch. Translated by R. C. Long, and with a conversa-

tion with the author by W. T. Stead, and an introduction by Edwin D. Mead. Published for the International Union. (7 $\frac{1}{2}$ x 5 $\frac{1}{4}$; pp. LXXIX, 380).

This is a translation from the last volume of a monumental work on *The Future of War* published about six years ago. The author will be remembered as the wealthy founder of the remarkable museum at Lucerne, in which "by pictures, panoramas, models, charts and other means the real character and significance of modern warfare should be brought home to the actual perception of men and women who now have no adequate comprehension of what war is." Jean de Bloch was a Polish Jew, who, from the humblest origin became the leading banker of Poland. From his youth he had studied and written much on military subjects with the purpose of discouraging war. Unlike the peace societies he considered war from the business side. He attended the Hague Conference as a learner, but was accepted as a teacher. His death in the beginning of 1902 deprived the world of a most important worker in the cause of humanity and peace. These and other facts Mr. Stead gives us in the Introduction.

The thesis which M. Bloch vigorously defends is that war between great nations has become impossible. He finds his reasons chiefly in the destructiveness of modern weapons, the costliness of war equipment, the use of smokeless powder, the exposure of trade upon the sea and the need in nearly all populous countries of more food than is produced at home. He furnishes a large number of maps and diagrams to illustrate possible campaigns, to show the effect of fire from various arms, the expenditures of belligerents, the mortality from disease, the growth of population, the exhaustion of the necessities of life and whatever other matters bear upon warlike resources. These calculations, which have been carefully made and many of which are useful in other discussions, add greatly to the value of the book and put it immeasurably beyond all sentimental treatises on the horrors of war.

J. A. HIMES.

Addresses on War. By Charles Sumner. With an introduction by Edwin D. Mead. Pp. xxvii, 319.

The contents of this book are, besides the Introduction, "The True Grandeur of Nations," pp. 1-132; "The War System of the Commonwealth of Nations," pp. 133-229; "The Duel between France and Germany," pp. 241-319.

Mr. Mead's *Introduction* is mainly occupied with a bibliographical account of Mr. Sumner's Addresses, and gives much valuable information. Mr. Sumner's oration on *The True Grandeur of Nations* is, without doubt, the most formidable attack on war ever made, and is in logic and learning one of the most splendid orations ever delivered on any subject. It was delivered in Tremont Temple, July 4th, 1845, and

at once gave its author more than a national fame. His biographer says: "Had he died before this event, his memory would have been only a tradition with the few early friends who survive him. The 4th of July, 1845, gave him a national, and more than a national fame." Its chief burden is the exhibition of the cruelty, wickedness, horror, misery and unjustifiableness of war, or of the appeal to the ultimate tribunal, as a mode of securing the rights of a nation or of vindicating its honor. He shows the barbarous and wicked nature of such mottoes as *In Times of Peace Prepare for War; My Country, Right or Wrong, My Country*. The enormous cost of armies and navies is eloquently contrasted with the cost of education, and the cruelty and wickedness of war are shown to be absolutely contradictory to the spirit of Christianity, which shows that the author fully understood the peaceful mission of the Prince of Peace. The following passage is worthy to be hung as an apple of gold in a picture of silver: "The True Greatness of a Nation cannot be in triumphs of the intellect alone. Literature and art may enlarge the sphere of its influence; they may adorn it; but in their nature they are but accessories. *The True Grandeur of Humanity is in moral elevation, sustained, enlightened, and decorated by the intellect of man.* The surest tokens of this grandeur in a nation are that Christian beneficence which diffuses the greatest happiness among all, and that passionless, Godlike justice which controls the relations of the nation to other nations, and to all the people committed to its charge" (p. 126).

In defending and illustrating his position the author appeals to poetry, history, philosophy and statistics. His learning as shown in this oration was simply prodigious.

More than twenty years ago we read this oration for the first time. The impression it made upon us was such that we have not ceased to this day to disclaim against war as utterly unjustifiable under any and all circumstances. Had the \$300,000,000 expended by the U. S. in the war with Spain about Cuba, and the still larger sum expended in the war in the Philippine Islands, been expended in education and in the promotion of the arts of peace, all parties concerned would be in better condition, and would doubtless be happier.

The address on the *War System of the Commonwealth of Nations*, was delivered before the American Peace Society, in Boston, May 28, 1849. In learning and eloquence, in the denunciation of the cruelties and barbarities of war, and in the earnestness of its pleading for the disarmament of the nations, and for the cultivation of peaceful relations between the nations of the earth, the address is a worthy companion of its elder brother.

The lecture on The Duel between France and Germany, was delivered in Boston, October 26, 1870. It is a thorough *exposé* of the duplicity that entered into the challenge on the part of France, and

closes with some important lessons to the nations. But this Address ought to be read in connection with Sir Rowland Blennerhasset's article in the December, 1902, No. of *The National Review* on *The Formation of the German Empire*, which exposes the craft and deceitfulness of Bismarck in rousing the German governments against France.

The Christian tone of this book is its crowning merit. We heartily wish that it might be read by every Christian minister and every student in the land. *The International Union* has done a good work in bringing together and publishing these *Addresses*. Let them be read, studied and in sentiment echoed wide over the earth.

J. W. RICHARD.

A. C. ARMSTRONG AND SON, NEW YORK.

Erormanga, The Martyr Isle. By the Rev. H. A. Robertson, edited by John Fraser, B.S., LL.D. Pp. xx and 467.

Erormanga is an island of the New Hebrides group, about 100 miles in circumference. It was first visited by foreigners in 1774 during one of the notable voyages by Captain Cook, who met a hostile reception at the hands of the natives. For fifty years thereafter little was known of the island. When, however, the discovery was made that the sandal tree flourished there, the island was overrun with unprincipled traders who made large fortunes out of the sandal-wood which was exported to China. Until the wood was practically exhausted the island was the scene of cruelty and rapine. The cannibal natives were incited to fueds and were filled with hatred toward the white man.

The story of Erormanga is told in simple and graphic language by Mr. Robertson who, with his family, has spent thirty years on the island. It was written at the earnest solicitation of his friends in Canada and elsewhere. About a third of the book is historical and the balance autobiographical.

Erormanga is called "The Martyr's Isle" on account of the atrocious murder of early missionaries. John Williams, "The Apostle of Polynesia," and his friend James Harris, had no sooner set their feet upon the island in 1839 than they were beaten to death by the natives. Nevertheless native teachers from neighboring islands were sent there and succeeded in gathering a few converts. Yet when Rev George N. Gordon and Ellen his wife were settled there in 1857, they, too, were murdered after four years of faithful service. When the news of their martyrdom reached their home in Canada, Mr. Gordon's brother, James, at once determined to prepare himself to go to Erormanga in order to convert the murderers of his brother. He arrived there in 1864, and was joined in 1867 by Rev. James Macnair who died three years later. He toiled alone until 1872, when he met his brother's fate. He was slain while revising his brother's translation of the Acts. He

had reached the words of the first Christian martyr, "Lord Jesus receive my spirit. * * * Lord lay not this sin to their charge" when the cruel blow of the assassin was struck. He fell with his face on the manuscript baptizing it with his blood.

After the death of Gordon, in the same year came Robertson. He had spent several years in the group as an employe of a business firm. Impressed with the need of gospel workers he went to his home in Canada and prepared himself to become a missionary, and returned under the auspices of the Presbyterian Church. For the last thirty years he has labored with untiring zeal amid the perils of earthquakes, tidal waves and heathenism, winning the island for Christ. His story is practically the diary of a consecrated missionary. We see the man as he is—strong, tireless, courageous, good-humored and full of faith. Among the typical triumphs of his work was the building of the Martyrs' Memorial Church in 1880 from contributions made in New South Wales. "The foundation was laid by Usuo, the second son of Amoi-amoi, the murderer of John Williams."

The book deserves a place in the missionary library alongside of such volumes as the Autobiography of John T. Paton, who is Mr. Robertson's fellow-laborer in the same group. The volume is handsomely illustrated, attractively bound, and printed in good type. An appendix on "the natural features of the New Hebrides" by Alexander Morrison, Government Botanist of West Australia, completes the volume.

J. A. SINGMASTER.

HOUGHTON, MIFFLIN AND CO., BOSTON, MASS.

Charles A. Conant, whose practical experience in financial affairs, and skill as a writer always attracts attention to his contributions, opens the April *Atlantic* with a striking article on "The Functions of the Stock Exchange," in which he makes many startling statements and revises many generally accepted opinions and ideas as to the duties and uses of stock exchanges.

"The Foe of Compromise," by William Garrott Brown, is an unusual paper and one which challenges attention. The "foes of compromise" are those exceptional characters who never waive their own opinions or principles, but fight for them unyieldingly to the end, without retraction or qualification, and thereby continually force the temporizing multitude to a higher plane.

Other notable papers are a collection of hitherto unpublished and extremely interesting letters exchanged between Emerson and Herman Grim, edited by F. W. Holls; "The Honorable Points of Ignorance," a characteristic paper by S. M. Crothers, treated in the delightful vein of mingled wit and humor which the readers of the *Atlantic* know so well; and an article by Brander Matthews, an acknowledged authority, on "The Makers of the Drama of To-day."

J. T. Trowbridge continues his "Own Story" with more of his Bos-

ton experiences, including recollections of some of Boston's early publishers, and reminiscences of Emerson, Alcott and Hawthorne.

In fiction, A. S. Hardy's "His Daughter First" continues its entertaining and puzzling course. Shorter stories and essays are: "The Rose-Red Glow," a Henderson story, by R. E. Young; "The Service of Mammon," by Virginia Remnitz; "Hy-a-a-ar! Dump," a lively dog story, by Beirne Lay.

Essays and sketches are furnished by Anna Schmidt, Harriet Waters Preston, and A. V. G. Allen. Poems are contributed by Henry Van Dyke, Francis Sterne Palmer, Wilfred Campbell, and James Herbert Morse; and a brilliant Contributors' Club completes the number.

THE MACMILLAN COMPANY, NEW YORK.

Lux Christi, An Outline Study of India. By Caroline Atwater Mason. Paper 12mo. Pp. 280. Price 30 cents.

This book is the second volume of a series of text books for the study of Missions. The series was called into being by the Ecumenical Conference of Foreign Missions held in 1900, which decided on a movement for systematic mission studies among women's foreign mission societies.

Lux Christi is a study of India. The author pursues no historical method, and follows no logical procedure in the handling of the material. The work is a collection of excerpts from many writers.

The book brings to the reader a great store of illuminative truth in an encyclopedic form, and will furnish profitable hours of study to circles of missionary workers.

M. COOVER.

EATON AND MAINS, NEW YORK.

The Healing of Souls. A Series of Revival Sermons. By Rev. Louis Albert Banks, D.D. Pp. 302. Price \$1.50.

The thirty-one sermons constituting this volume were preached in Grace Methodist Episcopal Church at revival services held in January, 1902. After brief exegetical treatment of the chosen texts the sermons become clusters of anecdotes or a series of illustrations. The fervent discourse designed to bring the heart to resolution and the will to action does not always make a spiritually readable sermon. The animation of the speaker and the emotion of the occasion cannot be reproduced in cold type. The factors which work powerfully on the emotional nature, and incite faith and moral action, may not be greatly educative or theological. The sermon that brings the hearer to prompt decision can be most efficient, and yet from its nature be ephemeral in its influence. The sermon with elements mainly emotional rather than educational lacks qualities which give long life. The preponderance of spiritual power with the thought-element alone produces a perduring sermon.

M. COOVER.

THE LUTHERAN QUARTERLY.

JULY, 1903.

ARTICLE I.

MODERN TENDENCIES IN THE CATHOLIC CHURCH.

BY REV. PROFESSOR GEORGE H. SCHODDE, PH.D.

“Es wetterleuchtet stark in der römischen Kirche.” With these characteristic words a prominent writer begins a survey of “Liberal Catholicism” in the *Evangel. Lutherische Kirchenzeitung* of Leipzig, No. 3 sqq., and thereby draws attention to those remarkable agitations that are developing noteworthy strength and vigor in so many sections of the Church of Rome and are all expressions of the inner-ecclesiastical dissatisfaction within the rank and file of the Church, both clergy and laity, against the trends and tendencies that prevail in the higher councils of the Church and in the policy of the Vatican and the hierarchy. We hear of the “Away from Rome” propaganda in the German provinces of the Austrian Empire, that has brought perhaps thirty thousand Roman Catholics into the Protestant and Old Catholic churches; of the “Former Priests” agitation in the Church of France, that has driven, according to the claims of its leader, the Abbé Bourrier, half a thousand worthy young and active priests out of the Church that has educated them; of the Biblical movement also in France, which is headed by high ecclesiastics and by learned savants of the Church of Rome, and especially the good scholar Loisy, and which demands a thorough reformation in the spirit and methods of education of the priests of the Church, insisting chiefly upon a *modus vivendi* with modern Biblical research and its results; of the “Reform Catholicism” or the “Liberal

Catholicism," that is making itself felt particularly in Germany, and of which the lately deceased Professor Kraus, of the University of Freiburg i. B., was the leader, and which insists that the "Political Catholicism" now in supreme command of the governing circles of the Church shall give way to a "spiritual" or a "religious" Catholicism that recognizes the principle of the Founder of Christianity, when he declares that this kingdom is not of this world; of "Americanism," by which rather vague term is summarized all those ideas and ideals that come to the front in Roman Catholic Church life that are independent in character and are inclined to hesitate in adhering strictly and stringently to the principles of blind obedience to the behests of ecclesiastical authorities and believe that even a Roman Catholic is allowed to do a little thinking of his own.

All of these movements, which are not only the most interesting and instructive, but also the most characteristic phenomena in modern Roman Catholicism, are not absolutely but only relatively new, being such indeed in form and in degree, but not in essence and in substance. There never was a period in the history of the Roman Catholic Church in which its fundamental principle and cardinal and central thought, namely that of absolute submission to the hierarchy, high and low, has not found opponents. In the Roman Catholic system of dogma and doctrine, the Church is the leading article and conditions the character and the contents of the other articles; so that obedience to the Church becomes the first and highest virtue of the faithful. At all times there have been those who have dissented from this principle, and this dissent has found its expression in the Middle Ages in such movements as the Waldensian, in later times in the Protestant Reformation, and still later in the Jansenites, at Port Royal, and in our own day in Old Catholicism. The causes that called these and similar movements into existence differed according to place, time and occasion, but they all agree in the one thing, that they antagonize hierarchial tyranny. In nearly all cases they further agree in this that they were not originally directed against the Roman Catholic Church itself, but were officially and honestly

through agitations seeking to reform the Church from within, their advocates hoping that the rule of *posse tolerari*, by virtue of which the Roman Catholic Church understands so well to adapt herself to a countless variety of conditions and circumstances, would be applied also to them and admit their programme and teachings. Only then when the Church authorities recognized in such movements an irreconcilable conflict with the principle of ecclesiastical control, the *sine qua non* of fidelity to the Church, were the innovators crowded out of the Church. This was true even of the Protestant Reformation. Nothing was farther from Luther's intention than to organize a new Church. His work proposed to be and in reality was only a re-formation, although, contrary to his original idea, this process took place not within but outside of and against the Church organization of his day.

These facts and principles are also clearly distinguishable in these various independent movements within the pale of the Roman Catholic Church of to-day, which it will be best to consider separately, as there is virtually little or no casual connection between them. Naturally we would expect that Germany would be headquarters for such agitation. The finest scholarship that the Roman Catholic Church can boast of is certainly found in the Fatherland, where there are good Catholic theological faculties at the Universities at Bonn, Breslau, Tübingen, Munich, Würzburg, Freiburg, to which list that at Strassburg has recently been added. In certain departments, notably Church history of the earliest period, and kindred branches in which the dogmatical predilections of the investigator is a factor of lesser importance in determining the methods and results of scholastic research, Catholic scholars have been doing work that is recognized by Protestant savants also as excellent and learned. But in most departments, not only of theology but also many secular sciences, such as philosophy, history, the natural sciences, the Catholic scholar is hampered by the teachings of his Church and is not permitted that independence and unbiased spirit of investigation which the highest canons and the best interests of real scholarship demand. While absolute "*Voraussetzungslosigkeit*," i. e., the

complete absence of any and all prejudgments in scientific investigation which modern scholarship often claims for itself, is an impossibility and every student in his researches must start from a certain "standpoint," and every student does this, no matter how much he disclaims doing so, yet in the case of the Roman Catholic scholar the restrictions and limitations of his dogmatical system are such that even in the secular sciences he cannot attain to such degree of independence that ensures to his results anything like reliable results. It is this condition of affairs that has developed the chief inter-ecclesiastical controversy in the Catholic Church of Germany at present. It is substantially the discussion of the question whether Catholic scholarship can be really independent and can be brought into harmony with the best scientific research of the age and with modern civilization and culture in general. To this a certain number of Catholic scholars of Germany have very decidedly given the affirmative answer, but always with a certain proviso, namely, on condition that the Church consent to certain modifications in its teachings and ideas; and the struggle between "Reform Catholicism" and the dominant Ultramontane Catholicism, between "Liberal Catholicism" and the Jesuitism that controls the destinies of the Church consists in determining what these concessions on the part of the Church must be and if these concessions and changes can be made without detriment and harm to the Church. It is seen at once that this new movement is altogether different from that known as Old Catholicism, which latter, under the leadership of Doellinger, Friedrich, Reuss and others, was purely negative in character, consisting substantially in the protest against the Vatican decree on the infallibility of the Pope as declared by the Council of 1870. On account of the negative attitude and the failure to offer positive evangelical elements the Old Catholic movement was still-born and flourished even outwardly only as long as the German government in the interests of its *Kulturkampf* gave it financial and official recognition. When that deplorable episode in the history of modern church life in the land of Luther was brought to a close by a surrender on the part of Bismarck, then, too, the best days of Old Catholicism were over

and it has ever since, being neither fish nor flesh, become a *quantité négligeable* in the factors and forces that make up modern Church history. It only survives because it has forgotten to cease breathing and is to all intents and purposes a dead issue. In accordance with this the friends of the newer movement have no words in favor of the Old Catholic propaganda, but those of criticism. Erhard, who is the present leader of the new tendency, dismissed Doellinger with the remark that the latter had spent the last years of his life in undoing the good work of his earlier years, *i. e.*, the time when he was a pronounced extreme Roman Catholic and among other things a severe critic of Luther.

The acknowledged leader of this German movement was Professor F. X. Kraus, of the Freiburg University, who died a little over a year ago. He himself, however, acknowledged that he was chiefly indebted to the Italian Antonio Rosmini, who was born in 1797 and died in 1855, who was the author of a number of works asking for a deeper spiritualizing of the Catholic Church, and especially in a book entitled "The Five Wounds of the Church," publicly declared that the three chief evils that were destroying the Church were the temporal sovereignty of the Church, the Inquisition and Jesuitism. Notwithstanding the fact that the Jesuits filed formal charges of heresy in Rome, the commission, appointed by Pius IX to examine into the case, reported in favor of Rosmini, commending his piety and zeal, and the Pope, in receiving the report exclaimed: "Thank God, who from time to time gives such men to the Church." In accordance with the ideals of Rosmini, Kraus formulated his claims to the effect that he wanted a "religious" Catholicism instead of the "Political" Catholicism that now prevails. The Church, he declares, should withdraw from secular work, and should confine her activity to the purely spiritual sphere. He recognized in the Jesuits the chief protagonists of the Political Catholicism of the day, and was unmerciful in his criticism of their history and schemes. Being by all odds the finest historical scholar in the Catholic Church not only of Germany but also of the world, his unanswerable "Spectator Letters," is the *Beilage* of the Munich *Allgemeine Zeitung*, in which

he overwhelmed his antagonists with facts and lessons from history, regularly threw the Church authorities into a spasm when they appeared, but their objective and scientific character and the impossibility of answering his arguments forced the friends of the dominant trend in the Catholic Church to gnash their teeth in silence. The only way in which it was possible to punish the fearless critic was to refuse him all Church preferments, a bishopric having been offered him as a reward for his silence, but to this he refused to consent. Protestant scholars have frequently overestimated the importance of the teachings of men like Kraus. It is a mistake to look upon them in the light of "Reformers," who are preparing to come to an agreement with Protestantism. Nothing is farther from their purpose. While there can be no doubt that they have been more or less influenced by Protestant scholars and Protestant theology, they are inwardly no nearer the gospel than are their Ultramontane brethren in the faith. Kraus himself was a true son of his Church and died in her faith and never purposed to do anything but cut off some of the excrescences that had attached themselves to the Church.

The same is true of the whole clan and class that advocate Reform Catholicism, even if such a rough and tumble protagonist as the former priest, Joseph Miller, of Munich, the editor of the "Renaissance," devoted to this propaganda, the second edition of whose "Reformkatholicismus" has also been put upon the Index of prohibited books. Miller's programme, too, touches only the periphery and not the kernel and substance of the Roman Catholic system. It is practically the same as "Americanism," acting merely for greater personal freedom for the individual and the nation under the Catholic Church; for a recognition and utilizing of modern progress in all the sciences, especially in theology and philosophy; particularly the emancipation from the control of scholasticism and the attainment of a *modus vivendi* with philosophies of a Descartes, Melabranche and Leibnitz, but only for the formal purpose of demonstrating the rationality of the Catholic system of doctrine. The latter, on the whole, he regards as true and does so almost a priori, even declaring that in so far as Protestantism

is positive at all, even it is really Catholic. In particular he asks for the following reforms in the Catholic Church, viz.: a better education of the clergy, greater respect for the culture secured at the Universities, participation of the laity in the affairs of the Church, the Bible in the hands of the people; but as for the rest he defends even the dogma of the necessity of an infallible office of teaching in the Church as also the infallibility of the Pope.

The most sensational advocate of newer methods and manners in the Catholic Church of Germany has been Professor Schell, of Würzburg, who has several times written books and articles maintaining that the teachings of the Catholic Church were in perfect harmony with the best canons and results of modern scholarship, but his writings have just as often been condemned by the Congregation of the Index in Rome, and Schell, as a faithful son of the Church, has each and every time "*laudabiliter se subjecit*." Hailed as a "modern Luther" when he first stepped upon the arena, he has proved a sore disappointment to sanguine observers of his meteoric flights into the higher realm of independent thought. He has even withdrawn his name from the list of contributors to the "*Zwanzigste Jahrhundert*," the most pronounced scientific organ of Reform Catholicism.

For a while at least a more promising candidate for the role of a real Reformer seemed to be Professor Albert Ehrhart, formerly of Vienna, later Kraus' successor in Friburg, and the leading light and only real scholar of national reputation in the new Catholic faculty at Strassburg. His famous work, entitled "*Der Katholicismus und das Zwanzigste Jahrhundert im Lichte der Kirchlichen Entwicklung der Neuzeit*," has proved to be next to Harnack's "*Wesen des Christentums*," the most popular scientific theological book of this generation, it having within the period of a little more than one year passed through twelve editions. The real purpose of this volume of more than four hundred pages is to demonstrate that it is the highest mission of the Roman Catholic Church in the twentieth century to reach an understanding with and effect a reconciliation between

the Church and the civilization and culture of modern times. The way in which this is to be effected however shows that the *Semper idem* of the Roman Church is to remain practically intact. He himself formulates the condition under the following heads: (1) The developments and condition which the Middle Ages have made to the life and worship of the Church, with the exception of the doctrinal developments, are not to be regarded as binding upon the church of to-day, which should accordingly adopt as the rallying cry, "Away from the Middle Ages." (2) An intelligent and sympathetic appreciation by the Church of the religious and ecclesiastical needs of the times, as these have sprung from the type of culture prevalent in our day, especially from the principles of Individualism and Nationalism; and hence a more spiritual type of religious life and the absence of all efforts to enforce the ways and manners in which churchly piety expresses itself in the Latin or Romance nations, upon the Teutonic races; and accordingly as harmonious union between the permanent deals of the Roman Catholic Church and the interests, trends and tendencies that are a reasonable outflow of the political, social and economic conditions of the day. (3) Energetic spiritual, ethical and social participation of the representatives of the Church in the departments of theology, philosophy, history, literature and art and co operation in the spread of truly popular education. In this way the Catholicism of the new century will make itself the leading power in the thought and life of the coming nations.

The method adopted by Ehrhart in developing these ideas is chiefly the historical, and it must be acknowledged that in these chapters he expresses some severe criticisms of the Church of which he is a member, and it is these severe strictures that has caused the superficial judgment to be hastily made by Protestants that the author is really a Reformer. He openly acknowledges that intellectually and in point of scholarship the Catholic Church is the inferior of the Protestant and that there is a deep-seated mistrust of the Church especially among the educated classes and that the whole trend and spirit of modern thought and life is against the Church. His criticism of the

secular policy and history of the Papacy is severe, but he considers the doctrine of the infallibility of the Pope a source of great strength and comfort to the faithful. Indeed he does not anywhere find the Church seriously at fault, least of all in her teachings; but at most and at worst in its government and wild shoots that have grown out of the healthy tree. How little he has eye or ear for the fundamental errors of Rome is seen from his judgment of Luther and the Reformation. He declares that this mighty movement of the sixteenth century essentially reduced Christendom to the state and status of the national religions of antiquity from the heights upon which it had been enthroned by the Catholic Church; further that the Reformation placed religion into the service of selfish princes and states and that too with a boldness and brutality that would disgust the careful reader; that the Reformation is in reality the beginning of a decay of real historical Christendom; and naturally he does not forget to repeat the stale prediction, echoed and re-echoed by Romish scholars for centuries, that Protestantism is being slain in the house of its friends by its theological scholars. The most favorable judgment he passes on Protestantism is the sentiment that this system has saved enough of the essence of Christianity to be still a fountain of real religious life.

But these sentiments are enough to show how little the sanguine hopes are justified that were so enthusiastically expressed when Ehrhart's book was first published. There is nothing of a Luther in him nor in others who write like him. What they are working for is chiefly or entirely a Reformation of the Church of Errors in externals. For the great fundamental principles of the Evangelical church, the formal as well as the material, neither he nor they show any appreciation or even understanding. But even what they do want they are not to receive. A formal crusade has been inaugurated against this type of Reform Catholicism, which singularly enough is headed by the very man who originally gave his Episcopal Inspiration to the book of Ehrhart, namely Archbishop Kettler, of Rottenburg. He has issued, with all the zeal of a convert, several philippics

against the innovators, and these have not failed in attaining the usual results. Ehrhart's book has not been placed on the Index, but he has been in Rome and has reached an understanding with the authorities there. As a result and a reward he has been appointed to the chair of history in the newly created Catholic theological faculty in Strassburg. This affair can accordingly be regarded as having been laid *ad acta* and Protestantism is richer by one new disappointment.

More reasons for substantial results the Protestant Church has in the case of the "Away from Rome" (*Fort von Rom*) movement that has for some years become a fixed and potent factor in the religious life of the German provinces of Austria, and which, according to the careful and conservative estimate of the organ of this agitation, the Vienna *Evangelische Kirchenzeitung*, has brought into the Protestant fold over twenty thousand converts and at least one third this number into the old Catholic Communion. This is an altogether different agitation from the Liberal Catholic movement in Germany. The latter is essentially scholastic and scholarly and has never passed beyond the academic stage; the former is purely practical, and exclusively an agitation among the people, not only without priestly advice or assistance, but virtually a rebellion against the ecclesiastical authorities. Its beginnings were not purely religious or spiritual, but rather national and nationalistic, its first promoters recognizing in Protestantism the agency that would best subserve the interests of the German element in the polyglot constituency of the Austrian Empire, and for this reason the Protestants of Germany hesitated to give it aid or help, fearing that it was only a political scheme under the garb of a religious movement. This is the light in which the Catholic authorities, who first proudly ignored it but latterly have inaugurated a formal crusade against it, still regard it, declaring that the Away from Rome propaganda is substantially against all religion and especially against the government and aiming at a union of the German provinces of Austria with the German Empire. However, the movement has developed splendidly and none but those who are prejudiced can fail to see in it a genuine agitation

for Protestant principles. It is now purely a religious matter and entirely severed from politics or the interests of nationality. It is a singular illustration of the irony of history that just these provinces, in which Protestantism was crushed out by the Jesuits in the days of the Counter Reformation, are now flocking back to the Protestant Churches. The average annual contingent of converts is about five thousand, and the prospects are that this will continue. The Away from Rome crusade has come to stay, and is only the most important of similar movements that to a lesser degree are making themselves felt in other Catholic countries. The best summaries of these movements are given in a series of brochures published by J. F. Lehmann, of Munich, in which three hefts are devoted to Austria, one each to France, to Bohemia, to Canada, to Transylvania, to Spain and two to Italy.

There can be no denial of the fact that these Away from Rome movements, especially that in Austria, considering its spread, permanency and prospects, are more or less mysterious in their origin and development. They certainly have come as a surprise even for the Protestants. As far as can be judged it is not any particular doctrine of Evangelical Christianity that has attracted these thousands of Romanists to the Protestant fold but rather a recognition of the vast superiority in spirit and life of the Evangelical type of Christianity over the Catholic. It appears also that the inferiority of the German Catholic clergy in Austria and their neglect of the higher spiritual interests of their flock had not a little to do with this exodus from their Church. The very form which the battle-cry has assumed, "Away from Rome," indicates, what is also attested by many other facts, that the repellent influences of modern Ultramontane Roman Catholicism more than the attracting forces of Protestantism were the chief factors in the movement. Of its permanency there can be no doubt, and this too is the conviction of the Romish Hierarchy as is attested by their bitter antagonism, in the interests of which they have also enlisted the state and the political governments.

The center of interest in so far as independent movements

within the fold of the Catholic Church is concerned is now to be found in France. Here it is not only the hostile attitude of the government, its policy against the orders and the church schools, that is vexing and perplexing the Vatican, but still more heartache is produced by the spirit of independence that is manifesting itself in the ranks of the clergy high and low, and that is seriously endangering the historic reputation for fidelity evinced through centuries by "La fille aînée de l'Eglise," the first born daughter of the Church. This movement, too, which is confined almost exclusively to the clergy, although it has shown the evidence of power also in the conversion of whole Catholic villages to the Protestant faith, is, like that found in other Catholic lands, a purely independent product, having no outward and perhaps inner connection with kindred agitations, but arising within the Church itself and called forth by the dissatisfaction with the conditions of affairs in that Church. France is in one respect good soil for such a propaganda, as the spirit of historic "Gallicanism" has not altogether been suppressed by the modern tendencies of Jesuitism. To a certain extent also Protestant theological research has had its influence on this movement, as the works even of "advanced" thinkers, such as Harnack, Wellhausen, Ritschl and others, have been diligently read by large circles of the younger priests in France.

The most interesting exhibition of this independent spirit, at least for the Protestant Church, is that of the so called "Former Priests" (*Anciens Pretres*), headed by the late Abbe Bourrier. It originated several years ago among the more ambitious younger priests and demanded first and foremost a more evangelical type of teaching in the Church. As a result, these men, who in the cause they advocated evinced great courage and sacrifice, were forced out of the Church, and the publication of their reasons in the *Chretien Francais*, the excellent organ of this movement, now an influential religious weekly, are interesting portraiture of religious life. Bourrier himself has repeatedly claimed, and that too in the face of the charges that his reports are exaggerated, that the number of these "Evades," *i. e.*, those broken out of prison, by which term

these men are technically called, has passed the six hundred line. In the *Beilage* of the Munich *Allgemeine Zeitung*, it is claimed that there are now fully one thousand of these. Exact statistics are probably impossible because only a small proportion of these, only a few dozen, have entered the ranks of the Protestant ministry or are now students in Protestant Seminaries, for this there are various reasons. It is not the purpose of Bourrier to bring his recruits into the Protestant Church, but rather to organize a National Evangelical Church of France, independent of both the great Churches. He himself has indeed been ordained by the Reformed Church, but he has since that time repeatedly declared that he would rather reform the Catholic Church than add numerical strength to the Protestant. In other words, his ideal is not unlike that entertained a dozen and more years ago by the learned Jewist convert Joseph Rabinowitz, of Bessarabia, who purposed too to found a National Jewish Christian Church independent of existing branches of Christianity, and naturally failed. This is no doubt the weakness of the Bourrier movement, and up to this day he has not yet effected the organization of such a body. No doubt one reason for this is the preponderatingly negative character of the agitation. It seems to be rather dissatisfaction with Rome than satisfaction with the Gospel that has driven this army of chiefly younger priests out of the Church that educated them. For that reason scores of these "Evades" enter secular callings, and many of them have seemingly lost all and every positive Christian faith. They have lost their old foundation and not yet found a better one. The chief positive confession in which at least these men are nominally a unit, is the creed that "Jesus Christ is the Mediator between God and Man." One section of them, however, takes the decided standpoint that they should unite with the Protestant Churches, either Lutheran or Reformed. The organ of this class is "*La Prêtre Converti*", and is edited by the ex-priest and present Reformed pastor Corneloup, who is also the manager of the Asylum for Ex-priests in Courbeville, near Paris, where these converts find temporary quarters until otherwise provided for. Bourrier's faction, organized since 1899 as the *Société française d'Evan-*

gelisation par les Ancient Pretres," has a similar institution at Sèvres. The battle-cry of these men is "Evangelization of Catholicism." At times they have complained bitterly of the coldness which the French Protestants have shown to them, but the latter seem to fear that the movement is not truly Evangelical and Protestant. It is a singular fact that in Austria too the old Protestant congregations too are most suspicious of the Away from Rome converts and that these people receive their financial and other support chiefly from Germany, especially from the Gustavus Adolphus Society and the Protestantischer Bund.

Still more significant although not so promising from the standpoint of the Church of the Gospel is the determined agitation of a larger number of higher Catholic clergy and professors demanding a thorough reformation in the education and the spirit of the clergy in France. It is headed by such men as Monsignor Mignot, the Archbishop of Albi, Professor Loisy, the most learned Biblical scholar in the French Catholic Church, Le Camus, Latty and others. Nothing is farther from their purposes than a break with the Church of Rome, but they certainly do demand that the old scholastic rigorism and mechanical drill common in the diocesan seminaries shall give way to modern methods of philosophical and theological instruction, with a full recognition of true results of Biblical research even if these are advanced by Protestant scholars. A formal and full programme of the proposed reformer has been drawn up by Mignot, and is entitled "*La Methode de la theologie*," and is fully discussed in the Munich Allgemeine Zeitung, 1902, No. 42, by no less an authority than Professor Rudolf Eucken. Practically the same demands are made by the Abbi Klein, in his brochure entitled "*Un renouvellement des Etudes Ecclesiastique*," and in the *Revue des clergé francais* this movement has found its learned and scientific origin. Among the recent additions to this class of orators is La Duchesne, recognized as the chief Church historian in the Catholic Church of France.

It is more than doubtful however if this movement will have any more tangible results than the somewhat kindred Liberal

Catholicism of Germany. Loisy had recently published a new book entitled "Gospel and the Church," but this has been promptly forbidden to the clergy by a special proclamation of the Archbishop of Paris, who declared that "it undermines fundamentals of the Catholic Church." Loisy was persuaded to make a journey to Rome and has now retracted "the errors which have been deducted from my book." It is simply another case of "*laudabiliter se subiecit*." Indeed the ups and downs of this movement only emphasize old teachings of Church history, namely, among others, that learned and scholastic agitations will never reform the Church ; and then, too, that an inner-ecclesiastical Reformation is impossible for the Church of Rome. All these movements, which include also the "Social Democracy in Italy" and the "Anti-Jesuit" agitation in Spain, offer very little ground for hope for the Gospel, and Protestants act wisely in making haste slowly in bidding them welcome or exhibiting a higher interest than that of curiosity in their development. The Church of Rome never changes, and understands it in a most masterly manner to crush all manifestations of an independent spirit within her fold. In all of its affairs it proves the correctness of the statement made by a famous Protestant historian, who declared that the Hierarchy of the Roman Catholic Church is the most successful organization the world has ever produced.

ARTICLE II.

THE TWO REFORMATION THEOLOGIES.

BY PROFESSOR J. W. RICHARD, D D.

[CONTINUED FROM PAGE 207.]

There is a Lutheran Theology, and there is a Reformed Theology. As over against the theology of the Roman Catholic Church, both these theologies may be called *evangelical*, because they both claim to be based fundamentally on the Scriptures of the Old and New Testaments to the exclusion of Tradition, and because they both maintain that Salvation is by divine grace, and not at all by human works. But these two theologies differ from each other. The Lutheran theology grows out of the fundamental principles expounded in the first installment of this essay. The Reformed theology is essentially the theology of Calvin, who has been called the Thomas Aquinas of the Reformed Church, for he "was the first to give to the Romanic Reform movement its form, its force, and its attitude."*

Calvin was not a universal scholar, as was Melanchthon; nor a great religious genius, as was Luther, and was less intuitional than Zwingli; but in logical consistency and in organizing talent, he surpassed all men of his own or of the preceding generation. In a word, he was the first and the greatest of the Epigones. He was a reproducer of the highest order. When one has read Augustine, especially the Anti-Pelagian writings, and Luther, Melanchthon and Zwingli, and then turns to Calvin, he finds very little in the justly renowned theologian of Geneva, that is really new in thought; but he discovers that many old and generally accepted doctrines have been deepened and clarified, delivered from paradoxes and developed to conclusions not previously reached. Pre-eminently does Calvin appear as the disciple of Augustine. In the Index appended to Beveridge's translation of the *Institutes* he is represented as

* Harnack, *Hist. of Dogma*, VII, 119.

quoting Augustine two hundred and twenty-eight times in that one work. In some of his other works he devotes himself chiefly to an exposition of the views of Augustine. Schaff says: "As to the doctrines of the fall, of total depravity, the slavery of the human will, the sovereignty of saving grace, the bishop of Hippo and the pastor of Geneva are essentially agreed; the former has the merit of priority and originality; the latter is clearer, stronger, more logical and vigorous, and far superior as an exegete."* Henry says: "Calvin's spirit showed itself in such a relation to the first Swiss type of theology, and to the German Lutheran form, that he was able to develop the former, freeing it from what was rude and immature, without merging it in the latter,"† and Schweizer declares that "there is not a single proposition in Calvin that does not follow from Zwingli's brief and energetic hints, with the difference only that the latter extended the sphere of Christ's redemptory work so wide as to render it probable that some heathen and some infants are among the elect."‡ Hagenbach says: "Zwingli himself propounded the principles of pure evangelical faith in several writings, which formed the beginning of a systematic theology of the Reformed Church. But it was reserved for the French Reformer, *John Calvin*, after the death of Zwingli, to compose the work entitled *Institutio Religionis Christianae*, in which those principles were set forth in a system more comprehensive, connected, and orderly than in the *Loci* of Melancthon."§

These opinions of distinguished Reformed scholars sufficiently indicate Calvin's relation to the theology of Augustine and to the theology of the Reformed Church. He was not a pathfinder as were Augustine, Luther and Zwingli, but he was a systematizer and developer of the discoveries of other men. He was a theologian in the sense in which Peter Lombard and Thomas Aquinas were theologians. His Strassburg editors call him *Theologorum principem et antesignanum*. In the sphere of

* *Hist. of Christ. Ch.*, VII, 540-1.

† *Leben Calvins*, II, 473.

‡ *Glaubenslehre*, II, 120.

§ *Hist. of Doctrines*, II, 432.

the theological systematizer, fortifier and defender, he was truly great; and because he has left us a complete system of divinity, we can much more easily ascertain his views on theological subjects than we can ascertain the views of Augustine, Luther and Zwingli. At least in trying to ascertain the views of Calvin we do not have to search in so many places, and to consider times and circumstances, as we do in trying to ascertain the views of Augustine, Luther and Zwingli. As proof of this we point to the last edition of the *Institutes* (1559), which was specially designed by the author to be "a comprehensive summary, and orderly arrangement, of all the branches of religion, that with proper attention no person will find any difficulty in determining what ought to be the principal objects of his research in the Scriptures, and to what he ought to refer everything it contains."* And certainly no Protestant work on systematic theology has been more widely read, or has exerted a larger measure of influence, than Calvin's *Institutio*. It has been pre-eminently the text-book of theology in the Reformed Church, and its merits have been recognized and its strength has been felt, in both Catholic and Lutheran circles. It is a great work, and can be disparaged by those only who have prejudged it, or who have failed to comprehend its depth and the logical consistency of its argument. But as evidence of its lack of originality in plan we mention the fact that it follows the order of the Apostles' Creed; and hence in a large degree it may be regarded as an elaborate exposition of that symbol which had wrought itself most deeply into the theology and life of the Western Church, and which to this day is accepted, though with diversities of interpretation, by the entire Western Church.

In the following pages we present a synopsis of Calvin's teaching on three important subjects.

I. THE IDEA OF GOD.

In his conception of God we have the key to Calvin's entire

* Preface.

system. Very correctly does Henry say: "The intensely sublime idea of God, which penetrated Calvin's soul, impelled his understanding to place all upon that point, and thus to bow unceasingly before the solemn thought of God."* It is in harmony with this judgment when we learn that Calvin begins his description of God with Exodus 34 : 6: "Jehovah, Jehovah, God merciful and gracious, patient, of great compassion, and true, who keepeth mercy for thousands, who forgiveth iniquities and sins, with whom the innocent shall not be guiltless, who rendereth the iniquity of the fathers to the childrens' children." He says that in this description Moses briefly comprehends all that it is lawful for man to know about God. He then refers to Psalm 145, "which," he says, "contains such an accurate summary of all God's perfections, that nothing seems to be omitted;" and then to Jeremiah 9 : 23, where God declares how he wishes us to know him, "as the Lord who exercises compassion, judgment and justice in the earth. These three we ought necessarily to know: Compassion, in which alone resides our salvation; judgment, which is daily exercised against the wicked and awaits them in a heavier degree to eternal destruction; righteousness, by which the faithful are preserved and most graciously cherished. When these things are understood, the prophecy declares that you have abundant reason for glorifying God. For neither his veracity nor power, nor holiness, is omitted. For how could we have the required knowledge of righteousness, compassion and judgment, if they did not rest on his inflexible veracity? And how could we believe that the world is governed by judgment and righteousness, if we had no knowledge of his power? And whence is his compassion, except from his goodness? If, finally, all his ways are compassion, judgment, and righteousness, in these also is seen his holiness. Moreover, the knowledge of God, which is set forth in the Scriptures, is designed for the same end as that which is exhibited in the creatures: It invites us first to the fear of God, then to confidence in him, in order that by perfect inno-

* *Life of Calvin*, Eng. trans., II, 153.

cense of life and by unfeigned obedience, we may learn to worship him, and to depend entirely on his goodness.”*

In this chapter from which we have just quoted (*Institutio*, 1559, chap. 10) are several very notable features: There is an entire omission of any reference to the love and grace of God; there is not a single quotation from or reference to the New Testament; the object of the chapter is to give us a description, not of what God is in himself, but of what he is to us; the object of this description is to teach us to honor God with innocence of life, and to obey his will; the duty of loving God is not therein inculcated.

In the following chapter, entitled: “The unlawfulness of attributing a visible form to God, and those altogether turn away from the true God who set up idols for themselves,” the author makes twenty quotations from, or references to, the Old Testament, and only three quotations from the New, and still no reference to the divine love and grace. That is, in these two chapters, which must be regarded as central in Calvin’s idea of God, the fatherhood of God as shown in Jesus Christ, and the love of God as exhibited in the plan of salvation, certainly receive but scant attention. And in general it may be said that Calvin’s God is pre-eminently, though by no means exclusively, the God of Moses and the prophet. It is characteristic for him to represent God as Lord, Master, Ruler, Governor, to whom absolute obedience is due from his creatures, and who directs all things for his own glory, even the salvation of the elect and the damnation of the reprobate, so that the final cause of all the divine operations and manifestations is the self-glorification of the Divine Actor. It we seek a cause for the divine conduct we are unable to find any outside of God himself. We are told that “the will of God is the supreme and primary cause of all things. By knowing this our minds are restrained from transcending proper limits of investigation. The proposition of Augustine that the will of God is the necessity of things seems harsh at the first blush.” Then after acknowledging the

* C. R. XXX 72-3.

existence of secondary causes, he makes a very practical application of the doctrine of the supreme and absolute causality of the divine will: "What is more true than that God in ruling his creatures has something more in himself than he has implanted in their natures? His will is to be considered the primary cause of all things that happen, because by his will he so rules all natures created by himself, that he destines all the counsels and actions of men to the end predetermined by himself. Not improperly have I said that this doctrine places a bridle on us to hold us in modesty, because it is utterly absurd not to yield to the will of God, which is superior to all causes, unless a clear reason for this appear."* And on the following page: "You must also remember what I have already said: God does nothing except for the best reason. But since the surest rule of righteousness is his will, it ought to be for us, so to speak, the chief reason of all reasons. For the humility of faith, since it springs from a living reverence for the divine righteousness, must by no means be imagined as something destitute of reason. For who, unless he were thoroughly persuaded that God is just, and that his deeds are right, would rest alone in his pleasure? Therefore that dogma of the Sorbonne, applauded by the papal theologasters, namely, that the power of God is absolute, I detest. It would be easier to separate the light of the sun from his warmth, yea, the heat from fire, than to separate the power of God from righteousness." Again: "This will, though it depends on nothing else, is nevertheless based on the best reason, on the highest equity. For since the folly of man needs the restraint of law, God, inasmuch as he is a law unto himself, has another reason, and his will is the supreme rule of rectitude"† Also: "Since the will of God is said to be the cause of all things, I have decided that the providence of God is that which rules in all the counsels and operations of men, and that he not only exerts his power in the elect, who are ruled by the Holy Spirit, but also forces the reprobate to obedience."

*C. R., VIII, 360.

† C. R., IX, 295.

Such affirmations place the will of God in absolute sovereignty. The will determines and causes all that exists, and all that is done. Contingency is absolutely out of the question.*

As a law unto himself God is not subject to law. He is absolute. Hence it is only by didactic negation that Calvin can repudiate the *potentia absoluta* of the Sorbonnists. He whose will is the cause of all things, and is the supreme rule of rectitude, and who is a law unto himself, has absolute power, that is, a power that is not subject to the will of any other. Nothing can exist without this will in action, and every act of this will is supremely right. Where then is the limitation to God's power? And if it can have no limitation, then it is absolute. The premises will admit of no other consistent conclusion. Piety may exclaim with Augustine, "O the depth!"† But the human reason, which is the reflex of the divine reason, will not be satisfied until it finds a ground for the divine conduct that it can construe as rational. When it is told that the divine will is the cause of all things, and is the supreme rule of right action, it is pretty sure to say that this is arbitrariness (*Willkur*), and hence is not a necessary conception. It can satisfy itself that the case admits of an alternative. It can say that the will that turns so many nations with their infant children into hell, simply because it so wills, can be conceived to will differently, that is, does not will so in accordance with a necessary principle of moral rectitude. Hence it is not absolutely necessary for us "to conceive that a thing is just for the very reason that God wills it. When you ask, therefore, why the Lord did so, the answer must be, Because he would. But if you go further, and ask why he so determined, you are in search of something higher and greater than the will of God, which can never be found. Let human temerity, therefore, desist from seeking that which is not, lest it should fail of finding that which is. This will be a sufficient

* *Institutes*, I, XVII; VI.

† *Institutes*, III, XXII; X.

restraint to any one disposed to reason with reverence concerning the secrets of God.”*

This, we repeat, may satisfy the feeling of piety, but it will not satisfy the intuition of reason, and reason has its place in religion, and has a right to inquire reverently for the reason of the divine conduct, and will feel itself aggrieved rather than satisfied when told that the “will of God is the supreme reason of all reasons.”

Further. *“We do not imagine that God is exlex, because he is a law unto himself; for as Plato says, men are without law who are subject to their own passions. But we deny that he is under obligation to render a reason. We also deny that we are qualified as judges to render a verdict in this matter in the proper sense. Hence should we attempt anything beyond what is proper, may that threat in Psalm 51 : 4, strike us with terror: The Lord will prevail whenever he is judged by mortal man.”†*

Such affirmations forestall all inquiry into the nature of God, and, taken with others previously quoted, are calculated to make the impression that God is chiefly *Will*, or *Law*. At least they make it evident that it is the will of God that determines the propriety and the lawfulness of all his relations and of all that he does and permits to be done. “The first man fell because God thought it was proper to be so. Why he thought so, he has concealed from us. But it is certain that he thought so, because he saw that thereby the glory of his justice would be meritoriously exhibited. When you hear mention made of the glory of God, then think of his justice, for that which would be looked upon as deserving of praise, must be just. Therefore man falls, because the providence of God so ordains it, though he falls by his own guilt.”‡

“Whence has it happened that the fall of Adam involved so many nations with their infant children in eternal death without remedy, except that it seemed good to God? A horrible decree, indeed, I confess; yet who can deny that God fore-

**Institutes*, III, XXIII; II.

† C. R., XXX, 700.

‡ C. R., XXX, 705.

knew the fate of man before he created him, and foreknew it because he had appointed it so by his own decree."* "The descendants of Adam fell by the divine will into that miserable condition in which they are now involved."* And this miserable condition into which man has fallen, is not "by the mere permission, and without any appointment, of God." "All things being at God's disposal, and the decision in regard to salvation belonging to him, he orders all things by his counsel and decree in such a manner that some men are born devoted from the womb to certain death, that his name may be glorified in their destruction."

Such teaching in regard to the will of God is not incidental nor accidental with Calvin. It forms a very large part of the very substance and marrow of his doctrine of God, and of his understanding of the relations of God to men. The will of God is the supreme norm, the sovereign law. Whatever God wills is *eo ipso* right, is right because he wills it. Nothing can be found above God's will. "God's will is the necessity of things, and that will necessarily come to pass which he has willed, as those things will surely come to pass which he has foreseen."†

This conception of the absolute sovereignty of the divine will, and of its non-amenability to any *ad extra* condition, or to any distinction whatever, is clearly brought out by Calvin in his comment on Genesis, 25 : 29. He says that in putting the disposition of Esau to the test, and in "designing to present an instance of Jacob's piety," God had no reference to the future conduct of either, because: "Since God is the Creator of the world, he is by his own right in such a sense the arbiter of life and death that he cannot be called to account, but his own will is, so to speak, the *cause of causes*."

And yet God is not to be conceived as *exlex*! But this conclusion can be reached only by affirming that God is a law unto himself,—which may be pious, but it cannot be consistently logical. To be *exlex* is to be without law, is to be subject to

* C. R., XXX, 704.

† See C. R. II, 705, and C. R. I, 870-1.

no law. To be a law unto one's self, is to be the subject only of one's own will. As the will itself is the cause of causes, its action cannot be determined by reason, or by wisdom, for *ex hypothesi* they are inferior to the will. In strict logic it is the will then that makes the divine action reasonable and wise, or to seem reasonable and wise. As an article of faith, as a teaching of revelation, we may believe that the will of God is unchangeable, but it is perfectly competent for the reason to conceive the will of God to be different, or to have been different, from what it now is, and to act otherwise than it now acts. The conclusion from Calvin's premises is inevitable: The present moral order of the universe is itself contingent, since it proceeded from a will that might have been different, and might have acted differently. It is not based on the *perscitas boni*, but on the *voluntas Dei*. God chose it, not because it is the best; much rather is it the best because God chose it. But in its operations, and in its relations to us, this present moral order is arbitrary, that is, it has been determined by the mere will of God, which, according to Calvin, is the supreme rule of rectitude, and the cause of causes. Hence here it is that Calvin joins hands with Duns Scotus and Occam, who held that "God acts with absolutely unrestrained arbitrariness."*

Such a view of God may well serve to keep man humble, but it cannot satisfy his ethical reason. To proclaim the wisdom and holiness of God is only to beg the question so long as the will is the superior cause and is the supreme rule of rectitude. We instinctively seek a ground of right and wrong in the distinctions that inhere in actions themselves, or in conditions that present themselves to the agent. The distinctions between actions must be as certain, as eternal, as unchangeable, in principle, as God himself, otherwise we have only a mutable morality; and the conditions in and under which actions appear, form the necessary basis for discriminate moral judgments. God himself, we conceive, must observe these distinctions and

* See Erdmann's *Hist. of Philosophy* (English translation) I, 501. Also, Ueberweg's *Hist. of Philosophy*, I, 452, 456 *et seq.*

conditions, as a reason for his conduct, since there are things that reason says it would not be right for God himself to do, as for instance to show partiality in the bestowment of his favors, where the conditions are identical. Or, to put the case concretely, to elect Jacob to salvation, to bestow on him effectual calling, the renewing of the Holy Spirit, the gift of perseverance, and to reprobate Esau, to deny him effectual calling, to withhold from him the operation of the Holy Spirit, to devote him from the mother's womb to eternal death—all because he has willed so to do for the illumination of the glory of his grace and the glory of his justice—and then to say: “Nothing remains but that all flesh should keep silence before God, and that the whole world, confessing itself to be obnoxious to his judgment, should rather be humbled than proudly contend”^{*}—this does not prove that God is not *exlex*, but proves rather that the words: “a law unto himself” have no meaning for us, and that Calvin's idea of God, notwithstanding his disclaimer, goes back to the Nominalistic *potentia absoluta*,[†] for when God elects one man to eternal life, and reprobates his brother to eternal death, and gives us no reason for this discrimination that we can understand, we are bound to say that he exercises *potentia absoluta*; and it is only by submitting in Nominalistic fashion to authority—in this case to the antecedent assumption that the will of God is the supreme rule of rectitude—that we can say that such discrimination is just. But we cannot expunge from our minds the intuition given by God himself, nor the thought derived from God's word, that justice has its most fundamental principle in impartiality. But whatsoever may be the logic, or the ethics, or the metaphysics of the case, it is evident that with Calvin God is the one sublime and awful thought. He seems almost to be overwhelmed by the contemplation of the divine sovereignty, and to bow in humblest submission to the absolute causality of the divine will, which, in its activity, extends to all creatures and determines all events, so that they occur necessarily as they do. At

^{*} *Com. on Gen. 25 : 29.*

[†] See Erdmann's *History of Philosophy*, I, pp. 498, 510, 511, English translation.

the same time he has a most adoring conception of the holiness of God, and for this reason, doubtless, he hated sin as but few men have hated it, and indignantly repels every intimation that his doctrine of God makes God the author of sin. But this he does, as it seems to us, by sweeping negations and bold paradoxes, rather than by consistent conclusions from the premises laid down. But as to the practical effect of Calvin's doctrine of God, we feel bound to say that notwithstanding its seemingly abstract and almost unearthly nature—a doctrine that has shocked not a little the moral intuitions of the vast majority of Christians—it nevertheless had in view a most practical end, and has been most successfully applied to the Christian life, has been a great promoter of civil and religious liberty, and has produced the very highest type of Christian morality. It was Calvin's expressed aim to set forth the nature and attributes of God strictly according to the Scriptures, and not according to the speculations of reason. Indeed Calvin was not a speculative genius, but an intensely practical spirit. The supreme aim of his theological activity was to reform the lives of men, and to improve their manners according to the divine pattern. The age in which he lived was one of moral degeneracy and unbridled libertinism. The character that was born in him was severe, and the education which he had received was legalistic. It was but natural that he should seize on the Old Testament conception of God as the most proper instrument for subduing the rude and wild passions of men. That the instrument was effective is known to all the world. Tyrants have trembled before it, and the poor and oppressed of the earth have sought its protection.

II. PREDESTINATION.

There is no doctrine connected with the Christian scheme on which Calvin dwelt so persistently, and which he developed with so much consistency, as the doctrine of the Double Predestination. He freely accepted the Augustinian doctrine of sin, grace, and the bondage of the will (*arbitrium*). But he goes beyond Augustine in extending the eternal decree to dam-

nation. It is his peculiar doctrine that "before the creation of the first man God had determined by an eternal decree what he wished to become of the whole human family. By this secret counsel of God it came to pass that Adam fell from the perfect state of his nature, and by his fall drew all his posterity into the guilt of eternal death. On this same decree depends the discrimination between the elect and the reprobate, because he adopted some to salvation and destinated others to eternal destruction."* It thus appears that the eternal decree of God extends to every individual of the race, and divides the race into two classes, one of which is appointed to salvation, the other is devoted to damnation. The cause of this discrimination we are afterwards told, "is none other than the mere will of God, which is the supreme rule of rectitude." Indeed, Calvin maintains that election implies reprobation, that if some are elected unto salvation as vessels of mercy, others are necessarily as vessels of wrath reprobated to damnation on account of sin. He says: "Many, indeed, as if they wished to avert odium from God, admit election in such a way as to deny that any one is reprobated. But this is puerile and absurd, because election itself could not exist without being opposed to reprobation. God is said to separate those whom he adopts to salvation. To say that others obtain by chance, or acquire by their own efforts, that which election alone confers on a few, will be worse than absurd. Whom God passes by, he reprobates, and from no other cause than his determination to exclude them from the inheritance which he predestinates for his children. And the petulance of men is intolerable, if it refuses to be restrained by the word of God, which treats of his incomprehensible counsel, adored by angels. But now we have heard that hardening proceeds from the Divine power and will, as much as mercy."† In speaking of the vessels of wrath fitted for destruction he declares "that God's power is not permissive, but influential," and "the cause of hardening is the se-

* C. R. XXXVII, 713-4.

† *Institutes* (Allen's translation), Bk. III, XXIII; I.

cret counsel of God." And in reply to those who "recur to the distinction between will and permission, and insist that God permits the destruction of the impious, but does not will it," he says: "But what reason shall we assign for his permitting it, but because it is his will? It is not probable, however, that man procured his own destruction by the mere permission and without any appointment of God; as though God had not determined what he would choose to be the condition of the principal of his creatures. I shall not hesitate therefore to confess plainly with Augustine, 'that the will of God is the necessity of things, and that what he has willed will necessarily come to pass, as those things are really about to happen which he has foreseen.' " *

This doctrine of the Double Predestination Calvin bases chiefly on the ninth chapter of Romans. But as he looks upon the Scripture as an organism through which God expresses and makes known his secret counsel to the elect, so he finds almost everywhere in the Divine Word his favorite and central doctrine, namely, that God of his own will and without anything determining him thereto chooses some men as the subjects of his grace, and reprobates others as the objects of his wrath. Consequently he accepts the *decretum horribile*, not because it delights him, but because he verily believes it to be a teaching of the divine word and believes it to be his duty to state it and to inculcate it at all hazards. For instance in writing to Bullinger in 1552 he declared that he holds the doctrine of Predestination to be found in the word of God.† In writing to the Seigneurs of Geneva in the same year, he declares: "The Scriptures, however, show us clearly, that God has predestinated men to such ends as he chose them to reach."‡ In the Preface to the *Consensus Genevensis*, he called "gratuitous Election of God" "our doctrine which is drawn from the pure word of God." In his Commentary on Romans IX: 18 he says: "Paul teaches us, that the ruin of the wicked is not

* *Ibid.*, VIII.

† Bonnet's *Calvin's Letters*, II, 333.

‡ *Ibid.*, 367.

only foreseen, but also ordained by God's counsel and his will; and Solomon teaches us the same thing,—that not only the destruction of the wicked is foreknown, but that the wicked themselves have been created for this very end—that they may perish. (Prov. XVI : 4).” That is, Calvin finds the doctrine of the Double Predestination distinctly taught in both Testaments.

To sum up: Calvin holds that the Scriptures teach “that God, according to his own will, favors with mercy them whom he pleases, and unsheathes the severity of his judgment against whomsoever it seemeth him good.”* Or to state the case in our own summing-up Calvin's doctrine is that the Word of God teaches, that God from eternity, that is, before the first man was created, willed that some men, a definite small number, be saved, and willed to supply all the means necessary for their salvation; and willed also that all the rest of mankind should be consigned to eternal death, and willed that they should be left in their sins, and be hardened and excluded from the knowledge of his name that they may be damned.

Let us now follow Calvin in chronological order, as we exhibit the development of his doctrine of the Double Predestination as based on the Word of God.

1. In the year 1536 Calvin published the first edition of his Institutes. Here the doctrine of Predestination is moderately, though distinctly, expressed, on its positive side. “In Christ are we elected from eternity before the foundation of the world, by no merit of our own, but according to the purpose of the good pleasure of God; by his death are we freed from the damnation of death, and delivered from perdition; adopted in him as sons and heirs; by his blood reconciled to the Father; delivered into his care by the Father that we might neither perish nor fall, and are so inserted in him that as partakers of eternal life we enter into the Kingdom of God through him. (Eph. 1; Rom. 9: 2 Tim. 1; Jno. 1; Eph. 1: 3; Rom. 5: 8; 2 Cor. 5; Jno. 10 and 17).”† Again: “Since

* *Com. de Romans*, IX, 18.

† C. R., XXIX, 51.

Christ is our Lord, in whom the Father hath from eternity elected those whom he willed to be his own and to be gathered into his Church, we have distinct proof both that we are among the elect of God and are in his Church, if we have communion with Christ * * * We are certain that we are among those whom the Lord hath elected from eternity, whom he will always protect, and whom he will never suffer to perish (Rom. 8).”* It is sufficient here to observe that election is from eternity, that it is according to the *beneplacitum Dei*, that it results from the will of God, and that it involves final perseverance and entrance into the divine Kingdom. Reprobation is not mentioned, but as election is based on discrimination, it involves rejection, and whom God rejects he reprobates. According to Calvin’s own words, “God is said to separate those whom he adopts to salvation.” Then those who are not separated are left in their sins.

2. In 1537 Calvin prepared an *Instruction and Confession of Faith in use in the Church at Geneva*, which in the following year he translated into Latin and published under the title: *Catechismus sive Christianae Religionis Institutio*, etc. Under the heading: *Of Election and Predestination* he says: “But in this distinction is necessarily to be considered the sublime mystery of the divine counsel. For in those alone does the Word of God take root and fructify, whom God by his eternal election predestinated to become sons and heirs of the heavenly Kingdom. To all others, who by the same counsel before the foundation of the world were reprobated, the plainest preaching of the truth can be nothing but the savor of death unto death.” Why God hath chosen to make this distinction among men is his own secret, and we are not to inquire into majesty. Calvin simply says: “We recognize the elect as vessels of mercy, and the reprobate as vessels of just wrath.”†

This thesis is supported by appeal to Prov. 25 : 2 ; Eph. 1 : 4 ; John 1 : 4 ; John 3 : 16. The Double Predestination is here distinctly set forth. If election be a teaching of the word of God, the same must be said of reprobation. In Calvin’s es-

* C. R., XXIX, 74.

† C. R., XXXIII, 332-3.

timation the two stand or fall together ; the one is the correlate of the other.

3. In the year 1539 Calvin, then residing at Strassburg, published his *Commentary on Romans*. He has the following to say on verse eighteen, chapter IX : "*To whom he wills then he showeth mercy*, etc. Here follows the conclusion of both parts ; which can by no means be understood as being the language of any other but of an Apostle ; for he immediately addresses an opponent, and adduces what might have been objected by an opposite party. There is therefore no doubt that Paul, as we have already reminded you, speaks these things in his own person, namely, that God, according to his own will favors with mercy whom he pleases, and unsheathes the severity of his judgment against whomsoever it seemeth him good. That our mind may be satisfied with the difference which exists between the elect and the reprobate, and may not inquire for any cause higher than the divine will, his purpose was to convince us of this—that it seems good to God to illumine some that they may be saved, and to blind others that they may perish : for we ought particularly to notice these words, *to whom he wills* and *whom he wills* : beyond this he allows us not to proceed. But the word *hardens*, when applied to God in Scripture, means not only permission (as some washy moderators would have it), but also the operation of the wrath of God : for all those external things, which lead to the blinding of the reprobate, are the instruments of his wrath ; and Satan himself, who works inwardly with great power, is so far his minister, that he acts not but by his command." A little later, commenting on the word *vessels*, he says : "For the best reason then are we, the faithful, called the vessels of mercy, whom the Lord uses as instruments for the manifestation of his mercy ; and the reprobate are the vessels of his wrath, because they serve to show forth the judgments of God." He further declares that the reprobate, "before they are born are destined to their lot." But the whole divine transaction belongs to the secret counsel of God, and is inexplicable, and we are to "learn to acquiesce in the bare and simple good pleasure of God," and be satisfied with the fact "that God has

a sufficiently just reason for electing and for reprobating, in his own will." Indeed the comment on the entire ninth chapter of Romans is scarcely anything else than an argument for the Double Predestination—for the gratuitous election of a portion of the human race, and for the just reprobation of all others. The distinction made by the will of God is clear and sharp, and depends on nothing foreseen in man.

4. In 1539 Calvin also published the second edition, much more elaborate than the first, of his *Institutes*. It is thus evident that he wrote his *Commentary on Romans* and prepared the second edition of the *Institutes* at the same time. We may expect therefore to find both books pervaded by the same controlling ideas. In this expectation we are not disappointed when we come to those places that treat of Predestination, which he defines as follows: "Predestination we call the eternal decree of God, by which he has determined with himself what he would have become of each individual. For all are not created in equal condition, but to some is foreordained eternal life, to others eternal damnation. As anyone has been created for one or the other of these ends, we say he was predestinated either to life or to death. Custom requires that we should speak of Providence as that economy which God exercises in the government of the world and of all things. Our first discussion will be about Predestination. Because the Scripture clearly shows it, we say that God by an eternal and immutable counsel determined once for all whom he would afterwards admit to salvation, and whom he would devote to destruction. We say that those whom he deigns to make partakers of salvation, are chosen by his free mercy without any regard to their own worthiness. By a just and irreprehensible, but incomprehensible, decree, he closes access to life to those whom he delivers to damnation. For truly in the elect we make vocation the evidence of election; justification we make the second sign of its manifestation, until we come to glory, which is its completion. But as by vocation and justification God designates his elect, so by excluding the reprobate either from the knowledge of his name or from the sanctification of

his Spirit, he discloses to them by signs, as it were, the judgment that awaits them."*

As this is the most elaborate and formal statement and defense of the Double Predestination hitherto made by Calvin, it will not be improper to subject it to analysis and exposition. It is based, according to the author, upon a clear showing of the Scripture; it is an eternal decree of God; men are not created in equal condition; some are foreordained to eternal life, and others to eternal damnation; the destiny of men is determined by God's eternal counsel; the elect are the objects of God's gratuitous compassion; the reprobate are objects of his just judgment; the elect are called and justified in such a way that calling and justification are the evidences of election, which is from eternity; exclusion from the knowledge of God and from the sanctification of the Spirit, are evidences of reprobation, which also is from eternity.

All this, and much more, is based, according to the author, on the Scripture. Indeed in this chapter (XIV) which is very long, and is entitled, *Of the Predestination and Providence of God*, the Scriptures of both Testaments are most abundantly used. In this chapter is found the famous passage: *Cadit igitur homo, Dei providentia sic ordinante, sed suo vitio cadit* (p. 874), also the declarations that "the will of God is the supreme rule of rectitude," and that "God sends his word to many, whose blindness he wishes especially to aggravate." Here also is found an exposition of Matthew 22 : 14: "*For many are called, but few chosen.* There is a twofold call. For the one call is universal, by which through the external preaching of the word, God invites alike all to himself, even those to whom he sets it forth as a savor of death, and as an instrument of severer condemnation. The other call is special, by which he particularly distinguishes only believers, since by an internal illumination of the Spirit he causes the word preached to enter their hearts."

Of course the argument, or rather the exposition, must har-

*C. R., XXIX : 865.

monize with the fundamental principle that salvation is not intended for all. If salvation be not intended for the "many" as contrasted with the "few," then the call is not *seriously* directed to the "many." In reality the "many" have no call, for the call is the special prerogative of the "few," and is the *testification* of their election. The "many" hear the same sound of the Gospel that is heard by the "few," but to the "many," the "few" excepted, it is only a savor of death unto death, or an instrument for the aggravation of their blindness. To the elect the sound of the Gospel is made effective by the superadded gift of the Holy Spirit; from the reprobate the Spirit is withheld, so that they cannot accept the message of the Gospel. The conclusion is certain: The design of the Gospel call is in extent exactly commensurate with the decree of election. The call of the Gospel is in reality not designed for all men. Vocation therefore is limited and technical. It is confined to the elect, it belongs to the elect, it testifies to the elect of something done for them in eternity by the secret counsel of God. Hence he who has not been eternally elected is not called. He who is called knows thereby that he has been elected, and the call is thus the first step in the individual's experience of salvation. The second step in such experience is justification.

In continuing the discussion in this chapter Calvin quotes I Tim. 3 : 4: "God hath concluded all under unbelief that he might have mercy on all;" and Rom. 11 : 32; and Ezekiel 18 : 32; 33 : 11: "The Lord declares that he wills not the death of the sinner, but that he turn and live." He then says: "The first from the Apostle is inappositely adduced here, for it is very evident from the context that he here speaks, not of individuals, but of orders of persons. He had commanded Timothy to have solemn prayers said in the Church for kings and princes. But since it would seem absurd to offer prayers to God for a class of men properly deplored, since they were not only aliens from the body of Christ, but were striving with all their might to overthrow his kingdom, the Apostle adds that it is acceptable to God who wishes all men to be saved, by which he means only that God closes the way to no class or

condition of men; yea, rather that he has so poured out his mercy as to will that no class be without it. The other passages do not declare what God has determined concerning all his secret judgments, but announce that pardon is prepared for all sinners who turn to seek it. If now it be insisted that he will have mercy on all, I will oppose what is said elsewhere, viz., that our God is in the heavens where he doeth what he will. Hence this passage must be expounded so as to agree with another: I will have mercy, and I will have compassion on whom I will have compassion. He who chooses out some to be the subjects of his compassion does not bestow that compassion upon all.”*

It thus appears that the word *omnes* does not mean *all*, but only “the some” whom God “chooses to be the subjects of his compassion.” Everything is to be referred back to election, to the *discrimination* that has been made from eternity. That is, the Double Predestination furnishes the principle for the interpretation of all Scripture. If any passage of Scripture in its literal sense conflicts with the principle, which is an eternal decree, that sense is to be discarded and another is to be found. The *omnes* in Timothy means only some of every order or condition of men. The “Sinner” in Ezekiel means not every sinner, but only that particular sinner who has been foreseen and chosen from eternity to be the recipient of the divine compassion. However much the reprobate—who constitute the vast majority of the race—may be moved by the sound of the Gospel to feel the need of salvation, and may even be made to long for salvation, they are not vouchsafed the first proof of their election, which is the special call, much less the second sign, which is justification, and have already the evidence of their destiny in the fact that they have been excluded from the knowledge of God and from the sanctification of the Spirit. The *revealed* will of God is not his *true* will, neither is the revealed will the will with which men have to do, nor is the *revealed* will really the will according to which he designs the salvation of men. “God takes up a twofold character,”* and has “a double will,” and in the last analysis

* C. R. XXIX : 887-8.

* *Commentary on Ezekiel*, 18 : 32. † C. R. XXXVI, 301.

everything depends upon the *secret* will, the *beneplacitum Dei*. "By his promise God wills that his compassion be set forth to all who take refuge in it. But only those take refuge in it whom he has predestinated to salvation. To these, I say, there is the sure unshaken verity of the promises, so that it may not be said that there is any difference between God's eternal election and the testimony of his grace, which he bestows upon believers. But why does he name all? That the consciences of the pious may rest the more securely when they understand that there is no difference between sinners, provided there be faith. But the impious cannot plead that they have no refuge, to which they may flee from the bondage of sin, while by their ingratitude they reject that which has been offered them. Therefore when the mercy of God is offered to both through the Gospel, it is faith, that is, the illumination of God, that distinguishes between the pious and the impious, so that the former perceive the efficacy of the Gospel, but the latter derive no benefit from it. Illumination itself has God's eternal election as its regulating principle."*

Thus it appears that, approach the subject of man's salvation from whatever standpoint you may, you always reach Predestination, or "God's eternal election," as the primary, the all-determining, cause of the difference in the future eternal destinies of men. Those are illumined who have been predestinated and elected. "The eternal decree of God, by which he has determined with himself what he would have become of each individual," rules everything. And this is the light by which the entire word of God is to be read. In reality the will of God is not in the word, and is not expressed by the word.

5. In 1552 Calvin published his *De Aeterna Dei Praedestinatione, qua in Salutem Alios ex Hominibus elegit, Alios suo Exitio Reliquit*, which, because it was adopted by the Geneva pastors, is commonly called the *Consensus Genevensis*.†

This treatise, which is directed against Albert Pighius and George Siculus, may be regarded as the most powerful discussion of the Double Predestination that has ever appeared. It may

* *Ibid.* p. 888-9.

† Niemeyer's *Collectio*, pp. 218-310.

be conceded that from the standpoint of its author it exhausts the subject. This it does by placing heavy emphasis on a certain class of passages of Scripture, and by overlooking, or undervaluing, those of an opposite character. Almost at the very beginning of the Preface the author speaks of "God's gracious election" as "our doctrine, which is drawn from the pure word of God." In the body of the work he appeals to the Scriptures about three hundred times, besides making many allusions to the same. Often he enters on lengthy explanations of Hebrew and Greek words for the express purpose of expounding the doctrine of the Double Predestination, which is the cause of "the election of the small number of believers,"* and of the rejection of all the rest of mankind, since "God had determined before Adam had fallen what should be the fate of the whole human race and of every individual man." (p. 267).

We can present here only a brief synopsis of this remarkable tractate: That we are elected, not because we believe, but that we may believe, is declared in the Preface already: "Before we were conceived in the womb, God elected us that we might be believers." As to the practical value of election the author says: "Nothing is better adapted to strengthen faith than to hear that that election which the Spirit of God seals on our hearts, rests on the eternal and inflexible *beneplacitum Dei*" (p. 223). As to the source of his argument he says: "On this subject I will teach nothing except that which God plainly dictates to us in the oracles of the Scripture. That the salvation of believers depends on the eternal election of God, and that no cause can be assigned for it, except his gracious *beneplacitum*, is shown by the words of Paul in the first chapter of Ephesians. Blessed be God who hath blessed us in Christ, as he hath chosen us in him before the creation of the world. Pighius says that the human race is elected in Christ, and that all who embrace him by faith obtain salvation. But in this comment there are two crass deceptions which are easily refuted by Paul's words. For in the first place there is a correlation between the elect and the reprobate, so that the election of which Paul speaks cannot exist except we confess that there

* *Institutes* III, 21, VII.

are certain persons whom God, as it seems good to him, has separated from the others, which thing itself is afterwards expressed by the word *predestinating*. * * * Secondly, when he states the sole cause of election, it is the *beneplacitum* which God has in himself that excludes all other causes." (p. 231). He also says in the same connection: "God elects us, not because we have believed, but that we may believe, lest we should seem first to have chosen him. Paul declares that the fruit of the divine election and the effect is that we begin to be saints. Hence those act very preposterously who subordinate election to faith. For since he sets up the *beneplacitum Dei* which God has in himself, as the sole cause of election, he excludes all other causes."

Analysing these quotations we find several items worthy of our attention:

(a). Election correlates with reprobation, and reprobation correlates with election. The two stand over against each other, and are implied in each other *ex vi terminorum*. When God elects certain persons, he separates them from other persons, and such other persons are affected by the divine action, otherwise the correlation that exists between the two classes is destroyed. Therefore the *beneplacitum Dei*, which is the sole cause of election, is also the sole cause of reprobation. God not only elects, but he reprobates; he not only chooses some to be the objects of his mercy, but he casts off others and leaves them destitute of his mercy. In reference to each class God is active.

(b). The gratuitous eternal election precedes faith. "Election itself is the cause and origin of faith." Men are elected that they may believe and begin to be saints. It is expressly denied that "God in electing us had any regard unto faith, since the same could not exist had not God destined it to us by the grace of his adoption," or as he says on the following page: "Whom God makes heirs of eternal life, them he has adopted as sons by his eternal secret counsel." Faith waits on election. "Election is the mother of faith" (p. 289).

(c). Such Predestination, according to Calvin, is taught in

the divine word. They who construct an order of salvation so as to place faith before election, and so as to make faith a cause or condition of election, act very preposterously. "To make faith the cause of election is utterly absurd and inconsistent with the words of Paul" (p. 231). The same order also obtains between vocation and election. "There is a special vocation, which so seals and ratifies God's eternal election, as to reveal that which previously had been concealed in God" (p. 232).

In this tractate also, in further illustration of his general theme, Calvin discussed the sufficiency and efficiency of the atonement made by Christ. To the objection of Pighius that Christ the Redeemer of the world commanded the Gospel to be preached to all men, he replies: "Christ was appointed for the salvation of the whole world in such a way as to save those who were given him by the Father. He is the life of those of whom he is the Head. He receives those to a participation of his goods, whom God by his gracious *beneplacitum* has adopted as his heirs. How can this be denied? That prophecy of Isaiah (Is. 8 : 18; Hebr. 2 : 13) the apostle declares to have been completed in Christ: Behold I and the children whom the Lord gave me. Christ himself declares (John 6 : 37): All that the Father hath given me, I will keep, that nothing be lost. That he gives life to his members only, we read in various places. That insertion into his body is a special privilege, is denied by him who has never attentively read the Epistle to the Ephesians. Therefore, it follows that the virtue of Christ belongs only to the sons of God, though the opposite party would concede to me that the universal grace of Christ can be best estimated from the preaching of the Gospel. Hence in that rests the solution of the difficulty, if we observe the manner in which the Gospel offers salvation to all. Now I do not deny that by its own nature it is capable of saving all. Only this question arises: Has God by his eternal counsel appointed salvation alike for all? It is evident that all alike are called to repentance and faith; and that to all is presented the same Mediator who could reconcile them to the Father, is well

known; but equally is it known that salvation is obtained only by faith, that that saying of Paul (Rom. 1 : 16) may be fulfilled: The Gospel is the power of God unto salvation to every one that believeth. But what is it to the rest, except that it be a savor of death unto death, as is said in 2 Cor. 2 : 16?" (p. 254).

These few quotations may serve to exhibit Calvin's doctrine of the Double Predestination as set forth in the *Consensus Genevensis*. He finds the doctrine as stated, reiterated and defended by him, in the oracles of the Scriptures and every Scripture bearing on man's salvation is made by him to bend to the eternal decree. Christ is recognized as Mediator for all men, as capable of reconciling all men to God, and all alike are summoned to repentance and faith; but God has not destined salvation for all. The eternal decree lies back of everything and determines everything. We are the sons of God by the gracious adoption of the Father, "and the mirror, guerdon, pledge, of the gracious adoption by which we obtain so great a blessing, is the Son, who came to us from the bosom of the Father, that by inserting us in his body, he might make us heirs of the heavenly Kingdom." (p. 261).

6. We come now to the last edition of the *Institutes* (1559).^{*} In book III of this work the author devotes four chapters XXI—XXIV, pp. 678—728 to the subject of Predestination. The title of chapter XXI is: "Of the eternal election by which God predestinates some to salvation, and others to damnation." The next chapter is entitled: "Proof of this doctrine from the testimonies of Scripture." The next: "The Refutation of the calumnies by which this doctrine has been always burdened." The last: "Election is confirmed by vocation; but the reprobate invite the just destruction to which they are destined."

Nowhere has Calvin stated the doctrine of the *Double Predestination* so systematically as in these chapters. We give a few characteristic declarations: "From the common crowd of

^{*}C. R., II, pp. 31—1118.

men some are predestinated to salvation, others to destruction." "God gives to some what he denies to others." "Ignorance of this principle abates from the glory of God, and diminishes true humility." "Predestination, by which God adopts some to the hope of life, and adjudges others to eternal death." "Predestination we call the eternal decree by which God has determined within himself what he will have become of each and every person, for they are not all created in an equal condition, but eternal life has been ordained for some, eternal death for others." "Gratuitous election is only half displayed till we come to particular individuals, to whom God not only offers salvation, but assigns it in such a manner, that the certainty of the effect is liable to no suspense or doubt." As in the second edition, so in this third, Vocation is made the evidence of Election, and Justification the second symbol of it, and glory the consummation of it.

For the confirmation of all these propositions, the Scriptures are made to do most liberal service. In chapter XXII, there are not less than thirty quotations from the Old and New Testaments. A similar abundant use of Scripture is made in the two following chapters; and here it is again asserted on the testimony of Paul that election is the mother of faith, and that Election can exist only as the correlate of Reprobation. It is also distinctly affirmed that Reprobation is an act of the divine will. God not only passes over certain persons, but he reprobates them, and that for no other reason than that he means to exclude them from the inheritance which he has predestinated for his children (p. 698).

7. We add a few quotations from several commentaries. In an excursus on Predestination in the *Commentary on Malachi* pp. 471-481 all the illustrations and arguments are drawn from the Old and New Testaments. God chose Abraham, then Isaac, then Jacob, then some of the sons of Jacob, and rejected others. "The difference arose from the fountain of gratuitous favor." "The Scripture is full of proof on this subject, and experience sufficiently demonstrates the truth." He declares that the number of passages that sustain the doctrine of the Double Predestination is without end. "Our election is hid in the

eternal and secret counsel of God, and is founded in Christ; and Reprobation is also hid in the judgment of God." Finally: "It behooves us to hold fast this doctrine that God alone is the author of salvation, because he has been pleased freely to elect us, and also that he possesses power over all the human race, so that some, according to his will, are elected and some are rejected, and that he ever acts, justly and holds secret the cause both of election and Reprobation." In commenting on 1 Timothy 2 : 4, "who will have all men to be saved, and to come to the knowledge of the truth," Calvin says: "The Apostle simply understands that no people in the world and no order is excluded from salvation, because God wishes the Gospel to be set forth to all without exception. The preaching of the Gospel is life-giving, therefore he rightly infers that God thinks all equally worthy to partake of salvation. But he speaks of classes of men, not of individual persons. He means only that princes and foreign peoples are included in this number."

In commenting on 1 John 2 : 2 he says: "Those who wished to escape this absurdity (universal salvation) have said that Christ suffered sufficiently for the whole world, but only efficiently for the elect. This explanation commonly prevails in the schools. Although I confess the truth of the declaration, I nevertheless deny that it fits the present passage. For John has no other purpose than to make this benefit common to the whole Church. Therefore under the word *all* he does not comprehend the reprobate, but designates those who were about to believe, and who were dispersed in various parts of the world"—from which it is evident that Calvin did not deny the sufficiency of the atonement made by Christ for the salvation of all men, but limited it in its design, purpose and destination to the elect.*

And now having followed Calvin at considerable length in his exposition and defense of his doctrine of the Double Pre-

* See *Consensus Genevensis*, Niemeyer, p. 285.

destination, let us note those things that have especially impressed us.

1. He is tremendously in earnest whenever he treats this subject. He never seems to wax so fervid in argument, and to become so impatient with an opponent, as when he is engaged in discussing what he regards as the first cause of all God's judgments, and that action of God which determines absolutely and unchangeably the destiny of all men. In his estimation the whole system of divine truth stands or falls with the "eternal decree," with the "secret counsel," with the *beneplacitum Dei*, and such he designates as his "first fundamental principle." When a man's fundamental principle is attacked, he girds himself for defence.

2. Calvin attaches the utmost practical interest to this subject. If he ever anywhere showed a disposition to speculate, it was not in the discussion of the doctrine of Predestination. The reality of this doctrine, as he conceived it, was useful on the one hand to encourage the elect, and on the other to humble the reprobate, and to take from them all ground of complaint. That the election of the favored few rests on the eternal purpose of God, and is signified by vocation and justification, gives assurance of salvation. That the reprobate have their doom from the just and irreprehensible judgment of God must stop all mouths. "God hath concluded all in unbelief that he might have mercy upon all; which imports that he will have the salvation of all who are saved ascribed to his mercy, though this blessing is not common to all.."* Petulant tongues must be silenced by exclaiming with Paul, "O man, who art thou that repliest against God?"

3. The conviction became strengthened in Calvin as the years increased upon him that his doctrine of the Double Predestination is founded in the Divine Word. In the *Institutes* of 1536 the doctrine receives incidental treatment, but "this incidental treatment," says Dr. Warfield, "is full enough to show that there was already present to Calvin's mind all the sub-

* *Institutes*, III, XXIV, XVII.

stance of the doctrine as elsewhere developed by him.”* The doctrine is formally stated in the *Catechism or Instruction* of 1537, and is expanded and fortified by Scripture in the *Institutes* of 1539, is stated most polemically and elaborately in the *Consensus Genevensis*, and receives its most systematic formulation in the *Institutes* of 1559, while in the commentaries on the books of both Testaments it is the one ever recurring theme, and again and again did Calvin preach on the subject.† Indeed he seems to be so wedded to the doctrine that he never misses an occasion to present it, and he sees so much of it in the Scripture, that he shapes all other teaching of the Divine Word in harmony with this doctrine of the eternal decree, which lies back of the fall, back of the incarnation, back of the call, back of faith and justification—is the starting point of the whole Christian scheme, is the principle that determines the place and importance of every other doctrine of the system. For it must be understood that Calvin’s doctrine of the Double Predestination is so associated with his doctrine of God as to make the two practically one. It is God who wills all things that come to pass, whose will is the supreme cause of all things. It is God’s eternal decree, his secret counsel, that determines the destiny of every individual of the human race.

III. THE LIBERUM ARBITRIUM.

In the year 1542 Albert Pighius of Campen published a work divided into ten books, in which he attacked the Protestant doctrine of the will, of grace, of Predestination, etc. In the following year Calvin published a treatise entitled: *Defense of the sound orthodox doctrine of the bondage and freedom of the human will against the calumnies of Albert Pighius of Campen*,‡ divided into six books.

A part of the first book is devoted to a defense of the Reformation as necessary in view of the corruptions of the Church

* *Presb. and Ref. Review*, Jan. 1901, p. 62.

† See A. Krauss, *Zeits. f. Prak. Theol.* 1884, p. 225 *seqq.* and p. 246.

‡ C. R. XXXIV, 234-404.

of Rome, and a part is devoted to a defense of Luther's doctrine of the will. The author concedes that Luther had spoken extravagantly, but this, he says, Luther was compelled to do on account the false and pernicious confidence in works, which, as an accursed lethargy, could not be driven out by voice and words, but only by the clangor of the trumpet, by thunder and lightning. Luther he regards as an eminent apostle of Christ, by whose work and service the purity of the Gospel was restored.

In the second book reply is made to Pighius' charge that the doctrine of the Reformers asserts *Necessity*, and makes God the author of sin. Here Calvin fully recognizes the freedom of the *Voluntas* in the sense that it is exempt from compulsion, and acts *sponte et libente*. The natural man has *arbitrium spontaneum*, so that willingly and of choice he does the evil, forced thereto by no compulsion. But on account of inherited corruption, he always decides for the evil, and consequently can only do the evil. He affirms that man was created with *liberum arbitrium*, and was endowed with sound intelligence of mind, and with rectitude of the *voluntas*, but since the Fall the *arbitrium* is held captive under the bondage of sin. It has ceased to be *liberum*, "because on account of the depravity born in man, it is necessarily led to evil and can seek only evil. Hence can be inferred the great difference between necessity and compulsion. For we do not say that man is drawn unwillingly to sin, but since his will is corrupt it is held captive by the yoke of sin, and therefore necessarily wills the evil. For where there is bondage there is necessity, But it makes a wide difference whether bondage be voluntary or compulsory."*

He then examines Pighius' patristic quotations and shows that the Fathers teach variously on the subject, some attributing more and others less to the *liberum arbitrium*.†

The third book is largely devoted to an exposition of Augustine's view of the will. It is conceded that the great bishop of Hippo does not always speak consistently with himself. In his Anti-Manichæan writings he seems at times to favor Free-

* Page 280.

† See the *Institutes*, II, II; IV.

will. But in the Anti-Pelagian writings the reverse is the case. He represents the position of Augustine to be that "will (*voluntas*) belongs to man by nature, but it is bad and cannot by itself be good. It is not destroyed by the grace of God so as not to exist, but it is corrected and converted from a bad one to be a good one" (p. 316).

This view of the will Calvin endorses. He then gives a catalogue of Augustine's works, and claims the victory. He represents Augustine as maintaining the abstract freedom of the will, but as denying its ability to do anything that is acceptable to God. In good works the *arbitrium* is not *liberum*. "It is certain that we will when we will, but God causes that we will the good" (p. 323). The *voluntas* is free, but only free to sin. The attribute of freedom is not properly ascribed to it, since it is the servant of sin. It is evil by nature, held bound and captive under the yoke of sin, until set free by Christ. * * * God gives his grace to whom he will. Others to whom he does not give his grace remain in wickedness, and are able to do absolutely nothing good, because they belong to the lost and damned mass, and are left to their own damnation" (p. 325).

The remainder of the book is taken up with an effort to vindicate Augustine in refutation of Free-will as over against the gift of divine grace. The argument is that man can do absolutely nothing to promote his salvation. Salvation is wholly of grace. "But this grace is not of such a nature as to confer upon men the power of doing good if they will, so that it is optional with them to will or not to will, but efficaciously moves them to will; yea, it makes a good will out of a bad one, so that they necessarily will the good." Moreover, this is not done in such a way that men are afterwards left to themselves, but they are ruled and continuously held fast; so that perseverance in the good as well as beginning the good is the gift of God" (p. 326).

In the fourth book the author presents very little that is new, except to explain more fully the connection between the spontaneous and the enslaved will, and the relation of spontaneous

freedom to necessity. In harmony with Augustine and Bernard he declares that "God is necessarily good, and deserves not less praise on account of his goodness, because he cannot help being good. On the contrary the devil is necessarily bad, yet his wickedness is none the less vicious" (p. 333). "God does not compel himself, but is inclined spontaneously and voluntarily to that which he does by necessity. The devil on the contrary is both necessarily bad, and acts sinfully, notwithstanding the fact that he acts by his will. Hence I think I have established my point: The voluntary is not at variance with the necessary. In some sense they are associated" (p. 335).

After quoting a passage from Aristotle *τὸ βίαι ἢ δι' ἀγνοίαν γιγνόμενον*, and expounding it, Calvin says: "Here we see that a heathen philosopher confessed that it is not always in the power of man to be good, yea, he cannot help being evil; and yet that which exists exists by will and not by violence. Because in the beginning he had free choice, by which he delivered himself to the service and slavery of his lusts. But this indeed is the true philosophy of Christians, namely, that our forefather not only corrupted himself, but also at the same time all his posterity, and that from that source we derive the character that inheres in our nature" (p. 336).

Again: "From the mass of perdition which was made by the first Adam, we ought to know that no one is separated, except as one has the gift which he receives from the grace of God. Whom God elects, them he also calls. Of these no one perishes, because all have been elected. But they are elected because they are called according to purpose, but the purpose is not their own but God's" (p. 342).

In the fifth book, replying to the position of Pighius that God bestows his grace on him who antecedently deserves it, and that thereafter the acceptance of grace is optional, Calvin says: "I deny that grace is offered to us in such a way that thereafter it is optional with us whether we accept or reject it. I deny that so much is given that by the aid thereof our weakness is assisted, as though something rests with us. On the con-

trary I affirm that its benefit and work are such that our heart is changed from a heart of stone to one of flesh. In that the will may be read, and that we, reformed in heart and mind, may will what we ought to will. For neither does Paul witness that God effects in us that we may will aright, but this also, namely, that we will as the complement of the work. How great is the difference between the effect and the will! In like manner I predicate that our will is effectively formed, so that it follows the leading of the Spirit necessarily, but is not merely excited so that it can if it will. Beside, what we say in regard to one deed, ought to be extended to the entire life. It would not be sufficient for God to direct the heart of man once; it must in like manner be retained and confirmed in perseverance. For in perseverance, I exhort to the observance of two things: Let us not imagine that man coöperates with God when he obeys the direction of the Spirit; nor let us suppose that a second grace is given him as a reward, as though he had merited this by nightly using the former. I do not admit that men have any ability except it be given them; and God is constantly following up his work in them in such a manner that whatever he bestows on them to the end, is of grace" (p. 353).

He then quotes Augustine as saying that "men are the work of God in so far as they are men, but that in so far as they are sinners they are under the devil." And again: "Free-will has power only to sin so long as it is captive;" and: "God shows that in making men good he is not influenced by any good deeds on their part, but rather that he rewards them good for evil, by doing this on his own account and not on their account, and according to the decision of his own will, lest we should glory in the decision of our will" (p. 354).

In the sixth book Calvin draws his arguments more especially from the Scriptures, and presents final conclusions: "In a word, I say that the *voluntas*, not by nature, that is, not by the creation of God, but by the depravation of nature, is bad, and that it cannot be different, until by the grace of the Holy Spirit it is changed into a good one. But I do not imagine that a new

work or a new creation takes place so that the new succeeds the abolition of the former substance. For I especially maintain that the will always abides as it was originally implanted in man. Hence the change is in the habit, not in the substance" (p. 379). "I say, as the fact itself shows, that the power of reasoning, which has its seat in the mind, and the faculty of willing, which resides in the heart, have been vitiated and corrupted by sin. I say that by virtue of that vitiosity, which embraces man's entire soul with its powers, it has come about that man thinks, chooses, wills, attempts, does, nothing except evil. In this sense I say that whatever is of ourselves ought to be abolished and renewed.

"I add that the *voluntas*, in its own nature so turned away from God, is changed alone by the power of God, in such a way that it has no part in the transaction, except as it is preceded by God. Augustine says: It does not go before, but it follows after in a good work. By these works I mean that I understand that there is in it no good action which does not proceed from the renewing of the Spirit" (p. 381).

These notes, we believe, present a just and fair synopsis of Calvin's doctrine *de libero arbitrio*. He does not discuss the will psychologically, as a single faculty of the human soul, or as that faculty by which the soul chooses between alternatives, and executes any given susceptibility of the soul; nor does he treat it metaphysically, as it stands related either subjectively or objectively to the powers and forces of the cosmos; but he treats it anthropologically and theologically. By *Will* he means chiefly the rational and moral susceptibilities of man. The power to perceive and to know the good and the right in their relation to God, has been greatly vitiated by sin. Into the place of the clear light of wisdom has come the darkness of ignorance of the soul's true dignity and of its duty to its Creator; and the heart has been so filled with selfishness and carnal desires as to have no proper longing for spiritual and supra-mundane things, the things that cannot be seen, but must be believed. The power of choice has not been lost from the *voluntas*, neither has the *voluntas* been destroyed, but it has been so subjugated to evil that it necessarily, though volun-

tarily, does only that which is evil. Hence it cannot do the righteousness required by the divine law. It cannot begin nor continue a work that leads to salvation. It is human nature that is morally impotent, and not specifically the will as that faculty is now understood in psychological terminology. And Calvin's whole object in this treatise is to show that man *is absolutely dependent upon divine grace for his salvation*. His argument is essentially a repristination of Augustine's doctrine of sin, grace and free-will, with this difference, viz., that he is far more vehement and severely logical than his master. But the sentiment of Calvin is expressed in the very words of Augustine: "By the grace of God alone are men set free from evil. Without this they can perform absolutely nothing good, whether in thinking, or in willing and loving, or in doing." Or: "The human will acquires grace not by its liberty, but liberty by grace" (p. 332). As over against the *gratia Dei gratuita* man has no *liberum arbitrium*; as a sinner he is *servus diaboli*. His radical disposition is wrong.

As to the merits of this treatise from the standpoint of extreme Augustinianism there cannot be two opinions. It is simply exhaustive. Schweizer says: "This book is much more dispassionately and carefully written than is Luther's *De Servo Arbitrio*, and is much more churchly than is Zwingli's *De Providentia*." In substance of teaching Calvin does not differ from those forerunners, but he avoids extreme statements, and contents himself with attending to the fact that without bluntness and boldness the true doctrine could not have been established.

"More important, according to present conception, is the distinction already established by Luther, between *necessity and compulsion*, and the exhibition of the Will as a power that makes its decisions by reflection and determination, and thus according to its very nature exhibits different attributes. For the Will is active in willing, be it in the bonds of sin and suffering, or be it free from these, whether it possesses a high moral energy, or has lost this. Calvin regards man in all moral conditions as possessing a natural will, which is never lost, never becomes a blind nature-power, nor a clod, and must always

maintain its spontaneous activity. On this basis, though not free from Luther's paradoxical expressions, he means to affirm two things: First that *everything which the finite created Will spontaneously*, from reflection and self-determination, grasps and does, must be *comprehended by and be dependent upon the absolute divine causality*, so as to harmonize absolutely with that resolved on from the very beginning by God, and which God certainly executes though without any compulsion. This is established by means of quotations from the Bible, and on the whole in the interest of a living *Gottesidee*, which regards everything in the world as animated and guided by God.

"Secondly, that *in man corrupt by nature the liberum arbitrium in the stricter, higher sense*, that is, the energy for the truly good, does *not exist*, yea rather, is wholly bound and subjugated, or enslaved. This also is supported by quotations from the Bible, and is in the interest of a specific view of the Christian life. Corrupt creatures are not less subject to the mighty rule of God than the incorrupt, and not less responsible."*

And now to sum up. We have presented as comprehensively as our space would allow, Calvin's idea of God, his doctrine of Predestination and his doctrine of man. If we seek for the unifying principle of all his teaching on these subjects, we find it in the one word GOD. The eternal decree of God is the absolute decree of God, a decree that has its cause absolutely in God himself, and is absolved from all external circumstances, conditions and actions, that might be known and distinguished by the divine foresight. The decree is absolute in the most absolute sense, and is secret.† Everything is as it is because everything has the will of God as its primary cause. Man's *voluntas* is not subject to compulsion; it acts of its own accord, *sponte et libente*, but it acts subject to the rule of God, and in a state of nature it acts only wickedly, and it cannot act otherwise. "Nothing is ours but sin."‡ The *arbitrium* is held

* *Centraldogmen*, I, 198—200.

† *Institutes*, III, XXII, *passim*.

‡ *Institutes*, II, II; XXVII.

in the bondage of sin. That the impious are as saws in the hand of God, which moves, directs and turns them whithersoever it will, does not proceed from Luther, but from the Holy Spirit.* The whole natural man necessarily and always fights against the Holy Spirit, and like a wild beast continually resists the grace of God. That is, every intellectual and moral faculty of man's soul, has been so vitiated and corrupted by sin, that he cannot discharge a single righteous function towards God, and cannot coöperate with God in the matter of salvation, "but without reason, without reflection, follows his natural inclination like the herds of the field."† In a word humanity as a whole has become *massa perditionis*. If any are saved from the dreadful consequence of sin, it is because God selects them from this *massa perditionis* as vessels of his mercy, while he consigns all the rest to destruction as vessels of wrath. If we seek a cause for such an act of discrimination we find it in the mere will of God, which is the supreme rule of rectitude. When we inquire for the *end*, or the *wherefore*, of such discrimination between the elect and the reprobate, we find that it is on the one hand for the glorification of the divine grace, and on the other for the glorification of the divine justice. The end is God himself, in that both classes serve for the revelation of his glory. If we inquire why it is that a few, comparatively, suffice to glorify the divine grace, while the much larger number of the reprobate are required to glorify the divine justice, we are met by Paul's exclamation: "O man, who art thou that repliest against God." That is, we are not allowed to seek a reason for the divine conduct. If we point to the death of Christ, as for all (2 Cor. 5 : 14 ; 1 Tim. 2 : 4, 6), it is conceded that Christ suffered *suffICIENTER pro omnibus*, but only *EFFICIENTER pro electis*—the death of Christ in its purpose and design does not extend to all men. If we seek for a sure foundation of our faith, we have to find it in that election which rests on the eternal and inflexible *beneplacitum Dei*. "For only then are we certain of our salvation when we

* C. R., XXXIV, 264.

† *Institutes*, II, II; XXVI.

find the cause in the bosom of God.”* If we appeal to the universal call of the Gospel, we are instructed that “the Lord, by his effectual calling of the elect, completes the salvation to which he predestinated them in his eternal counsel,” while to the reprobate “he directs his voice, but it is that they may become more deaf,” and to them “he delivers his doctrine involved in enigmatical obscurity, that its only effect may be to increase their stupidity.”† If we ask, why the call should be sincere and effectual to one class, and fallacious and judicial to the other, we are told that “he will torment himself in vain, who seeks for any cause of this beyond the secret and inscrutable will of God,”‡ and that “the promises, which invite all to salvation, do not simply and unequivocally designate what God has determined in his secret counsel, but what he is prepared to do for all who are brought to faith and repentance. However, in this way a two-fold will is affixed to God, though he is not so far changeable that the least shadow falls on him.

* * * He has decreed to convert only his elect.”§ The reprobate are already made acquainted with their doom in the fact that they have been kept from the knowledge of God and from the sanctification of the Spirit.

Thus are we ever brought back to God: Be it to the eternal decree of God, to the secret counsel of God, to the alone-causality of God, to the sovereign will of God. Hence it makes no practical difference whether we say that Calvin begins with God or with the eternal decree of God. It makes no practical difference whether we say that according to Calvin the eternal decree of God determines all things, or that according to Calvin the will of God determines all things. The distinction is only formal. Hence Dr. Henry B. Smith is right when he says: “Calvinism presents the divine sovereignty, as the principle of the system—all from God, in an analytic method,”|| and Dr. Schaff is right when he says that “Calvin

* *Consensus Genevensis* (Niemeyer), p. 223.

† See *Institutes*, III, XXIV; XII-XIV *passim*.

‡ *Ibid*, XII.

§ C. R., XXXVI, 301.

|| *Introduction to Christian Theology*, p. 64.

started from the eternal *decretum absolutum*."* Things that are equal to the same thing are equal to each other, and things that produce the same effect are in effect equal to each other.

(TO BE CONTINUED.)

ARTICLE III.

CARDINAL POINTS OF THE MINISTRY.

BY G. U. WENNER, D.D.

There is still room for the Christian ministry. Some of its functions have been assumed by other agencies. New and powerful factors in the world's progress have come into being. But the Christian minister still holds a commanding position in the organization of human society. How can it be otherwise? The office was established by Jesus Christ. It was held by his apostles. For nineteen centuries an unbroken line of his followers have maintained its dignity and performed its duties in the extension of the kingdom of God among men. If men are better, if society is stronger than in other ages, it is due in a large degree to the work of the Christian minister. We need therefore offer no apology for its existence. We need not fear for the permanence of the office.

At the same time we cannot disguise the fact that there are multitudes who have no use for the ministry. It is frequently observed that people do not go to church as much as they used to do. In the city this is partly owing to the exigencies of living, changes in social conditions to which the Church with its traditional conservatism has not accommodated itself. Still the trouble may not be altogether due to our surroundings. It is claimed that we have no message, and therefore the people do not care to hear us; that we preach platitudes instead of truths of vital interest, and therefore the people are weary of us. In a

* *Hist. Ch. Church*, VII, p. 547.

political campaign every cart-tail speaker is sure of an audience. He has something to say and he wants votes. With unflagging attention men will stand for hours in uncomfortable places and listen to thoughts that appeal to their interest. Ministers on the other hand, with topics of eternal import, are often compelled to speak to a small company composed of members of a limited social circle. Too often they do not understand, and are incapable of responding to the wants and needs of the great modern world in which we live. Here and there a temporary attention is aroused by a type of preaching which chooses sensational topics and seeks by meretricious means to galvanize the interest into a little artificial life.

It is frequently said that nothing is so dull as preaching. It takes but a few years for the great majority of preachers to exhaust their usefulness in a congregation, and the number of unemployed ministers seeking vacant places is legion. The minister reaches the dead line at a time of life when men in other professions have before them a score of their most useful years.

In Paul's second letter to Timothy he urges him "make full proof of thy ministry;" literally, accomplish fully your diaconate; Revised Version, "fulfil thy ministry;" Twentieth Century Testament, "Discharge all the duties of your office." This injunction was given at a time when the Church was still young, and was just setting out on its arduous path of conquering the world for Christ. It is a part of that system of pastoral theology by which young candidates of that day were fitted for a service of infinite hardship, but also for conquests of inexpressible glory. Their ministry stands out as the shining beacon of the ages. The centuries have come and gone. Periods of history have followed each other, each with its distinctive life and significance. Christianity has become a world-power. But the words of Paul have lost none of their importance for the ministry of our day. Under new conditions and with new problems, the same battles have to be fought, the same victories may be won. It is impossible to exaggerate the importance of the words: "make full proof of thy ministry."

What is required of the Christian minister, of himself, of his office?

1. Of himself, in his personal character. "The priest's lips should keep knowledge, and they should seek the law at his mouth: for he is the messenger of the Lord of hosts." (Mal. 2 : 7) First *be* and then *do*, is the law of life. "Do as I teach and not as I live" is the motto of a hireling shepherd. There is a subtle telepathy that reveals the thought more clearly than words. Or, as Emerson puts it: "What you *are* speaks so loud, I cannot hear what you *say*." It is the personality that speaks, words are only the echo. The higher the occupation, the more closely is the man identified with his work. While it is true that all Christians are priests, and there is not one standard of piety for ministers and another standard for others, yet standing as does a minister in the strong light of an office which he shares with Christ himself, as a shepherd of the flock, he necessarily speaks through his life. "The life of the minister is the people's gospel."

In German works on Pastoral Theology there is a chapter devoted to Kybernetics, the science of governing or steering. The name and the figure are taken from the Greek word meaning pilot or governor of the ship. It points out one of the important requisites of the ministry. Although we disclaim all right of external authority, there is no profession where personal power is more needed than the ministry. To strengthen the weak and to withstand the wicked, he must have a virile courage which cannot be gotten from books or from the training of the seminary.

The Apostle also enjoins Timothy to "be sober in all things, to suffer hardship." This refers to that temper of mind which takes a broad view of life, and is not easily disturbed by trifles. It is that evenness of soul which is maintained by one who has gained the victory over himself. It requires also that patient submission which accepts the path of difficulty as the royal road on which the Master trod. Christianity is not asceticism, but its greatest victories have been gained only by those who counted not their lives dear unto themselves.

Such a standard has, it is true, much that is discouraging. Who can reach it? We are already frequently cast down by a sense of our defects and shortcomings. In the clear light of God's truth we must confess that we are unprofitable servants. We need therefore to be reminded of the Gospel method of developing character. It is by accepting and bearing the image of Christ. The word character means impression. Thus we speak of the characters of the printed page. They are the impressions made by the types. In the new life of the Gospel, Christ is the type, and the Christian becomes a *character* by receiving the impression of Christ. The sun's image is reflected in all waters, in the mountain lake, in the ocean and in the smallest rain drop, but everywhere it is the image of the sun. So is Christ's image reflected in the lives of all his servants.

It is not given to every minister to be a great preacher or a profound scholar. Nor does the Master require of us tasks for which he has not supplied the gifts. But it is required of every true minister that he be a Christian personality, that with all that he is and all that he has he be a minister, first, last and always.

2. In his office. The spirit of a Church reveals itself in its theory of the ministry. There is the ministry of the Roman Catholic Church. It is described by the word sacerdotal. Its doctrinal exponent was Cyprian in the third century. According to this theory the minister is a clergyman, a chosen one, in a special sense *the religious person*. All others are laymen, uninformed, secular. Old as is this heresy, and strange as its distinctions seem to an Evangelical Christian, it still holds an influence over minds that would resent being called Romanists. Not only do they retain the terms clergyman and layman, in spite of the odious significance of the latter term, "when want of learning kept the laymen low," but they also willingly connive at the ideas which these terms convey. There are only too many people who are ready to take the subordinate position to which they are relegated as laymen, and to conform to a standard of piety inferior to that which they re-

quire of their minister, when they can apologize for themselves on the ground that they are "only laymen."

In the Roman theory the minister is a mediator between the soul and God, since it is the priest who in the sacrifice of the mass makes atonement for the sins of the people, forgetful of that one sacrifice which once for all was offered for us on Calvary. This is the Roman Catholic ministry. It is its distinctive position even now, and, with its ideas of apostolical succession and indelible grace conferred by ordination, influences not a little some Churches that are still within the Protestant lines.

In sharpest contrast to the Roman view is the theory of the ministry held by the Reformed Churches. This type of Protestantism is the one with which we are most familiar in America, since it has dominated its religious thought almost from the beginning.

The Reformed theory of the ministry is determined by its view of the means of grace. The ultra-Reformed confessions, the Second Helvetic for example, denied the existence of means of grace. The Holy Ghost required none, they said. The recent Presbyterian declaration has stepped across the line and now stands on distinctly Lutheran territory in its definition of the nature and efficacy of the word and the sacraments. But the great majority of Protestant denominations repudiate the existence of means of grace in the technical and historical sense.

The Reformed churches emphasize the sacrificial character of the word and the sacraments. Preaching is purely a human production, an evidence of faith, a sacrifice.

In the Lutheran Church the ministry is not a priesthood with sacerdotal functions, nor is it an office deriving its authority from its unbroken succession from the apostles, accompanied by an indelible grace conferred upon its holders by the rite of ordination. But it is an institution of Christ, developed in the Christian Church, through which the Divine gifts, the word and the sacraments, are committed unto men. It rests upon the Divine mandate. The holders of the office are stewards of the Divine mysteries. They speak with authority because they are the heralds and messengers of the King.

This conception of the ministry as it is held by us, helps to explain the secret of its influence among the people. Although we are lacking in many things, we have a hold upon the congregations which seems inexplicable when we consider the looseness of our ecclesiastical organization. Our pastors are beloved and respected far beyond their personal merits. The relation between pastor and people resembles that of a father to his children. There is no dead line in the Lutheran ministry.

In presenting what I conceive to be the four cardinal points of a successful administration of the office, I do not claim them as necessarily peculiar to the Lutheran system. They properly belong to the universal ministry. But it so happens that they are the points which our Church has emphasized and which characterize the spirit of her pastoral theology.

The first cardinal point is Catechisation. Catechisation in one form or another is a heritage of all the Christian centuries. But the German Reformation reconstructed and vivified this art and made it one of her chief tasks to instruct the young in a methodical and systematic way in the principles and practice of religion. What the Lutheran Church did four hundred years ago when she took charge of the religious education of the children and placed it first on her program, seems to have become one of the chief desideria of the present day. There are encouraging signs that the churches are beginning to appreciate the importance of a systematic training of the young in the knowledge of Scripture, the doctrines of the Church and the practice of the Christian life.

In secular schools methods of instruction have greatly advanced. In the philosophy and the materials of education high standards are set in our public schools and colleges. It is inconceivable that the Church, which has always been the mother of culture, should for her truths permanently remain content with a lower standard, a standard which at the present time invites the well-deserved contempt of the pedagogue.

Happy will it be for us as ministers when we come to recognize that it is an important function of our office to be educa-

tors, to be teachers. The period of fragmentary, unsystematic and unsatisfactory instruction in religion will then be relegated to the nineteenth century, and the new century will see the churches practicing methods of education worthy of the great objects that are to be attained.

The second cardinal point is Preaching. The Church of to-day is called upon to face new and great problems. But no longer, as in times past, does her message reach a friendly and sympathetic environment. It is not so much a hostile world by which she is surrounded as an indifferent one. The feeling is one of contempt rather than of hatred. The Church and her work are too insignificant to call forth a feeling of enmity.

And yet that world, even in its seeming indifference, is moaning and crying out for the living God. If it is to be reached and helped, it must be by the voice of God's prophets, by the preachers of his word. The office of the preacher is still what the Apology declares it to be, the greatest office of the Church.

It is sometimes charged that in respect to efficiency and quality, sermons are not what they were in the middle or earlier part of the nineteenth century. Be that as it may, it is enough if they have not advanced. Too many of our sermons are but reproductions of those that were preached a generation ago, good enough for those times, but no longer able to reach the heart of the present day. It is a legitimate demand that the old truth should be preached in new forms. But this should not lead us into the folly of adopting methods which are simply intended to catch the crowd. The true preacher will never forget that he is a mouthpiece for the word of the Lord. "Garrulity in the pulpit does not convey the faith," said Jerome. "Among a hundred sermons which I have heard in recent times," said the president of Chicago University, "there was not one in which the preacher made the impression that he felt it his chief duty to expound the word of God."

Instead therefore of following those types of preaching which are intended to popularize the pulpit but which cheapen it even in the estimation of the public, may we not accept the funda-

mental principle of the Lutheran Church in regard to the office of the ministry, and emphasize the sacramental character of preaching. New forms indeed let us find, fresh adaptation let us seek, but let it be more and more an exposition of that Divine revelation which has been given to us in the Holy Scriptures.

The third cardinal point is the Liturgy. The emphasis which Protestantism placed upon preaching, upon doctrine, was just. But the congregation cannot always remain in the position of a pupil. It is to be a worshiping congregation. With marvelous tact the fathers of the Lutheran Reformation retained the principles and the elements of the church liturgy so that there belongs to our historical inheritance a treasure of unspeakable value in her orders of service. Other churches in a struggle to attain the utmost simplicity, make their sanctuaries lecture rooms in which one man is the teacher and the rest are learners. But grown-up people get tired of going to school all the time.

The Lutheran Church recognizes the two-fold nature of the service, its sacramental and its sacrificial character. In the word and the sacraments the Lord draws nigh unto us. This is sacramental. In the hymns and prayers, in many beautiful forms and delightful harmonies, the Church draws nigh unto Him. This is sacrificial. Her liturgy is flexible and free, but rich and impressive and full of edification. The devout congregation that has learned to know the meaning of these forms, finds in their use a heaven on earth and with the Psalmist declares "How amiable are thy tabernacles oh Lord of hosts."

But while the Lutheran Church has summoned all the arts to aid in the promotion of worship, she has no sympathy with the spirit which allows art and external forms to take the place of worship. The tendency to copy the frills and decorations of other churches for artistic reasons only, will have but a brief tenure of existence with us, because of the rugged and wholesome doctrinal life which pulsates in our veins.

There was a period in our history, it was the time of the Babylonian Captivity, when the liturgy was ignored. It had entirely disappeared from our sanctuaries. That time was the eighteenth century in Europe. In America it extended down

to within the memory of men now living. But there is no longer any reason for remaining ignorant of one of the chief glories of our Church, and of one of the most helpful agencies of the Christian ministry. We are not ritualists in the vulgar acceptation of the term, but we do believe that the holy services should be conducted *rite*, that is "decently and in order," and in the right administration of the sacraments and the proper conduct of the services of the Lord's house, a minister fulfills one of his most important functions.

Liturgy in itself is not worship, but as Loehe says, "it is a fruit of the inner life and like all good fruit it makes him who tasted its sweetness long for more."

There is a legitimate field in all the churches for the cultivation of better forms and principles of worship without in any way interfering with the strength and the spirituality of the service. Only the work must be done in a conservative and historical manner, and with the presumption that art is the hand-maiden and not the mistress of religion.

The fourth cardinal point in the work of the ministry is the Care of Souls. The art of arts it was called by Gregory; the most precious jewel in the office of the ministry by Spenser. This work may be described in general as the pastoral care and direction of the members of the Church. It is to feed the flock and to watch over each individual member of the same. Teaching and preaching and the liturgy, have each their important place, but the climax of the work is the cure of the individual soul. It was the ancient custom of our Church to make a personal and individual application of the Gospel to each communicant. It differed from auricular confession, was entirely voluntary, and for young and inexperienced persons must have been very helpful. I admit the difficulties of the method for our times, but I would ask, what is there in the time-wasting, shoe-destroying method of house-to-house visitation, which so often degenerates into a mere social call, that can take the place of that solemn method of our fathers.

But a wise pastor will still find ways of reaching the individual soul even under the changed condition of modern times, if only it is his aim to do so.

But to fulfill our ministry, we must do more than care for the individual soul. Men are living in masses. Here in New York they live in herds and in hives. A minister must meet not only the spiritual wants of the individual but also of the community. Who that sees the neglected masses of our great cities, and equally neglected heathen of the scattered rural communities, does not feel that there is a legitimate use for the term Social Christianity. If we would in any effective way solve the problems which these needs present we must be able to call to our aid a great company of other Christians, as deacons or deaconesses or helpers under any other name to coöperate with us in this work of caring for souls. The one-man-ministry method, which prevails in so many of our Protestant Churches, is confessedly inadequate. When the multitudes who were as sheep without a shepherd stood before the Saviour, the disciples said "they have nothing to eat." The Master replied give ye them to eat. By inspiring others to do the work, we shall multiply ourselves and do much to "accomplish fully our diaconate."

It is a great thing to be a minister. With many drawbacks and trials it has compensations a thousand-fold for him who is capable of receiving them.

He lives in an intellectual atmosphere which is full of inspiration. His fraternal relation to his brethren in the ministry, the members of the apostolical college, gives warmth and strength to his soul. The love and affection of his flock, the sympathetic response of the people to one whom they have learned to trust and to follow is a priceless gift. The high ethical, social and religious aims, which he necessarily sets before him in the daily fulfillment of his tasks, ennoble him; so that whatever view we may have of the effects of ordination, an indelible character is impressed on the holders of the office.

Yet all of these are but as dust and ashes, a fading leaf or a vanishing vapor compared with the one privilege of being the undershepherds of the Great Shepherd of the sheep.

ARTICLE IV.

THE CHRISTIAN VIEW OF GOD AND THE WORLD, AS CENTERING IN THE INCARNATION.*

BY T. F. DORNBLASER, D.D.

“Jesus Christ is the Centre of all, and the goal to which all tends.”—PASCAL.

“In no case can true reason and a right faith oppose each other.”—COLERIDGE.

These lectures of Dr. Orr aim at the exhibition and rational vindication of what is called the “Christian View of the World.”

This expression calls for some explanation. In German Theology the words—“Weltanschauung” and “Weltansicht” are frequently used, meaning literally “World-view,” or “View of the World.”

In German it is a technical term, denoting the widest view which the mind can take of things as a whole from the standpoint of some particular philosophy or theology. “A Christian View of the World,” therefore, implies that Christianity has its own point of view of nature and life, and when fully developed, constitutes a well-ordered and harmonious *Weltanschauung*.

The opposition which Christianity encounters to-day is no longer confined to special doctrines or points of conflict with the natural sciences—but extends to the whole system of things, natural and moral, of which we form a part. It is the Christian view in general which is attacked.

Everything depends on the view we take of Christianity itself. The lecturer assumes the true divinity as well as the true humanity of Jesus Christ; and in the course of his discussion

* This is a synopsis of the able and scholarly Lectures delivered in 1891 by James Orr, D.D., Professor of Church History in the United Presbyterian College, Edinburgh, Scotland.

he proposes to vindicate that assumption. He who accepts Jesus Christ as the divine Son of God is committed to much else besides. He is committed to a view of God, of man, of sin, of redemption, of human destiny, as is found only in Christianity.

This forms a "Weltanschauung" or "Christian View of the World," which stands in marked contrast with theories wrought out from a purely philosophical or scientific standpoint.

This author reviews the philosophy of Kant which has entered largely into modern thought. In his *Pure Reason*, Kant derives what he chooses to call "Weltbegriff," and "Welt-ganz," by which he brings into systematic connection all our experiences into a unity of a world-whole, in time and space.

The Pythagoreans developed a new type of world-view, by which they attempted to explain the universe as a system by the help of some elementary principles, water, air, etc., accompanied by the use of terms which imply the conception of an All or Whole of things. (*Τα Πάντα Κόσμος.*)

Lucretius in his famous poem *De Rerum Natura*, proposes to open up a system of first beginnings of things, out of which nature gives birth to all things, their increase and nourishment, and into which nature likewise resolves them back after their destruction. By the aid of certain first principles, atoms, protoplasm, and of certain assumed laws of motion and development, he seeks to account for the existing universe. This is his "Weltanschauung"—the progeny of which is seen in the materialistic systems of the present day. The philosophy of Comte is a modern example of pure phenomenalism. Comte's standpoint is that of despair of absolute knowledge. Yet he recognizes the tendency in the mind which prompts it to organize its knowledge into a complete system. If it be the case, as the Agnostic affirms, that light absolutely fails us on questions of origin, cause, and end, what conception of life then remains? Assuming that no higher origin for life and mind can be postulated than matter and force, what revision is necessary of current conceptions, of private morality and of social duty? The tendency to the formation of world-systems,

or general theories of the universe, was never more powerful than at the present day. One cause of this is the feeling which modern science itself has done so much to engender, of the unity which pervades all orders of existence. The Old Polytheism, when every hill and fountain was supposed to have its special divinity, is no longer possible with the modern notions of the unity and coherence of the universe. Everywhere, men agree that the universe is one—one set of laws holds the whole together—one order reigns through all. The philosophy of Spencer, Hegel, and other evolutionists, is an attempt at the unification of all existing phenomena of nature, history or mind, into one harmonious system. What has Christianity to do with theories of this sort? As a doctrine of salvation, perhaps, not much, but in its logical consequences a great deal.

Christianity, it is granted, is not a scientific system, but it must be reconcilable with all that is proven true in the results of science.

It is a philosophy, but it will be found to be in harmony with all sound reason.

It is a religion, based on divine Revelation. But it must also have its own peculiar interpretation of the facts and on-goings of nature. It need not be denied, that between the "Christian View of the World," and the "Materialistic Views" there exists a deep and radical antagonism.

The systems opposed to Christianity are as exclusive often, of one another as they are of Christianity, but in spite of their differences and antagonisms, they are united in their thorough-going opposition to the supernatural, they refuse to recognize anything in nature, life, or history, outside the lines of natural development.

The question is not about isolated "miracles," but about the whole conception of Christianity—what it is, and whether the supernatural does not enter into the very essence of it?

The question is, Is there anything supernatural in the universe?

Neander gives admirable expression of the conception of

Christianity which is at stake. "Now we look upon Christianity not as a power that sprung up out of the hidden depths of man's nature, but as one that descended from above, when heaven opened itself anew to man's long alienated race; a power which, as both in its origin and its essence is exalted above all that human nature can create out of its own resources, was designed to impart to that nature new life, and to change it in its inmost principles."

According to an old legend, truth was torn limb from limb, and her members scattered to the four winds. Ever since the lovers of truth, imitating the careful search of Isis for the body of Osiris, have been engaged in gathering together the severed parts into a perfect whole.

Every system of thought that has held wide sway over the minds of men, has some truth in it, although it may be perverted and misapplied. Christianity, so to speak, sifts the truth out of all these false systems and brings them into harmony with the higher revelation of the truth as it is in Jesus.

The agnostic affirms that there is in God that which transcends finite comprehension.

Christianity does the same.

Pantheism affirms the absolute immanence of God in the world. Christianity does the same.

Deism asserts his transcendence over nature and accepts the divine personality of God.

Christianity does all this and more.

Even the Old Polytheism is a witness for a truth which a hard Monotheism, such as Judaism and Mohammedanism, ignores—namely, that God is plurality as well as unity, that in Him there is a manifoldness of life and a diversity of power as expressed in the word *Elohim*.

Optimism and Pessimism are another pair of contrasts—each in its abstract an error, yet each a witness for a truth which the other overlooks, and Christianity is the reconciliation of both. And lastly *positivism* is a very direct negation of Christianity, yet in its strange worship of humanity it stretches across the gulf and touches hands with a religion

which meets the cravings of the heart of the *human* in God as realized in the *Incarnation*.

While the Christian religion embraces feeling and experience, it also requires intelligent knowledge, and a clear statement of doctrine.

The religion of Jesus exalts, as no other, the office of teaching. In pagan religions the doctrinal element is at a minimum—the chief thing there is the performance of a ritual.

In this Christianity differs from all others—it contains doctrine—it comes to men with definite, positive teaching; it claims to be the truth that is essential to salvation.

In the lectures of Prof. Orr, the following propositions, setting forth the Christian view of the Universe, are maintained and defended.

1. There is a Personal, Ethical, Self-revealing God. As a system of Theism, Christianity is opposed to Atheism, Agnosticism, Pantheism, or mere Deism.

2. We affirm the immanent presence of God in the World, His transcendence over it, and his holy and wise government of it for moral ends.

3. We affirm the spiritual nature and dignity of man—his creation in the divine image, and destination to bear the likeness of God in a perfected relation of sonship.

4. We assert the fact of sin and disorder in the world. The disobedience of our first parents, was not a *rise*, but a fall from their primitive innocence and purity.

5. We affirm the historical self-revelation of God to the patriarchs and prophets—bringing to light the gracious purpose of the World's Redemption through Jesus Christ—the new Head of humanity—the second Adam.

6. We affirm that Jesus Christ was the Eternal Son of God—a truly *divine person* who in the fullness of time took upon Him our humanity and was truly God manifest in the flesh. This is the transcendent mystery of godliness.

7. As already stated, the Incarnation occupies the central place in the Christian system.

- (a) It sheds light on the nature of God, and reveals Him as Father, Son and Spirit—one God, and Father of us all.

- (b) It sheds new light on the work of creation.
- (c) It sheds new light on the nature and destiny of man.
- (d) It sheds new light on the purpose of God in the creation and redemption of men.

Keeping in mind that the Incarnation is the central point in the Christian view, the author, in the second Lecture, treats of the alternatives which are historically presented to us if this doctrine is rejected.

In the third, fourth and fifth Lectures, he considers in order the three postulates of the Christian View—God, Nature and Man, and *Sin*.

The sixth Lecture is devoted to the Incarnation itself, and the seventh to the consideration of some related topics—the higher Christian Concept of God, and the relation of the Incarnation to the plan of the world. The eighth Lecture treats of the Incarnation and Redemption from sin, and the concluding Lecture treats of the Incarnation and human destiny.

THE CHRISTIAN VIEW AND ITS ALTERNATIVES.

The author reasserts that the central point in the Christian View of the World is the truly divine Person of Jesus Christ—the Son of God made flesh. He admits that the issues involved in this assumption are stupendous.

No one will dispute, that, if Jesus is what the creeds declare Him to be—an Incarnation of the Divine, His Person is necessarily central in His own religion, nay, in the universe.

Christianity is described as the religion of the Incarnation. "In Him alone" says Feuerbach, "is concentrated the Christian religion."

Quite logically, from his point of view, Strauss draws the conclusion that, since the Incarnation is untenable, Christianity falls to the ground with it. The best theology in Germany, since Schliermacher, has been Christological.

Christ sustains a different relation to His religion from that of ordinary founders of religion to the faiths they have founded; in Him there was a peculiar union of the Divine and human.

It is only outside the circles of really influential theology that we find a reversion to the loose deistic conception of

Christ as simply a Prophet or moral Teacher, like Moses, Confucius, or Buddha.

In his argument the author appeals to the history of the Church as a defence of the Christian doctrine of Christ.

Humanitarian and other partial or intermediate views of Christ have arisen from time to time and are still reiterated in some quarters. But like the intermediate species of plants and animals, of which Mr. Darwin speaks, they are invariably driven to the wall in their struggle for existence. The *Arian View* has appeared again and again in the history of the Church in times of spiritual decadence.

In this view a lofty supernatural dignity is assigned to Christ. He is a sort of supreme angel, God's First born, His instrument in the creation of the world, etc. But He is not eternal; He is not a part of the Divine Essence. It is safe to say that this view is now practically extinct. It perished through its own inherent weakness.

The *Socinian or Unitarian View—of the Priestly and Channing type—is another of those intermediate views which history may be said to have eliminated.

Christ, according to this view, is the greatest of inspired teachers, a true Prophet. He had a divine mission. He wrought miracles in confirmation of his doctrine. He rose from the dead. He is expected to return to judge the world. A considerable halo of the supernatural about Christ was retained by Priestly and Channing.

But Unitarianism began to purge itself of all the Supernatural features in the portrait of Christ, and descended to the level of mere humanitarianism—that Christ is a *great man*, a religious genius of the first rank.

To maintain their position they must either believe more or less. The only alternative to Christ's true divinity is pure humanitarianism.

And from humanitarianism the logical trend is to Agnosticism. This is just what the most logical minds that have rejected Supernatural Christianity are doing in our day.

Agnosticism is not a state in which the mind of an intelli-

gent being can permanently rest. It is a condition of suspense—a confession of ignorance—an abdication of thought on the higher subjects. The mind cannot remain in this neutral, passive attitude.

It will press on perforce to one or other of the views which present themselves as alternatives—either to Theism or to Materialism, or to bald Atheism.

The denial of Christ's divinity leads ultimately to Nihilism and Pessimism.

Voltaire is a striking example. Among his later utterances is the following :

“Strike out a few sages, and the crowd of human beings is nothing but a horrible assemblage of unfortunate criminals, and the globe contains nothing but corpses. I tremble to have to complain once more of the Being of beings, in casting an attentive eye over this terrible picture. I wish I had never been born.”

Thus the last utterance of blatant infidelity *is a groan*.

THE THEISTIC POSTULATE.

Christianity is a theistic system ; that is the first postulate, the personal, ethical, self-revealing God.

Paul, “For the invisible things of Him since the creation of the world are clearly seen, being perceived through the things that are made, even His eternal power and Divinity, that they may be without excuse.”

“It is easy for the fool, especially the learned and scientific fool, to prove that there is no God, but, like the murmuring sea, which heeds not the scream of wandering birds, the soul of humanity murmurs for God, and confutes the erudite folly of the fool by disregarding it.”

“Volkmar has remarked that of monotheistic religions there are only three in the world, the Israelitish, the Christian and the Mohammedan ; and the last is derived from the other two. Christianity is the blossom and fruit of the true worship of God in Israel, which has become such for all mankind.”

This limitation of Monotheism in religion to the peoples who have benefitted by the Biblical teaching on this subject, suggests its origin from a higher than human source, and refutes the contention of those who would persuade us that the monotheistic idea is the result of a long process of development through which the race necessarily passes, beginning with Fetishism, or perhaps Ghost-worship, mounting to Polytheism, and ultimately subsuming the multitude of Divine Powers under one all-controlling will.

It will be time to accept this theory, when, outside the line of the Biblical influence, a single nation can be pointed to which has gone through these stages, and reached this goal.

If God is a reality, the whole universe rests on a supernatural basis. A supernatural presence pervades it; a supernatural power sustains it; a supernatural will operates in the forces; a supernatural wisdom appoints its ends.

It is the Bible and the Bible alone, which has made monotheism the possession of the world.

The unity of God was declared on the soil of Israel long before science and philosophy had the means of declaring it. If the idea of God is to be entertained by intelligent people, it can only be in the form of Monotheism. The Agnostic will grant us this much. Every Theist is, by a rational necessity, a Monotheist.

Polytheism has practically ceased to exist in the civilized world.

THE CHRISTIAN VIEW OF THE WORLD IN REGARD TO NATURE AND MAN.

"Man is neither the master nor the slave of nature; he is her interpreter and living word. Man consummates the universe, and gives a voice to the mute creation."

The Christian doctrine of God carries with it the Christian doctrine of man.

How should man know that there is a personal, ethical, self-revealing God, unless he were himself rational and moral, a spiritual personality?

The natural kinship between the human spirit and the Divine is in perfect accord with the inspired declaration, that "man is made in the image of God."

Dr. Dorner says: "The absolute personality of God, and the infinite value of the personality of man, stand and fall with each other."

This likeness is implied in the nature of sin, and in regeneration. For the spirit of God finds in man a capacity for his indwelling, a kindred soul with which to hold communion.

If there were not already a God-related element in the human spirit, before conversion, no subsequent act of grace could confer on man the dignity of *sonship*. But accepting this likeness in God and man, it prepares the way for the *Incarnation*, the perfect union and communion of the Divine and human nature in Jesus the *Christ*.

To get a knowledge of the true essence of anything, we do not look at its ruder and less perfect specimens, but at what it is at its best. Christ is the best of humanity. He is not only the revelation of God to humanity, but the revelation of humanity to itself.

Man in scripture and science is the highest being in nature. Nature exists with supreme reference to him.

In a three fold respect is man the personal image of His maker.

1. He bears the rational image of God.
2. He bears the moral image of God.
3. He bears the image of God in his deputed sovereignty over the creatures of *earth*.
4. He also resembles God in the potential infinitude of his nature.

In the deepest depths of man's thoughts and desires the fact develops itself to man's consciousness, that the scale of his being is too large for this present existence.

Hence we accept the doctrine of man's immortality. The author presents a strong argument in favor of immortality from the Old Testament Scripture, fully corroborated in the New Testament.

THE CHRISTIAN VIEW OF SIN IN THE WORLD.

Christianity is the religion of Redemption. Sin consists in the revolt of the creature will from its allegiance to the Sovereign will of God, and the setting up of a false independence.

The author refutes the false theories of sin. Sin involves *guilt*, and must be atoned for by a being higher and purer than man himself.

The author denies the theory that man in his primeval state was a miserable, half-starved, naked savage; that he emerged from the bestial condition, torn with fierce passion and fighting his way upward among his compeers with low-browed cunning.

The adversaries of the Christian faith say that science contradicts the Bible view of man's origin. As it is sometimes put, the doctrine of Redemption rests on the doctrine of the Fall, and the doctrine of the Fall rests on the third chapter of Genesis. "But science has exploded the third chapter of Genesis," say the critics, "and therefore the whole structure falls to the ground."

"I acknowledge the issue," says the author, "but it is not rightly put to say that the doctrine of the Fall rests on the third chapter of Genesis."

The Christian doctrine does not rest alone on the scripture narrative, but it rests on the reality of the sin and guilt of the world, which would remain facts though the third chapter of Genesis had never been written.

Evolutionists have not proved that man began his existence as a savage, but a few degrees removed from the brutes. If it were proven, it would profoundly modify our whole conception of the Christian system.

The missing link between man and brute has long been sought but never been found.

Prof. Dana says: "No remains of fossil man bear evidence to less perfect erectness of structure than in civilized man, or to any nearer approach to the ape in essential characteristics. If the links ever existed, their annihilation, without trace, is so extremely improbable that it may be pronounced impossible. Until some are found, science cannot assert that they ever ex-

isted." Virchow in 1879 said: "On the whole, we must readily acknowledge that all fossil type of a lower human development is absolutely wanting."

No new facts, says the author, have been discovered, requiring a modification of these statements.

THE INCARNATION OF GOD IN CHRIST.

This is the culmination of the argument of Dr. Orr. Why is it that we cannot rest in a conception of Christ as simply a prophet of a higher order, or as an ideal man?

It is because the sum total of the facts of Christianity refuse to square with any humanitarian view, but compel us to accept the higher conception of the God-man as set forth in history and Revelation.

Is it believable that in this son of a carpenter, God actually became incarnate?

Some may say, it is incredible. But let us see what some of these sceptics concede.

Schleiermacher declares, that Christ is the ideally perfect man in whom the God-consciousness finds its fullest expression. Lipsius and Pfleiderer also acknowledge him to be religiously the greatest genius of the race, the only sinless personality.

This is conceding a great deal when we consider his lowly origin, and his mean historical environment. But the sceptical evolutionist cannot believe that in this lowly man of Nazareth reside the potentialities of Divinity.

But what does he ask us to believe?

He goes back to the first dawn of life and pointing to a speck of protoplasm, bids us believe that *there* lies wrapped up, only waiting for development, the promise and potency of all vegetable, animal and human life. In that first germ-cell lies enfolded not only the genius of a Dante, a Shakespeare, and a Milton, but also the superlative greatness and holiness of Christ himself.

"I confess," says the author, "that there is not much to choose between these two theories, in point of strangeness." The question must be brought to the test of *facts*. (1). Godet

says in his commentary on John, "Christianity is entirely based upon Christ's consciousness of himself, and it is the heroism of faith to rest upon the extraordinary testimony which this being gave of himself."

This must be so, for the reason which Christ himself gives, that he alone has the knowledge which qualifies him to give a true estimate of himself. "For I know," said he to the Jews, "whence I came, and whither I go." The testimony of the Apostolic Age is next referred to.

Men say that Buddha also was raised to the rank of divinity by his followers, though he himself made no such claim. The cases are not parallel. It was long centuries after his death, and within limited circles, that Buddha was regarded divine; but one short step takes us, from the days when Christ himself lived and taught on earth, into the midst of a Church, founded by his Apostles, which in all its branches worshiped and adored him as the veritable Son of God.

The consentient view of Christ's Person, in the Apostolic Church, is strong evidence for believing that Christ laid claim to divine attributes.

It is not disputed that, in the first age of Christianity, Christ was universally regarded as one who had risen from the dead, ascended on high, and would return to judge the quick and the dead.

These facts are acknowledged in every book of the New Testament. It is evident, therefore, that, in the faith of the early Church, Christ was no mere man, but a supernatural Personage.

There is a general agreement among impartial exegetes as to the nature of the doctrine of Christ's person. The old Unitarian perversions of passages which seemed to affirm the Divinity of Christ are now seldom met with. It is no longer disputed by any competent authority that, in Paul and John, it is the supernatural view of Christ's person that is given. In keeping with the character and with the claims of Jesus are the works ascribed to him in the Gospel. If he came to do only the work of a prophet, or of a philanthropist, or of a teacher of ethical truth, the Incarnation would shrivel up into

an absurdity. The means would be out of all proportion to the end. If a world is to be redeemed from sin and guilt, could any one less than divine be equal to the task?

What follows this Lecture, is intended to set forth the stupendous results of the Incarnation.

In the appendix to Lecture VI he enlarges upon the "self-consciousness of Jesus." In recent years, interest has concentrated itself more and more on the question of Christ's self-consciousness, that is, on what he thought and felt about himself and how he arrived at these convictions.

In the last instance (Godet) Christianity rests on Christ's witness to himself.

HIGHER CONCEPT OF GOD INVOLVED IN THE INCARNATION.

The point reached at the conclusion of the sixth Lecture was that the facts of Christ's Revelation are irreconcilable with any lower estimate of his person than that which we find in the Apostolic writings.

This conclusion is confirmed by the historical fact that no lower estimate of his character and person has been found able to maintain itself.

The worship paid to Christ, and that from the earliest period, marks a distinction between his Divinity and that of every other. Not simply as a possessor of a communicated Divine nature, but in the root and essence of his own personality he *was Divine*. The higher concept of God involved in the Incarnation is the doctrine of the *Trinity*, God as triune, Father, Son and Spirit. This doctrine has not been gained by speculation, but by induction from the facts of God's self-revelation. Prof. Flint says of the Trinity: "A mystery indeed, yet one which explains many other mysteries, and which sheds a marvelous light on God, on nature and on man."

Martensen has declared: "If Christian Dogmatics had not asserted the doctrine of the Trinity, ethics must postulate it in its own defense." "God is one, but not solitary." "God is Love." Love implies an object of equal dignity, and of equal duration. The doctrine of the Son fills this want. For in

the beginning He was with God, and thought it not robbery to be equal *with God*. The apparent contradiction of "One and Three," and "Three in One," is not peculiar to the Trinity in the *God-head*. Take any object—it can only be conceived of as unity of Substance, yet plurality of attributes. Take Mind—it is one, if anything is, yet we distinguish in it a variety of powers.

This oneness and manifoldness, is just as true in Spencer's theory of An Unknowable Power, which manifests itself in matter and mind, as also in the monistic Systems of Haeckel and Hartman, as it is in the Christian system.

THE INCARNATION AND REDEMPTION FROM SIN.

Whatever is said of the Incarnation in its wider relations, it remains the fact that in Scripture it is always brought into immediate connection with sin and with the purpose of God in Redemption.

"He was manifested to take away sin, and in him was no sin;" so say all the writers in the New Testament. Christianity is thus distinctively a religion of Redemption.

All inadequate theories of Christianity are set aside—such as see in Christ only a great teacher, preacher, reformer, philanthropist, enthusiast for humanity. Christ is all this, but infinitely more. He redeems from sin and restores again the Divine likeness which has been lost by man.

All the writers of the New Testament regard the forgiveness of sins and the salvation of men as connected in a peculiar way with the death of Christ. They ascribe to Christ's death a sacrificial and expiatory value. They express the most intense conviction that they themselves were redeemed and reconciled to God by the death of Christ upon the Cross.

John the Baptist pointing to Him said: "Behold the Lamb of God that taketh away the sin of the world." Christ's own words are proof of his sacrificial death. To Nicodemus He said:

"As Moses lifted up the serpent in the wilderness, even so must the Son of Man be lifted up."

At the Institution of the Holy Supper He said: "This is my body, this is my blood of the New Covenant which is shed for many, unto remission of sins."

Later to the Eleven he said, "These are my words which I spake unto you, while I was yet with you, now that all things must needs be fulfilled, which are written in the law of Moses, and the prophets, and the Psalms concerning me."

Then opened He their mind that they might understand the Scriptures; and He said unto them, "Thus it is written, that Christ should suffer, and rise again from the dead on the third day; and that repentance and remission of sins should be preached in His name unto all nations, beginning at Jerusalem." The author observes, that all theories of Redemption within Christian limits agree in taking for granted three things as included in Redemption from Sin:

1. There is the removal of guilt, which carries with it the sense of Divine forgiveness.
2. There is the breaking down of the enmity of man's heart and will to God, and the turning of the sinner from dead works to serve the living God.
3. The fellowship of the believer with Christ, and the consciousness of a Divine Sonship.

THE INCARNATION AND HUMAN DESTINY.

After discarding the doctrines of Universalism, annihilation, and modifying somewhat the Church-doctrine of eternal punishment—to consist in loss of capacity for enjoyment, and loss of the soul's high destiny, rather than in that of eternal suffering, he proceeds to lay down a few fundamental positions which seem to him of the nature of certainties.

1. First is the truth enunciated by the prophet, "Say ye of the righteous, that it shall be well with them, for they shall eat the fruit of their doings. Woe unto the wicked! it shall be ill with him; for the reward of his hands shall be given him," in other words, the great and fundamental principle of certain retribution for sin. Whatever tends to tamper with this prin-

ciple, or to weaken its hold upon the conscience, is alien to the true Christian view.

There is no clear and certain Scripture which affirms that all men will be saved ; on the other hand, there are many passages which look in another direction, which seem to put the stamp of finality on the sinner's state in eternity. Neither is the doctrine of a future probation clearly taught in Scripture—but the intense concentration of every ray of exhortation and appeal is against it.

“Now is the acceptable time ; behold *now* is the day of Salvation.” It is not ours to lift the veil where God has left it drawn.

The question here and now is—“How shall we escape if we neglect so great Salvation?”

THE IDEA OF THE KINGDOM.

The intention of the author was to add another Lecture—on “The Incarnation and the new life of Humanity”—but it was abandoned, and the substance is given in the *Appendix*. After the Resurrection came the exaltation. After Calvary came Pentecost. After the Ministry of the Son came the dispensation of the Spirit. The new life proceeding from Christ, entering first as a regenerating principle into the individual soul, was gradually to permeate and transform society ; and society thus transformed becomes the Kingdom of God on Earth.

The Kingdom of God is not something which humanity produces by its own efforts, but something which comes to it from above.

It is the entrance into humanity of a new life from heaven. In its origin, its powers, its blessings, its aims, its end, it is supernatural and heavenly. Hence it is the Kingdom of God *on earth*, as it is to be in heaven.

The Kingdom of God, in its simplest definition is the reign of God in human hearts and in society.

The Church is the visible expression of this kingdom in the world ; the *only* society which does formally profess to represent it, though often very imperfectly.

It is not the direct business of the Church to promote art, science, politics, literature, etc., but to bear witness for God and His truth; yet the Church has a side toward all these other matters, especially for the social good and bettering of mankind.

In conclusion, I would say—that the work of Dr. Orr throughout is scholarly, the field of view comprehensive, the investigation thorough, the argument convincing, the quotations well chosen, and the conclusions of the author thoroughly orthodox.

ARTICLE V.

CHURCH DISCIPLINE.

BY REV. GEORGE C. HENRY, A.M.

We all acknowledge the Scripturalness of Church Discipline and are forced to admit its sometimes necessity. On these basal facts the whole of this decidedly delicate and difficult subject rests; for the Christian congregation, like every other community, needs discipline in order to suppress or get rid of anything that might impair or destroy its life.

The Christian congregation is a community of the faithful; and it is in this community, the Church, the congregation of saints, that "the Gospel is correctly taught and the sacraments properly administered. And for the true unity of the Church it is sufficient to agree concerning the doctrines of the Gospel and the administration of the sacraments." This means, what? that the character of its discipline is purely spiritual (Schaff-Herzog). The object of all Church Discipline is, we take it, twofold: first, to prevent scandal; second, to retrieve the offender. What can the Church do? The only means she has is exclusion from the community; this exclusion to be partial or total as the premises in the sad affair may dictate. I will not consider a punishment by the Church which has a civil effect. This carrying of Church matters to civil courts and of having the affairs of a congregation pounced upon and pawed.

by unregenerate men and made a butt of joke and jest, is to me most repugnant. Let any Christian congregation take joyfully the spoiling of its goods than enjoy the pleasures (?) of sin (court) for a season.

Some years ago at West Point, Cadet Foy had a very, very funny bit of hazing. He had captured one of the "plebes" and had him in his tent undergoing some of the most exhausting motions known to the drill-master. Foy lay down the better to enjoy the scene and kept his poor prisoner at the "quickstep" and doing the "spread-eagle" for an hour or more. Lieutenant Dyer, on the lookout for hazing, discovered the sorry predicament to which Foy's sense of fun had reduced the young Freshman and an arrest followed. Cadet Foy was sentenced to confinement for one year, with a tour of guard-duty every Saturday and his privileges were suspended. That was the United States Government, and who at West Point could gainsay it?

Whenever Church Discipline comes up, the informed mind at once turns to the center of the whole subject, namely, Matthew 18 : 15-18 :

"If thy brother sin against thee, go show him his fault between thee and him alone: if he hear thee thou hast gained thy brother. But if he hear thee not, take with thee one or two more, that at the mouth of two witnesses or three, every word may be established. And if he refuse to hear them, tell it unto the Church; and if he refuse to hear the Church also let him be unto thee as the Gentile and the publican. Whatsoever things," etc., etc.

Some of us, likely, can recall cases where this has been literally followed with blessed results. The practical application is given in the Apostolic Church and recorded in I Cor. 5.; and in II Cor. 2 : 4-8. A member of the Corinthian Church had taken his stepmother for a wife and the congregation had made no objection. When we read of the immorality of that ancient seaport, notorious even in the heathen world, so that "to Corinthianize" was proverbial for licentiousness; when we read of the worship of Venus maintained with shame-

less profligacy and its 1,000 female slaves, we are amazed that it was nothing worse. Paul, you remember, wrote as soon as he heard of the scandal, that he who had done this should be excommunicated and delivered unto Satan (whatever that means). Now mark the happy effect on both the offender and the congregation that, when he wrote the second letter, he could recommend mercy. The apostle, however, does not confine himself to such like flagrant offenses but demands punishment for minor offenses, such as idleness by which a man is made a burden to his fellowmen (2 Thes. 3 : 6 ff). The word "disorderly" is given as deviating from the prescribed order or rule. In verse 2 he speaks of "busybodies" which means one who busies oneself about trifling, needless, useless matters, used apparently of a person officiously inquisitive about others' affairs (Thayer).

Paul, too, flies the danger signal most vigorously before heresy "which," he says, "eats as doth a gangrene," 2 Tim. 2 : 17. After a heretic has been admonished once or twice in vain he is to be avoided (Tit. 3 : 10). Even the loving John is guided by the Spirit to say that such a one is not to be received into your house and to be given no greeting (2 John 10-11.)

Now, supposing punishment necessary, there is a remarkable difference in the way of administration. It is possible so to do it that the Church could well say with one of old, "I will now turn aside and see this great sight." My sainted father (blessings on his memory!) once had occasion to punish with whipping his only son, the only whipping the son can recall; but before he was taken up to the "Black Curtain," the place of local imprisonment in that parsonage at P——, the father impressed this fact upon that youthful mind before he applied the switch to that youthful back, that he was doing this because he loved him! Queer sort of love, that! Such language was "all Greek" to the child, but the remembrance of it after many years makes the grateful tears to start.

Take a flagrant case, even, like the one the Corinthian congregation had on its hands. Why should discipline be admin-

istered at all? Recall the double object: to prevent scandal and retrieve the offender. As to the first: there are certain administrators who, in seeking to prevent scandal, would be as Samson's foxes among the standing corn. "The last and the highest aim is the reconciliation of the offender" (Schaff-Herzog). "Thou hast gained thy brother." It surely is not hard to perceive that there is only one spirit that ought to be allowed breathing place in a church discipline case and that is the spirit of LOVE. Listen to this:

"Out of much affliction and anguish of heart I wrote unto you with many tears; not that you should be made sorry but that you might know the love which I have more abundantly unto you. But if any have caused sorrow, not to me, but in part (that I press not too heavily, to you all)," etc., etc. (2 Cor. 2 : 5 ff).

The whole passage is tenderly beautiful. When the spirit of love dictates both the necessity and the administration of punishment, whatever else the circumstances in the case, I believe that offenders so dealt with would feel highly grateful that it was nothing worse, as the old darkey whose case was pleaded by a young lawyer, the son of his former master. It was Marse Frank's first plea and brilliant in neither construction nor delivery. But there was another element there which the old Ethiopian perceived. It was a case of chicken-stealing and the evidence was so direct and overwhelming that the judge gave him a rather severe sentence. "Thank ye, jedge," said the old sable culprit, "thank ye, I thought that 'tween my cha'acter and pore Marse Frank's speech, dey'd hang me shore."

The Apostolic Church in time became a thing of the past, but cases calling for discipline did not. In the post-apostolic Church existed the institutions of *excommunication* and *reconciliation*. We are now in the times of persecution. They were awful enough under Nero and Trajan and Marcus Aurelius and Septimius Severus; but when Decius (A. D. 249-251) came to the throne he resolved to wholly exterminate Christianity. Now the Church of the Christ is tried by confiscation, banish-

ment, exquisite tortures and death, anything to make confessors apostatize. Some did not and died; some did and lived. They were called the lapsed, who, in time were sorry that they had recanted and wanted to be taken back again. A special regulation for their reconciliation became a necessity and continued valid for two centuries. Eusebius is rather quiet about the whole affair but says enough to show that the number of apostates was fearful (Schaff-Herzog), with the defection more or less concealed. These crowds of fallen ones were divided into: 1, *sacrificati*, those who had sacrificed in order to preserve their lives; 2, *thurificati*, who had burned incense before the images of the gods; 3, *libellatici*, who without having actually sacrificed, had bribed the magistrates to give them a certificate of having done so; and later on in the time of Galerius, *traditores* who had given up heretical writings pretending that they were sacred books. It must have required quite a judicial mind and one able to logically differentiate related things, to have settled these cases. Cyprian would have made a short cut through them all, for his principle, stoutly maintained, was that all mortal sins are sins committed "against God" and dared not be included in the range of penitential discipline. But the voice of the Church broke forth in passionate entreaty for these lapsed crowds and induced by it he yields and goes so far as to declare that reconciliation should be granted to the *Libellatici* after a full penitential course, but to the *sacrificati* only when in danger of death! (Kurtz). By and by, here and there, discipline became somewhat lax. As is always the case, a reaction towards greater severity followed.

The Montanists, in their fanatical enthusiasm, declared that Church discipline ought to be excessively rigorous and that the excommunicated ought to remain in a state of penance for the rest of their unnatural lives. The Novatians drew still tighter party lines and with patronizing blasphemy pronounced that, though by the mercy of God the lapsed might be pardoned, the Church had no right to assure them forgiveness. So it came to pass that discipline had only a name that it lived; and when the Christian Church became the State Church it died

and the corpse changed color. The casuists—men who study and settle cases of conscience—undertook a settlement of the question by tabulating a list of penance fines. A little before this Dead Sea level was reached there was a partial resuscitation in decaying Israel when the Donatists arose, declaring that the Church should be kept absolutely pure and that a sacramental action (*e. g.*, baptism, ordination etc.), was invalid if performed by a person who was, or deserved to be, excommunicated. It was too late, however; Church discipline, spiritually speaking, was dead. Externally the Church had now become an earthly kingdom and under the great Gregory purgatory was firmly annexed; and the celebrated Peter Lombard (ob. 1164) thereupon long afterwards began the erection of the theory of indulgence which undertakes to transmit sins upon a cash basis. Peter did not have his title, “Magister Sententiarum” for nothing; for, according to him the Church has the power not only to transform the punishments of Purgatory into earthly punishments but also to transform the latter into simple money-fines! Lombard was like the boy whom Mark Twain once saw along the highway hitting some object with a stone and causing a rebound at each smiting. Coming up he saw that it was a woodchuck. “Why, it’s dead,” said Mr. Clemens. “Dead! of course it’s dead; but I’m trying to mellow it.” The schoolmen kept mellowing it and two hundred years after Lombard in 1343, Clement VI (ob. 1352) solemnly and officially declared that they were right. Think of it! Picture the confusion and warping of the tender, loving idea of discipline as Jesus first enunciated it with *penance, i. e.*, satisfaction. Look at the discipline of an apostate Church consisting of punishments in the shape of alms, pilgrimages, fasts, participation in a crusade, etc., etc. And then—as if all this were not secular or silly enough—to solemnly declare that if these were found to be too inconvenient a cash value therefor could be substituted!

“O judgment, thou art fled to brutish beasts
And men have lost their reason.”

In the Middle Ages the greatest punishments which the

Church could inflict were *excommunication* and the *interdict*: excommunication directed against individuals, and the interdict against whole districts. Had the Church been wholly spiritual and these consisted wholly in exclusion from communion with the congregation they would both have shown the true character of the discipline under consideration. So far, however, as spirituality was concerned, their name was Ichabod. One can easily imagine the air with which the Anathema was sent hurtling against hardened sinners, that awesome denunciation and curse involving exclusion from all Church privileges, extending even to refusal of Christian burial. It cannot be denied that the Interdict was a fearful gun to train on a community and rarely did it miss its aim or fail to accomplish its purpose. Think of all church bells silent, the liturgical part of the worship held with closed doors, only the dying receiving penance and the eucharist, only priests, mendicant friars, strangers, and children under two years of age receiving Christian burial, and nobody dare be married! A whole district responsible for sin committed or tolerated in it! A modern Achan. Had the offence always been a spiritual one against a spiritual Church the case might have been good; but the offence might just as easily have been a quarrel with the Pope in whose hands it became indeed a terrible weapon and not infrequently most effectually exercised when they and the princes had fall-outs during the 12th and 13th centuries. Peter Lombard must have been happy during this state, for he described Church discipline as "contritio cordis, confessio oris, satisfactio operis." Alas! all moral earnestness oozed out of it. As crowds of worldly-minded men who supposed that gain was godliness were drawn into the Church, which became more and more conformed to the world, outward works more and more took the place of heart-sorrow. True, voices, as in the night, were here and there heard, especially from the monasteries, pleading for serious measures, but they died away into horrible silence, broken only by the sound of self-inflicted lashings, 3000 being the number requisite for one year of penance—the lashes being laid on while the victim was reciting the Psalter. We have but one more step

to take when lo! the Inquisition stands before us. The apostolical institution of Church discipline has degenerated into this, the very mention of which sends a shudder to the heart—the Inquisition, which in Spain alone immolated on its flaming shambles more than 300,000 victims!

Then came the Reformation and the cry was “Back to the principles of the Apostolic Church.” In 1519 Luther in his sermon “vom Bann” declares that the civil authorities have no share in the matter of the punishment of the offender, and here he insists upon the just motive—the reconciliation of the offender (Schaff-Herzog in loc.) At first he always placed the congregation in the foreground and the office in the background; but after the contest with the enthusiasts and the dangerous crisis into which they threw the Reformation in Germany he began to change his views and to emphasize the offices. He evidently changed them very decidedly; for in 1529 in his preface to the smaller Catechism he says in his unmistakable Saxon: “If any refuse to receive your instructions, tell them plainly that they deny Christ and are not Christians; such persons shall not be admitted to the Lord’s Table, nor present a child for baptism, nor enjoy any of our Christian privileges, but are sent back to the pope and to his agents and to Satan himself.” So far punishments may be classed under an ecclesiastical head but this next seems to me a bit popish, or even worse: “their parents and employers should, besides, refuse to furnish them with food and drink, and notify them that the government was disposed to banish from the country all persons of such rude and intractable character!” Subsequently, we are happy to state, this harsh view is modified.

In the Symbolical Books discipline is rightly treated as a part of soul-cure but in our European Lutheran Churches this phase of Church life was but feebly developed and not always in the right direction. In a state church, discipline is apt to degenerate into a matter of civil legislation. Look at princes ordering their subjects under heavy penalties to go to Church three times every Sunday; if not, the poor were scourged or put into stocks and the rich were fined. A legal mind were indeed ne-

cessary to discover the difference between church discipline and police regulations. Of course, the Rationalists made a clean sweep of such laws, but along with them went every trace of genuine discipline as well.

In Zurich, Zwingli handed the whole matter of church discipline over to the magistrate and considered it right to prosecute a member for whose improvement simple excommunication was not enough.

In Geneva, Calvin had a special board of discipline but this board added heavy civil penalties, even death, to the interdict.

Turning now to our own country, in the Episcopal Church, the canons (ominous word!) have this subject in keeping. Quite significant is it that these canons are trained mainly on the clergy; but laymen can be kept from the Lord's Supper on conviction of serious offences. In the Presbyterian Church, discipline is lodged in the hands of the session. The subjects are all "baptized persons." The offence must be public, and grave enough to demand the attention of the session; but private exhortation is first employed. So with the Reformed Churches. In the Congregational Church it is purely a congregational matter and there is no appeal. In the Methodist Church there is appeal. The accused member is brought before a committee of not less than five, not members of the quarterly conference. The parties may challenge for cause the selection of the committee. If the pastor in charge dissent from the finding of the committee he can appeal to the ensuing quarterly conference. Expulsion is the penalty for unworthy conduct on the part of the accused members. A Methodist pastor, on speaking to me some time ago concerning an unworthy member, confessed his inability to do anything on the matter because his stewards would not back him. This unworthy one, like Esau, was a profane person but possessed of some means and local influence and boasted that they wouldn't do anything to him!

In a case of discipline, not in a Methodist Church, but in a Lutheran, there was a church court being held, and I know not that the parties challenged for cause the selection of the committee; but it is recorded that they challenged each other in

the most pugilistic attitude, running their fists under each others' noses while still inside the building and challenging each other to a combat of fists outside, and all this exercise of the church militant right before the preacher in charge, who was bound to dissent from the finding of the parties.

Now, how much great matter which has been kindled by a little fire might be saved, if the manner of putting it out were different. I oft recall a case in my first charge where the penalty of suspension from church privileges for several months in a certain criminal case, was imposed by an aged elder and his young, inexperienced pastor, with tears both in their eyes and in their voices, the parents of the unfortunate young woman, acquiescing. The sequel proved the happiness of this way. I know, too, a pastor who to this day never recalls a certain wretched case of accused marital infidelity without a sinking at the heart. Details cannot be given as the parties are all living. Briefly stated it is this: a Mr. and Mrs. X., angry for some cause at a Mrs. Y., formerly a friend, *united* in accusing Mrs. Y. and Mr. X. of criminal intimacy. The pastor and an elder went to see Mrs. Y. and adjured her solemnly as if she knew that she were going to die the next minute, to tell the truth. She as solemnly attested her innocenc. Mr. X. asseverated his guilt and with the coolest nonchalance informed the pastor that it was simply a matter of veracity between his word and hers! If the reader could but know the Mephistophelian character of Mrs. X. it would greatly aid in the recital. Suffice it to say that the Council suspended Mr. X. (the pastor actually shivering as he put the vote) and the next morning after Mr. X. had received the secretary's letter announcing the fact, receiving for their pains the cursed epithet from his lips in the presence of the pastor, of "fools." Mr. and Mrs. X. ceased coming to Church, while Mrs. Y. has ever since proved herself faithful and above reproach. The pastor, had he it to do over again, would first have striven with the parties to withdraw charges on the grounds of Mrs. Y.'s protestations of innocence; or, failing in that, would have advised the temporary suspension of all parties concerned, believing now that the final result would

have been as now. That pastor added another page of life's lessons to his book and he has been assiduously conning over it ever since.

The secret of Church discipline, I think, lies in seven words of the forth verse of the fifth chapter of first Corinthians, namely, "*In the Name of our Lord Jesus—ye being gathered together.*" That is a meeting of the Church. Christian men are being gathered together in many different ways day by day; that is not the meeting of the Church. Just as soon as they meet "in His Name" then a distinctive Church assembly is constituted, if only the well-known two or three. As to power, of which we speak so often and long for oftener, here too is it found: "With the power of our Lord Jesus." He must be present in the gathering and the only "power" there must be His. The scholars have cut out the account in St. John of the woman taken in adultery, not with Jehoiakim's penknife, but on the best of authority, but "till He come" the Church should have that picture and that spirit at every gathering for the disciplining of unworthy ones.

How tenderly S. Paul refers to the matter in his second letter to the Corinthians (I : 23 f.), "I call God for a witness upon my soul that to spare you I forbore to come unto Corinth. * * I determined this for myself, that I would not come again to you with sorrow," etc., etc. A Congregational minister, an intimate friend in the West, told me of a case in his first charge in Danbury, Connecticut, where a weak brother would every now and then get on a spree; but he begged them not to throw him out. "Hold on to me! Don't let me go! If you do, I'm gone." To such a one truly the name and power of the Lord Jesus must have meant much.

The whole subject is one requiring sanctified common sense and tact. It is recognized as wise pastoral policy and family policy and government policy to punish as seldom as possible, aiming at recovery and restoration rather than infliction and excommunication. How to root out the tares we pastors find a very annoying pastoral question, the vexéd question of pas-

toral ethics. May we be guided by the Holy Spirit in matters requiring such delicate handling.

We pastors, at times during our ministry (I speak as a man), may have felt like the little boy whose smaller sister had a very pronounced and persistent propensity to upset her mother's spool-basket. The mother had impressed the naughtiness of this act in such clear tones and so many times that the small boy had a profound regard for the gravity of the offence. One day the mother heard an uproar, and going to the seat of war found the spool-basket upset and the smaller sister bathed in tears. The cause was explained by the elder brother who complacently remarked: "She upset your basket, mamma, but she's all pankt."

ARTICLE VI.

MINISTERIAL EDUCATION.

BY REV. C. P. WILES.

The literature upon this subject, voluminous as it has been, for the past century, may be roughly divided into three periods of equal length. The closing years of the one when compared with the opening years of the other, may present no clear line of demarkation. They melt into one another without jar or friction. But when the writings distinctly characteristic of each period are brought together, they stand in marked contrast to those next it. There is no mistaking the fact that these years, swift as their flight has been, have been compelled to register a reversal of position as to the importance of Ministerial Education that is nothing short of phenomenal. So rapid have been the strides made, in this same period, in science, art, philosophy; in the harnessing of the hitherto unknown powers inherent in nature, that these have been reckoned as constituting the eighth wonder of the world. Along side of these startling achievements in the secular, there has been a corresponding advance in the religious world: The testing, correcting, eliminating and

reconstructing process by which new standards of clerical qualifications were made, through which ambassadors for Christ were put in possession of sources of power that had long been unutilized. The pace set by men in other professions, in discovery, invention, and in the dissemination of general intelligence, taught the men of God that there are untouched fountains of learning that should be directed into the channels of the Church; for if their accents are caught aright, they, too, speak of Him "who spread the flowing seas abroad, and built the lofty skies."

The first period, to which reference has been made, may be correctly styled: that of much opposition to anything like a liberal education. To this there were notable exceptions; professors in the newly-founded Halls of learning, who, not from any selfish motive, as bare institutional prosperity, but out of deep love for the "field whitening unto the harvest," plead wherever opportunity afforded, for a more thorough equipment of those who were commissioned to preach the Word. Not a few occupants of pulpits, interpreting the future by the past, were profoundly convinced that the stability of that religious sect that despised learning, was fraught with peril. Holy men in other positions of eminence, as if with prophetic vision, cast their eyes upon the next generation and declared that if it did not seem the better part of wisdom for the present, yet for the inestimable benefits of those coming after, an educated ministry was demanded, holding that that which does not build wisely for the future is a questionable course of action for the present.

Notwithstanding these staunch advocates of what they considered so essential, there was a counter current so swift and strong that it required long years, and the urgency of altered conditions to turn it. There were whole ecclesiastical bodies in whom the defenders of a classical education could almost be counted on one's fingers. They stubbornly advocated the lifting of men from the plow and bench and counter to the pulpit, contending that whom God called he would anoint and equip for service.

Of course we must remember that the natural conditions of

those times were by no means favorable to an extended education. Those were days when religious bodies were practically in their infancy in our land. They were moments big with opportunity; the battle was on; denominational rivalry ran high. Steps were often taken for immediate supremacy, without regard to future permanence. A mighty tide of immigration was touching our shores; every hour was heavy with responsibility; those who left the homeland with the faith of their fathers must be held, those who arrived as strangers to the covenant of promise must be won. How can this be done? Send men, no time for delay. Civilization was extending her boundary line, the rod of empire was moving westward, heralds of the Cross must hasten to follow. The demands of the times were loud and clear. The language question was a serious barrier to education. Its problems have not yet been settled. Young men, not a few, who coveted the advantages of a collegiate and seminary training, were debarred because of pecuniary reasons, not being able to pay their own way, nor could they expect much from a Church that was in its day of small things. Hence, financial stringency apparently drove many into the sacred office without any intellectual culture and with a very crude conception of Systematic Theology. That Book which they were to hold up and interpret to others was sealed to themselves.

When these obstacles are arrayed they appear formidable and offer a partial apology for that current of opposition to an educated ministry. But it is *only* a partial apology. For there were individuals and there were churches who refused to be conquered by these apparently insuperable obstacles. They were assuredly confident that theirs were no merely human proposals or man-made standards, but that these were in clearest harmony with the call of the great Head of the Church. "If He summons, then these are heights that can be reached. He never leads to impossibilities." With such conceptions of duty they grappled with existing problems as men who face death. The language question, the money question, the immigration question, the question of early supremacy, all lift their

heads to oppose ; But God calls, duty decrees it, self-preservation demands it. Men with great hearts and conquering faith armed themselves. They lifted themselves to positions others had yielded in despair. They plucked up the banner and planted it on ramparts before which others had weakened and fled. We need but read the history of our Lutheran Church during the first period of the last century, to find at least one religious body that built with care and diligence the fabric of her institutional life. This bit of history, more fascinating than a novel, when read in the light of present conditions, quite covers our faces with shame.

The second period of the last century may be named the period of complete dissatisfaction with former methods of dealing with applicants for the holy ministry. Unrest and upheaval characterized these years. Results from the former course of procedure had been meagre and unsatisfactory. There is truth in the familiar saying : more haste less speed. Movements that have offered immediate returns are such as have shorn the Church of her strength and usefulness. "There is a way that seemeth right unto a man, but the end thereof are the ways of death" is as applicable to denominations as to the wicked. That we have given ourselves a religious name does not release us from perils to which others are subjected nor put in our hands the guarantee of an existence. Facts attest it. The door leading to the sacred office had been thrown open. Few safeguards were presented. The call of the Church for young men to preach the Word was loud. Some responded whom the meanest standard of intellectual equipment would have debarred. Others, under the undue emotional of the times, were persuaded they were "called," whose future conduct proved them both unfit and unworthy. A demand for reversal of methods in this second period elicits no surprise. Earlier systems had been found wanting. Churchmen were opening their eyes to the fact that whatsoever a man soweth that shall he also reap. The harvest had been pitiably disappointing. A ministry unqualified for its incomparable work had been sown and church invalidism had to be reaped. Sow ministerial un-

intelligence and reap ecclesiastical infirmity. Lamentably true, that they who sow incoherence of doctrine and a loose grasp of the fundamentals of faith will produce a constituency that will be rent by schism, and tossed on the bosom of every wave of doctrine. No religious superstructure of permanence can be lifted on shallow and unsubstantial foundations. They build wisely who build downward as well as upward. There must be thoroughness as well as scope. There is need of a preparation for, as well as a prosecution of, the Master's work. The former must give force, directness and efficiency to the latter. Without the former the latter faints by the way and is confronted by an incompetency that looms up at every turn. The fallacy of the argument of multitudes in the Church's beginnings a century ago is apparent in this; they said: Let us first become strong in membership, then we shall be able to establish schools of the prophets if necessary. The opposite ground was taken by the minority. They said: Let us *first* build our schools. Such a step may seem to cripple for the moment and to turn attention elsewhere than immediately demanded and to impose burdens unbearable. But they said: "This is basal work; it forbids postponement; to neglect it is criminal." As a consequence these schools began to send into the infant Church in many quarters a perennial stream of blessing no man can measure. An increment of life, a basis for enthusiasm, a good measure of mental capability, in the young man turned out, were given to a few religious bodies at least, which, under the blessing of God, were destined to hold together the disorganized elements and do much toward stemming the tide of atheistic and infidel literature that was sweeping our country with its withering touch.

It is not too much to declare that largely through our schools of religious training under certain sects, were the generations of the last century increasingly held for Christ. It was during the second period that these phenomena were being studied. History can not be untrue. She cheeefully turns her pages that men may profit by the mistakes of the past. There had been mistakes. They were being recognized. The facts were in-

controvertible. The tide was speedily turning. Men who bitterly opposed what they called a loss of time, a waste of money and a decrease of power, in education, were coming to see that proper educational furnishings are a saving of time, economy in money and an increase of power. Steps must be retraced. Old methods must give way to new and better ones which time has tested and laid her hand of approval on. God places no premium on ignorance when knowledge is at hand. If in those moments of reconstruction the star of hope should pierce the darkened future for certain creeds, it would come to pass when pulpit dogmatism and declaration would be displaced by minds trained and disciplined in the works of God and taught how to divide the Word of truth. With such facts keenly apparent we are brought,

To the third period of the century which may be called: The period of uniform demand for an educated ministry. The pendulum when started swinging was certain to complete the arc. Defamers of that system that ordinarily required an intellectual equipment for the holiest of callings, turned completely around and now are its warmest friends. Bodies that welcomed indiscriminately applicants from all quarters without a question as to mental fitness, are rearing wise safeguards. A writer in our own fold makes use of this striking sentence: "The contrast between the almost rude, at least exceedingly limited facilities and attainments in education fifty years ago with the present, indicates an advance that, suggested then, would have been set down as the fancy of a dreamer or at most the possibility of centuries." The Church owes it to herself and to her young men to require that they shall pursue a prescribed course of study, who desire to minister at her altars. That substantial agreement has been reached on this point is a cause for much rejoicing, for it must result in perpetual blessing to all Christendom. Would that it had come sooner, for God long had been pointing the way; then would have been spared that ill-flavor under which the whole pulpit rests more or less to-day; then would have been saved us the unwilling picture of men falling unheard and unknown, who, with their native

talent cultivated and fed, would have taken a large hand in the affairs of God's kingdom, and shone as stars of superior splendor; then had not been taught essentials for non-essentials and vice-versa, as a consequence of which, men, in the attempt to readjust their faith, have, instead of coming to the fuller light, slipped into the denser darkness of scepticism; for is not a wide-open door to scepticism right here?—error in conception of correct Christian doctrine. Unintentional deception in spiritual verities leads quickly into avowed enemies of the Gospel of our Saviour. It is a well-founded conviction that some whose tongue and pen were ever busy attacking the whole system of Christian theology and casting doubt on beliefs dear to every heart, would have been used even more persuasively in defense of the Cross, but for an abnormal application of saving truth. These are but few of the hurtful influences emanating from system reckoned with things past. That to day there is unanimity of opinion as to the value of Ministerial Education is cause for profound gratitude; it will enhance the dignity of the office and lay better tracks along which God's chariot will roll with quicker pace.

While the pen of the historian was busy recording the sweeping change of sentiment on so vital a point as an educated clergy, it will be interesting to note the attitude of the Lutheran Church on this question. It is a matter of common intelligence that the Lutheran people have always stood for education. That there have been a few discordant voices can not be denied; they have only served to fix our attention on the overwhelming consensus of opinion. The mother of Protestantism was born in a University and her four hundred years of steady progress attest her high regard for the place of her birth. Perhaps no other denomination at home or abroad has been drawing such an uninterrupted supply of consecrated and enlightened talent from centres of learning as she has. This spirit was wafted to our shores. The seed was planted in the rich soil of the Western Hemisphere and has grown to become a leading characteristic of the Lutheran Church of America.

The story of the beginnings of Lutheran College and Semi-

nary life is thrilling. It discloses a zeal, a consecration of wealth, a penetration of wisdom and apostolic sacrifices before which we stand transfixed. When we bear in mind that at the arrival of the Patriarch Muhlenberg about the middle of the 18th Century, the Lutheran Church in America can scarcely be said to have existed, and that at the opening of the 19th Century a few thousands would embrace the entire roll of membership, we would almost regard in such conditions the assuming of the burden of schools as reckless and inadvisable. But there were certain facts staring them in the face: (1) That not a few talented young men, not supplied in their own Church, were seeking educational advantages at Columbia and Dickinson Colleges, at Princeton and University of Pennsylvania, some to return with lax doctrinal views and others lost entirely to our beloved Zion. (2) That an untrained pulpit was powerless before the cultured and blatant agnosticism which was shaking Christianity to its center; and (3) That an educated ministry—on the human side—was the only assurance of the perpetuity of the Church. Deep down in the heart of clergy and laity there burned an ambition that was irresistible, and, girding themselves, they swept to the very border-lines of the impossible, and, what was but recently a dream, had blossomed in hope and hope quickly crystallized in realization, and great rejoicing rolled across the bosom of the Church. For scarcely had the sun arisen on the greatest of all centuries until Hartwick Seminary was opened, with an enrollment the first year of 44. Closely upon its heel followed Gettysburg; almost a dozen in a little more than a quarter of a century. And an engaging question with the westward van of civilization is: How about schools? To read of Schmucker going out on collecting tours and returning with as high as \$15,000 is no mean comment on the recognized importance of this work. To-day our own denomination has 25 Academies, 45 Colleges, and 27 Theological Seminaries. These figures, grand as they are, express but slightly the immeasurable benefit heaven alone can reveal. Is it too much to say that if these institutions have done nothing more than offer to the Church an equipped ministry, in *that* they "have spread abroad the spirit of the Reformation, fired with new zeal min-

isters and laymen, elevated the standard of piety, diffused a spirit of benevolence and given to all who heard, the pure Word of God." Who will deny that our position of prestige, power and privilege in the world to-day, the rising tide of our unmatched opportunities, are directly traceable to the fountains of learning which have been the throbbing heart of the Church? These are not fancies or visions, but the underscored facts of History. For many they have been read in tears and learned over the sacrifice of immortal souls. Does history repeat itself? Our Church has had a great past, she is having a greater present, she is facing a still greater future. Men, by no means partial to our faith, have conceded the richness of our field. Opportunities so frequent would fail to make an impression but for the solemn duty they impose. Calls come from the Foreign field, from liberal New England, from untouched Western fields, from our own Synod, calls to enter and possess. God has given the harvest and we seem powerless. What shall we do? Let history answer. It has words of eloquence we would do well to hear. A message so unequivocal that to misread it would place in jeopardy our highest interests. There is a haste that is morally reprehensible. When proficiency is being demanded more and more in every other profession, it ill-becomes us in any way to lower our standard of the Ministerial office.

But now, what do we mean by an educated ministry? We may venture a few suggestions on the phases of this subject: (1) Its Breadth and (2) Its Limitation.

I. ITS BREADTH

The manner of preaching has undergone a radical change in the last two and a half decades. It is to be supposed both methods sought the same end. There has ever existed a unity of purpose; viz., a moving of the will so as to lead it into a deliberate choosing of Christ as Saviour. This may be accomplished in two ways: first, by stirring the emotions, secondly, by informing the intellect. The first, or the play upon the feelings, was formerly a predominant method. It is not meant that there can be an arousing of the emotions without some in-

tellectual food, nor that there can be a wholesome informing of the mind, without a consequent emotion of joy. The emotional nature has a place in religion. It is God's gift, and it will droop and perish, nor ever reach its highest and best until it finds again its native air and moves in realms spiritual. But in the preceding generation and somewhat in our own, undue emphasis was laid on the quickening of the feelings to the unwarranted elimination of man's power of thought. In this the very cornerstone was forgotten and there was reared many a tottering superstructure.

A very prominent divine whose life just closed, said this of his style of preaching: When a politician tries to make votes, he tries to fuse the whole body into one mass and make them vote for Grant or Lincoln. I try to fuse my congregation into one mass and make them hurrah a vote for Jesus Christ. A very conservative critic says of this confession: It reveals the secret of his weakness. It is too easy to hurrah for Jesus Christ and stop there. Having attracted a larger congregation than that preached to by any other clergyman of his denomination, he failed to build up a working church. His church carried on no organized endeavor and gave nothing for benevolence. When he resigned, his church went to pieces. A fair comment, this, on that kind of preaching, styled wholly emotional. It leaves a people unrooted and ungrounded in the truth. It gathers a constituency, vacillating and unmuscle, that will hardly stand the burning sun of persecution or the chilly winds of doubt, and leaves in the wake of its progress few abiding results. It has filled up ranks that have been easy prey to the pernicious literature and corrupted beliefs that grow rank in our land. It has lowered the dignity of the ministry, curtailed the lines of her power and invited disrespect from the general public. We are wholly justified in the conviction that the sacred office will be respected when its equipments and qualifications are respectable and when its work is pursued along authorized, worthy and Scriptural lines. Is there anything that has done more to array science against religion, to cause scientists and philosophers to look askance at our holy

faith; to spread the rumor among the children of this world that if Scripture is right, science is wrong, and if science is true the Scriptures are false; if the Bible is to be accounted correct, then the dicta of philosophy are absurd; I say, what has done more to deny there is a harmony of science and religion than shallow emotionalism? The unenlightened, untrained ministry have unanimously adopted this style. This method of moving men to an acceptance of Christ, when almost wholly resorted to, is "justly chargeable with numerous transgressions."

We have shifted our position. We are not feeding the emotional less, but the intellectual nature of man more. We believe the instruction of the understanding to be the first point to be taken, which, when intelligently and forcibly done will kindle the deepest feeling, *both* resulting in the capture of the citadel of the will, thus making man in his entirety and fullest manhood the child of God. We may state our syllogism thus: The basis of a strong faith on the part of God's people is a mind stored with divine truth. This knowledge is largely obtained by means of pulpit ministrations. Hence the necessity of an educated ministry. Brethren, there never was a time when facts meant so much as now. We can not, we dare not, appeal to the emotional side as we once did. "Our tenderest appeals must be wrested from mere sentiment and based upon established truth." Truth does not deny faith, nor supercede it, but it fortifies it. It is the sheet-anchor above whose steady hold faith casts her eye triumphantly into the heavens and grips the deep mysteries of God. It is facts people in the pew want, and we must be able to furnish them. The methods of the past are inadequate for the present. There is not less of faith to-day than before, but more of thought. Some think that for faith to have its perfect work, man must abide in ignorance. If, under the discoveries of science, and the researches of the Orient, we are permitted to see what once was a matter of faith, what does this mean but that we are gradually approaching the day when trembling faith shall break into perfect sight. This, then, is our contention here, the min-

ister must not only stir emotions, but be able to feed the intellect.

Then, too, we address intellectual audiences. We speak to men and women who have been trained in the power of logical thought. They have pursued courses of study. They think while we preach. They weigh our utterances in the balance of reason. They ever shift the foot for established truth. It must be given fairly, impartially. Spurgeon, at the zenith of his fame said: The minister should always take for granted his audience knows nothing. By which he meant that the messenger should make his message simple and intelligible. An unintentional, but forcible indictment of an untrained clergy. For who so capable of constructing a message suitable alike to illiterate and scholarly, as he whose knowledge is orderly, thorough and comprehensive. Who so clear in speech and parable as Jesus? The common people heard him gladly, and yet who so deep that the keenest minds have sat at His feet to catch his deeper meaning? The ability to present God's Word to the comprehension of the unlettered does not imply superficial thinking. It has been said: Adapt the message to the unread and it will suit the well-read. It is to be feared that has too frequently led the Gospel minister into the unpardonable error of supposing any disjointed and partial presentation of the word of life is sufficient. We must preach to the ignorant, but we need not thereby give offense to the learned. Apples of gold are beautiful, but more so in pictures of silver. Let us turn that saying around and learn its truth for to-day: Adapt the message to the learned and it will suit the unlearned. By this is not meant the frequent use of technical phrases, nor the interjection of strange languages, but that the mind, so trained as to think logically, feel deeply and choose intelligently, is alone competent to present a message clearly and effectively to the intelligent and the only one *fit* to present it to the unintelligent. Religious teachers to-day must know whom they have believed. The day is spent when the plowman who whistled in his furrow yesterday wears the cloth to-morrow. If we are to arrest men, gain a hearing, instruct their minds and win their hearts, it will be *when* we are God-taught and man-

taught instructors who can give a reason for the hope that is in us and so give it that under the power of the Holy Spirit that same hope may send its light into darkened souls.

But you ask, Have not uneducated men preached with power and acceptance? Are there not exceptions? Yes, there are; not nearly so many, however, as the world has estimated. And a pertinent question here is: May it not be possible that they too might have preached even more powerfully and acceptably if they had availed themselves of the advantages of our institutions which under the Providence of God have become so vital to our Church life? Granted there have been exceptions like a Moody who, outstripping men of superior mental culture, caused a gazing world to inquire: Whence hath this man such wisdom seeing he has never learned letters? And yet we have never had a warmer friend of schools than Moody, who left no less than three as monuments to his memory and became the inspiration of as many more. His own meagre mental attainments were most keenly felt by himself and forced him to lend his heartiest approval to an educated ministry. We have nothing to do with exceptions except to try to discourage them. If God raises up exceptions he will take care of them. We must discover His *laws* and operate through and move in harmony with them. The husbandman, though anxious about his crops, does not take account of stray stars that dart across the heavens in seeming lawlessness, but he does set his store by the orderly revolutions of the sun, moon and stars that forever move in known tracks of light. The mariner does not reckon on uncertain waves, but he does guide his ship with trade winds and gulf stream. It were a sin of deepest dye to stand and wait for exceptions in the ministry—very rare and uncertain things. We have discovered long ago God's regular trade winds and gulf streams of blessing; He has pointed to them with fingers of flame; we must move according to system and methodical arrangement. And if our institutions are God's answers to fervent prayer we may believe they should be a uniform means of preparing young men for the ministry.

We believe then, in breadth of scholarship, this general

standard may be made (without reference to any particular studies) a regular course in both our institutions, an ability to address the intellect, as well as stir the emotions, a systematic and coherent knowledge of the fundamental doctrines of God's word that those who hear may be enlightened and edified in the things that make for peace.

What is the limitation of Ministerial Education? We locate it in this: The man thus equipped must say: This one thing I do. The range of his thinking has been broad, the fields covered have been many, but over it all he ought to be able to say with his Lord: To this end was I born and for this cause came I into the world, that I should bear witness unto the truth. Just one thing—to bear witness unto the truth. There are many things we should love to do, lines of study we should be delighted to pursue, but our equipment has not been for the unworthy ends of personal pleasure or worldly applause; above them all stands the name of Jesus that yet needs to be preached to two-thirds of our race. The man prepared for this work has covered a variety of subjects, all with the dominant intention that he may preach with greater effectiveness the unsearchable riches of Christ. Ministerial Education is broad in its scope, but very narrow in its aim. It has a breadth, but it has a limitation. Through the marvelous diversity of study, there runs a unity of purpose.

The honey bee leaves the hive with humming song, it rises on palpitating wing, and sails over hill and valley, woodland and stream till it settles on some waving clover head, from which it extracts the juicy nectar, and returns to its hive. No matter how far or in what direction it has roamed, or where it may fold its wings, it is on one mission; a multiplicity of sources, but one object. There is no man to whom God has opened such boundless fields of thought and research as to the bearers of the light. Other professional men have to do with earthly things, we have to do with the earthly and heavenly. But as we roam across these plains, noting the rise and fall of empires, the movement of God in history, the achievements of science, what truth sweeter than honey is there here that will help make clear His message to men and add to our efficiency

in declaring it? Ministerial Education broadens our horizon, leads us to and fro in the wide domain of God's laws in nature and grace, but its highest genius is that from all these sources there may be gathered an accumulation of power that we may touch our one task with a magic hand. Breadth of view, depth of thought, but concentration of power. The writer chanced at an agricultural institute some years ago where a lecturer of note was addressing the Convention on the "Potato." At the conclusion of his address he gave the audience an opportunity to ask questions, whereupon a farmer asked this question: Can a man afford to raise potatoes for 25 cents per bushel. The lecturer answered in five words: You can't, but I can. He meant that while the farmer knew what he wanted to grow and that alone, *he* knew both *what* he wanted to grow and *how* to grow it. He knew the potato in its constituent parts, he knew what it needed for its highest development; he studied the soil and found what it lacked and fed it with proper fertilizers, he studied the best methods of cultivation so that whether wet or dry his crop would not be affected. He was a scholarly man, but his knowledge bore entirely on his work. And of the score or more of things he had studied with diligence, every one of them added its wealth to the crop his heart had been set upon growing. In like manner is to be stated at once the unequalled breadth and exceeding narrowness of the minister's equipment. A solitary task: preach the Word. But there is another requisite beside knowing what to do: How to do it. There is the soil for the seed, the human heart; he should know it, its law of thought, its deep-seated passions, its specific needs; men in the aggregate; the relation of man to man, what it is, what it ought to be; the sociological questions, those mighty problems that have rent society from center to circumference. He plants with far less efficiency who stands in wilful ignorance of the soil, with which his message has so much to do.

Then God places within reach of the student lines of study that will throw a light upon the sacred page, interpreting and fortifying above his highest conception. There are the languages that will yield to him veritable nuggets of gold; history will

draw its arm across the ages and lay at his feet its solemn lessons; science, the hand-maid of religion, will offer its contributions, which are increasingly forming a mighty buttress to our faith; the archaeologist is slowly turning the rocky-page—the Lord's latest commentary on His written revelation—and with glad hearts we are reading anew God's wonders in ages past. These are the soil, the conditions, the environs of our tremendous task, growing essentials to real efficiency, short of which none who appreciate the dignity of the office will want to come. We have yielded too long Science, Art, Philosophy to the agnostic and scorner. Who has a better right to go out beneath a beneficent sun, and, casting his eye upward, outward and downward, claim it all as his own, than the minister of the Gospel? The earth is the Lord's and the fulness thereof. Set his foot where he will he is on his Maker's soil. Touch what law he will he has discovered the Lord's statute. The correct voice of science is none other than the voice of God. The planets in their rhythmic circuits tell of Him; the early dew-drop, of mercy fresh every morning; the flowers and birds, of a Father who spreads his table daily for the world's children. This (the Bible) is our message, but all these are closely related subjects, a knowledge of which will make more intelligible to us and others the one theme upon our tongue. We are to make them willing tributaries which shall intensify our love for and power in the race we must run before men.

Ministerial Education is magnificent in its range and sublime in its limitation. The Church is called at present to go forth and lay her hand upon the progress, facilities and achievements of the world and chain them as bound captives to the Conqueror.

ARTICLE VII.

SHALL WOMEN PREACH IN THE CONGREGATION? AN EXEGETICAL TREATISE.

BY PROFESSOR J. L. NEVE, D.D.

There are mainly three passages of Paul dealing with this question and whether it shall be answered in the negative or in the affirmative a careful exegesis of these three Pauline passages will have to decide. Other words of Scripture incidentally touching upon this theme always will have to be interpreted in the light of the words of Paul to the Corinthians and to Timothy, where he in an unmistakable language establishes a rule not for one congregation only but "for all the assemblies of the saints" (1 Cor. 14 : 33).

The first passage we have is 1 Cor. 11 : 4-16. In verse 5 it reads: "But every woman that prayeth or prophesieth with her head uncovered dishonoreth her head;" and in the 13th verse: "Judge in yourselves: is it comely that a woman pray unto God uncovered?" These verses show that in the meetings of the Corinthian Christians the women also took part in prophesying and praying.* This, Paul does not forbid here; he denounces only the manner in which they do it; neglecting to cover their head. Here we ask: Did not Paul then tacitly permit the women to prophesy and pray in public meetings? Meyer pointing to chapter 14 : 34, where silence is imposed upon them and to 1 Timothy 2 : 12, where they are forbidden to teach, says, it has to be taken into account that in these two passages the public assembly of the congregation as such, the whole *ἐκκλησία*, is spoken of. There is no sign of such being the case here where he does not forbid the prophe-

*It must have been public meetings which Paul has in view here, because, 1, "prophesying" does not suit the idea of *private* devotion of a husband and wife, and, 2, the whole passage presupposes publicity. Paul wants the women to avoid public occasion of offense which they would give if they prophesy or pray with their head uncovered. Compare Meyer.

syng and praying of the women, and at the same time can not mean *family* worship simply. Therefore Paul here must mean smaller meetings for devotion in the congregation, more limited circles assembled for worship, such as fall under the category of a church in the house (compare chapter 16 : 19; Rom. 16 : 5; Coll. 4 : 15). Paul's readers understood just what kind of meetings were meant, because he wrote on the basis of the information received from the Christians in Corinth.

The second passage is 1 Cor. 14 : 34-36. 34. "As in all churches of the saints, let your women keep silence in the churches: for it is not permitted unto them to speak; but they are commanded to be under obedience as also says the law." 35. "And if they will learn anything let them ask their husbands at home; for it is a shame (*αἰσχρὸν* unbecoming, disgraceful) for women to speak in the church." 36. "What? came the word of God out from you? or came it unto you only."

Here in plain words Paul demands that the "women keep silence in the churches," "as in all assemblies of the saints." Meyer insists upon connecting the last clause of verse 33 with the beginning of 34 and reads (with Luther and with Weizsaecker in his careful translation of the New Testament) as quoted above. Note that Paul here speaks of a speaking of the women in the public congregation, in the *ἐκκλησία*. Some very modern exegetes have tried to evade the simple and obvious meaning of Paul's words by pointing to the word *speaking*, *λαλεῖν*, in verse 34. They say *speaking* is not *teaching*, and then they interpret that the women at Corinth had harmed the peace of the congregation by too much talking and gossiping, and that Paul here was forbidding only such unedifying and frivolous conversation. Is such an interpretation admissible? Five counter-arguments speak against it:

1. Nowhere in the letters of Paul to the Corinthians is there any indication that the peace of the congregation was especially disturbed by too much talk of the women.

2. True, *λαλεῖν* can have the meaning of mere talking, of

simply employing the organs of speech ; but it can also mean exactly the same as teaching. An example is Romans 7 : 1 "For I speak ($\lambda\alpha\lambda\omega$) to them that know the law." There is therefore, no reason why speaking here can not mean teaching, preaching.

3. From the remark verse 34, "it is not permitted unto them to speak ; *but they are commanded to be under obedience, as also says the law*" we see that Paul means here speaking as an act of independence. The woman shall be subject to her husband and *therefore* shall not speak publicly in the church, which is unbecoming to her. This argument would not suit the idea of Paul merely forbidding the women to become engaged in talking, gossiping.

4. According to verse 35 the women, in the public congregation, shall not ask questions even for their own instruction, but shall go with such questions to their husbands at home. Therefore Paul must mean public speaking (putting questions) in the services of the congregation where religious instruction was given and received, and can not refer to indiscriminate talking.

5. With his remark in verse 36 Paul wants to say : The church at Corinth is not the mother church, having the right to establish customs for other churches. Neither is she the only one existing. The same gospel has gone to others who then would also have the right to originate customs and peculiar habits. And what a confusion and disorder that would bring into the Church if every individual congregation was permitted to introduce new customs in questions like this ? These words would be unintelligible if Paul here meant nothing but idle talk on the part of the women.

Now we come to the third passage : 1 Timothy 2 : 12-14.

12. "But I suffer not a woman to teach, nor to usurp authority over the man, but to be in silence. 13. "For Adam was first formed, then Eve." 14. "And Adam was not deceived, but the woman being deceived was in the transgression."

"But I suffer not a woman *to teach*." Here we have

διδάσκειν. Again Paul takes the public teaching (preaching) of the women in the congregation as an act of independence, which is contrary to divine economy. For a woman to teach in the congregation (in our language, to fill the pulpit) is an "usurping authority over the man," that stands in contradiction to a fact established at the time of the Creator and emphasized after the fall because of the part woman took in it.

Then it weighs something that Paul denounces the public teaching of women in the congregation not only in his letter to the Corinthians, but also in his *pastoral* letter to Timothy where, in a language stronger than that used over against the Corinthians, he gives to his co-laborer instructions not to one church merely but to the practice "in all the assemblies of the saints."

There are people who say: If Paul would live to-day and in America he would speak differently. He wrote his instructions on the background of his age with its conceptions of inferiority of the female sex. Such apostolic teachings, they say, must be taken in an historical sense. Now this interpretation would be all right in the mouth of a champion of modern theology; but one who does not want to give up the formal principle of the Reformation, namely that the Holy Scripture is source and rule for all faith and practice can not afford to take that view. If we can not believe that in a question like the one here under consideration Paul, under the guidance of the Holy Ghost, said something that is true and binding to-day just as well as at the time of the founding of the Church, then we are on dangerous ground; then we can not with Peter say that we have a "sure word of prophesy" (2 Pet. 1 : 19). If we have the right to interpret thus and so get rid of something that does not suit the taste of our age, what then can we answer if, for instance, a champion of "free love" attacks the institution of marriage, saying that such requirements of the Bible do not hold for our day?

We sum up: A careful exegesis always will show beyond all doubt that in 1 Cor. 14 : 34-36 and in 1 Tim. 2 : 12-14 Paul forbids the women to preach in the church. In 1 Cor.

11 : 4-16 where he does not forbid them to prophesy and to pray, merely criticizing the manner in which they did it, Paul must have a speaking of the women in view that did not take place in the ἐκκλησίᾳ, in the public assembly of the congregation, but in smaller meetings for devotion. Specifying among the different species of services of a Christian congregation of to-day, from the public preaching in the pulpit down to Sunday school and womans' missionary meeting, true Christian tact will always easily find what a woman can do without breaking in upon that ground rule of creation which Paul in the above passages has re-established.

ARTICLE VIII.

CHRISTIAN SCIENCE.

BY REV. L. J. MOTSCHMAN, A.M.

This subject naturally, according to "mortal mind," falls, or is believed to fall, into two thoughts. First, Is Christian Science tenable? and, secondly, Has it been a blessing to humanity? Let us look at these in their order.

IS CHRISTIAN SCIENCE TENABLE?

According to the Standard Dictionary, a thing is tenable when it is "capable of being held, maintained or defended." If this be true of the so-called Christian Science, it must be tenable, both as being a science, and as being Christian. The first question to consider, therefore, is, whether it is a science, and if so, of what is it a science?

At this point it is in order to acquaint the reader, in a few words, with the reputed author of this remarkable philosophy. The one who claims credit for this cult is Mrs. Mary Glover Patterson Eddy. Some believe that Frye should be added to this list of names. She was born about eighty-six years ago, that is, if we may trust "mortal mind." She herself dates her

existence from some time near the flood. No one may properly say she is older than that, for she herself says, "Never having dated my existence before the flood." She further declares that, like Samuel, she heard the voice of the Lord call her by name when she was only eight years old. Notwithstanding all this, the first fifty years of her life, according to "mortal mind," was spent in complete insignificance. During part of this time she was a second-rate spiritualist medium, giving public seances, for money, in and about Boston.

Mr. Glover, of whom his one-time widow says: "Whose tender devotion to his young wife was remarked by all observers," soon died and his earthly remains are said to be in the Potter's Field at Wilmington, N. C. Her second marriage, an alliance with Mr. Patterson, was terminated by divorce decree of the court. This was secured, according to the word of a brother, while the husband was a war prisoner, having been captured at the battle of Bull Run. Mrs. Eddy's story is that he run off with another woman.

The successor of the lamented Glover and the departed Patterson, was Asa G. Eddy. After a few years of rough sailing upon the matrimonial seas, he too was gathered to his fathers. In December, 1878, he was indicted for conspiracy to murder a Mr. Spofford, at whom Mrs. Eddy had a grudge, and whom she failed to kill mentally, after soliciting the aid of a number of powerful Christian Scientists to aid her.

Whether she is now a widow is a matter of dispute. Mr. Frye is ostensibly her servant, but surely a very honored servant. He is her footman and private secretary. He holds the legal title to the mansion in which they live. He is the owner of all her lands, horses, carriages and jewels. Of course, all this does not make him her husband, but are evident signs of a "suspicious relation." Of course, Mrs. Eddy does not believe in marriage, presumably for others. Her benevolence here passes all understanding, for it is evident she did all that lay in her power to keep other women from getting married. Mrs. Eddy has one son, who lives in the West, but who seldom comes to see his illustrious mother. Some years ago her de-

sire for children became so strong, specially for little boys, that she was constrained to adopt a male infant who was only forty years old, and whose love for an adopted mother was such an overmastering passion that he forsook a wife and two children in Vermont. What love for mother! And we may add, What love for wife and children! He took the name of E. J. Foster-Eddy.

Mrs. Eddy is now an old woman surrounded by all the comfort that money can command. She has a long, thin, wiry face, with eyes sharply set, a mouth that indicates anything but generosity, and with hard lines of greed and selfishness crossing her face. The pictures which are sold with her endorsement, are not pictures of herself, but of a crayon representing a woman more than forty years younger than Mrs. Eddy. This is done to maintain the notion that Christian Science is the fountain of perpetual youth.

Now this is the woman who claims in partnership with God to be the author of Christian Science, or the book entitled: *Science and Health, With Key to the Scriptures*. In our study of this subject we have no need to consult anything else but this book, for it is claimed that it only has divine authority and contains the whole truth and nothing but the truth. It is humbly admitted that the Bible contains some truth, but that it cannot be found in the midst of so much error without this "Key." Let us now seek an answer to our question.

IS IT A SCIENCE?

Science is exact and systematized knowledge, gained by exact observations and correct thinking.

Mrs. Eddy most emphatically claims that she has furnished the world with really the only truly scientific book. "Christian Science," she says, "differs from material science, but not on that account is it less scientific. Christian Science is preeminently scientific, being based on Truth, the Principle of all science" (p. 17). Truth and Principle are here and everywhere spelled by her with a capital, because used as synonymous with God.

She does not claim that she has a physical science, for all such sciences she denominates "A blind belief." This is made necessary by her fundamental dogma that there is in reality no physical or material existence. This dogma tells the whole story of her book. What we call matter is but an image in "mortal mind," which in turn is nothing but the absence of "Immortal Mind." Strange that that which does not have existence still has the power to create images. Not only so, but it is the cause of all sin, sickness and death. And not only all this, but this non-existing unreality, this absence of something is also the prolific cause of all destructive phenomena in a non-existing nature, or one which is but the idea of God. There is no force in matter and God will not cause a storm, or volcanic eruption, hence there is but one cause, "mortal mind." Thus one explains the recent bad behavior of Mt. Pelee. In face of every sort of evidence they must assert Mrs. Eddy's dogma. "The non-existence of matter." So one goes on to "state the Christian Science thought in regard to the Martignique disaster." And thus he continues, "God is good and God is all. There is no storm, no fire, no flood, no earthquake." "God never made those things and they are therefore unrealities." "Why then did God permit the destruction of St. Pierre? He did not, and we hold, further, knew nothing about it." "How did it happen? As everything evil happens, through an erring human sense of things." "The thought of centuries has been along the lines of human belief, and hence we have storms, fire, flood, earthquake, tidal waves, all nursed along in human belief until they now seem as real and powerful as though God had created them." "The law of earthquakes and othar like phenomena is human made." Let us trust that God did not make this colossal fool. But the above is exactly what Mrs. Eddy teaches (pp. 12 and 13.) Her position is that God did not create matter and therefore it does not exist. Hence God is not responsible for any imaginary storms within the realm of matter. But God must have created the being who is able to believe that these disasters are realities and therefore He would be equally responsible for any consequence. What

she means by "mortal belief" is impossible to say. She says (p. 178): "Whatever indicates the opposite to God, or His absence, is only a mortal belief; and this belief is neither the mind nor body of man."

She calls her incoherent verbiage a metaphysical science. But this very term, which we get from Aristotle, signifies "after, or with the physical." It therefore recognizes the physical. She therefore has not given us a metaphysical science. Has she given us a pure psychology? This she makes impossible by the sweeping dogma that "the human consciousness is false."

If consciousness is false then we cannot say that anything is a fact. If we must reject the facts of consciousness in one thing then we cannot rely on them in anything. If the consciousness of pain is a lie, every other consciousness must be classed as its brother. We have here, therefore, the most absolute know-nothing agnosticism possible to conceive. Mrs. Eddy could not get out of this dilemma by saying that she has given us a science not of mortal, but of Immortal Mind, for she deals altogether with the errors of mortal mind. We may also add that without consciousness we can have no science of immortal mind. The notion that there are two minds in man, even though one is a thinking nothing, is pure dogma, for mind is conscious of itself only as a unit.

Neither has she given us a moral, or judicial science. Even if she accepted the reliability of consciousness, there could be no moral, or judicial science, for her dogma is: "There is no sin, there is no evil; all is God and God is all." Even if man could do evil, which is impossible (of course we must not call to mind, at this point, that she charged one with stealing her copyright) it would be impossible to punish him, for there is no pain and there are no prison walls. All that the supposed criminal need do is not to cherish the mortal belief in regard to these things.

Another thing that should be here mentioned is that if the so-called Christian Science is truly scientific, it would have to be shown that the effects claimed to be produced by it, never and nowhere fail, and that they are not and cannot be produced

by any other system. Now this is exactly what is claimed. In both of these respects this claim is untrue. The pathway of Christian Science is lined with complete failures; and the cures which are effected by it, are also effected by any system of mind healing. When Mrs. Eddy claims that she has, or can demonstrate her theory, she gives the lie to her fundamental dogma, that there is no matter, that the five senses are false and that we can get no knowledge by them. She says: "I have healed a cancer that had so eaten the flesh of the neck as to expose the jugular vein so that it stood out like a cord." How did she get into possession of all these wonderful facts? Did some one tell her? Did she see it? Did she feel the hole or cord? The point is evident. Either she is false in her claims here, or her whole system is false. If you consult the index of her book on the subject of the senses, you will find this: "Their evidence never to be accepted." "Their evidence to be reversed." What indescribable nonsense all this is! When I think I see an object then I do not see it; and when I think I do not see it then I do see it. Then when Mrs. Eddy thought she had cured the cancer she caused a cancer, for that is inverting the testimony of the senses. No Christian Scientist ever lives a single day without contradicting the fundamental dogma of this nauseating cult. There is no cure effected by its practice that has not been duplicated by other methods which do not require us to throw away every vestige of reason in order to accept them. The only thing that any of these prove is the power of mind over body, but not an absolute power. This no intelligent man of to-day denies, except the advocates of this cult. On this point she says, referring to the book on mind healing: "They regard the human mind as a healing agent; whereas this mind is not a factor in the Principle of Christian Science." Thus the only bit of fact that can be found in this whole brush-pile of philosophical scraps, is thrown out. We must therefore conclude that it is not a science in any sense, but a most absurd piece of nonsense. We may now ask,

IS IT CHRISTIAN?

That only is Christian which accepts and conforms to the Bible, especially the New Testament. What is the relation of "Science and Health with Key to the Scriptures" to the Bible? Ostensibly it professes to be a spiritual explanation of the Bible. Upon investigation, we find that there is not a shadow of truth in this pretension. A more infamous falsehood has never been told. She does not claim equality with the Bible for her book, but superiority. It is first and its authority is final. The Bible is not even recommended to her blind followers, but all are commanded to possess and read her book, and give their time gratis to sell it. Where did she get this book? In one place she says that God gave it to her by special revelation, while at another place she says she discovered it. In which place, if in either, has she told the truth? Look at her claim to having it by revelation. In January of 1901 she said: "I should blush to write of 'Science and Health with Key to the Scriptures' as I have, were it of human origin, and I apart from God its author; but as I was only a scribe echoing the harmonies of heaven in divine metaphysics, I cannot be supermodest of the Christian Science text-book." Absurd and presumptuous as this statement is, some 50,000 people in the United States believe it, and worship this wicked woman more than Jesus. Her book is accepted in all things as the word of God just as much as the Bible is accepted in anything as that word. Judas-like it comes to the Scriptures with a "Key," but which in reality is a deadly dagger, covered with the rust of infidelity. The sole purpose of the book is to satisfy the greed of Mrs. Eddy, and to do this it must destroy the authority of the Bible, and this it seeks in every conceivable way to do.

The contents of the book itself will furnish all the evidences needed by any one who still has a bit of mortal mind left, after reading it, that God has had nothing to do with it. It is utterly devoid of all merits as literature, science, philosophy, or religion. But, possibly, she may have told the truth when she

said that she discovered it about 1866. A woman existing ever since the flood ought to discover something. Let us look into this claim. Bear in mind that she says she consulted no other book or writing, except the Bible.

In 1836 mesmerism was introduced in the United States by the Frenchman, Charles Poyan. In 1840 a Mr. P. P. Quinby was healed by him and soon became its most successful representative. His reputation soon spread and among the people who came to him was a Mrs. Glover Patterson. She was treated by him and healed, or at least she was very much helped. In 1862 she said: "I can see dimly at first, and as trees walking, the great principle which underlies Dr. Quinby's faith and works; and just in proportion to my right perception of truth is my recovery. This truth which he opposed to the error of giving intelligence to matter changes the currents of the system. The truth which he establishes in the patient cures him. This is a science capable of demonstration to those who reason upon the process." Dr. Quinby died January 16, 1866. Some time after this Mrs. Patterson fell upon the ice, which caused her considerable trouble. She wrote to Julius A. Dresser, who had been a close friend of Quinby, to come and heal her, urging that he was the only one who could take up the work of Quinby. Remember this was in 1862. Now let us pass on to 1883 and see what the same woman says: "We had laid the foundation of mental healing long before we ever saw Dr. Quinby. We made our first experience in mental healing about 1853, when we were convinced that mind had a science which, if understood, would heal all diseases." We can only say that this is an unadulterated piece of falsehood from lips which are evidently well versed in the art.

It has but recently been learned that Quinby left numerous manuscripts to which Mrs. Eddy had access, for copies made by her and given to friends have been found. In these manuscripts is found everything that can be found in her book, except the claim that it is a revelation. During the years 1868-'70 Mrs. Eddy lived at Stoughton, Mass., a fact she never tells. During these years she openly declared herself to be a disciple

and student of Quinby, and gave, or sold his manuscripts to her pupils. We have the testimony of the woman with whom she lived in 1864 to the effect that she spent many hours during the day questioning Quinby about the details of his system and writing them out at length in the evening. Let us then remember that Mrs. Eddy herself gives the whole credit for the discovery of this system to Dr. Quinby as late as 1870. Here is a brief extract of a copy of one of Quinby's manuscripts; it would not sound more natural if it were taken from her book: "Wisdom, Love and Truth is the principle of the idea and is health. Error is matter and all the sickness that can be is in it, for all would be harmony and health if controlled by Truth. Matter being but a belief, is constantly changing. To give intelligence to matter is an error which is sickness. This is all that can be sickness, viz., an error standing as science. Thus error is sickness. Truth is health. Error is matter. Truth is God. Etc." From this it will be seen that Dr. Quinby and not Mrs. Eddy discovered Christian Science. That does not make the thing any better, for both were illiterate, but Dr. Quinby was an honest man. Of course intelligence is of no benefit to Christian Scientists. On this point Mrs. Eddy says:

"No intellectual proficiency is necessary in the learner." Verily this is true.

As early as 1862, she says, "I began to write down and give to friends the results of my scriptural study." Perhaps this is true, but they were likely the scriptures of Dr. Quinby.

It follows, therefore, that she got her book, neither by revelation, or by discovery, but by a lumbering piece of plagiarism.

• But is it Christian, no matter whose work it is? Does it agree with the Bible? There is no fundamental doctrine of the Bible which is not denied in this book. We must necessarily be brief in establishing this charge. Let us turn our attention to her "Key," which does not unlock, but locks the Scriptures. She refers to the Old Testament as "The history of perpetual evil," and added that there is a "preponderance of unreality in the whole narrative." "The Book of Genesis is

the history of the untrue image of God, named mortal man." "The spiritual import of the Word often seems so smothered as to require explication." What do such statements mean, other than that the Old Testament is unreliable?

To how much of the Bible does she give us a "Key"? To the first four chapters of Genesis, part of the twelfth chapter of Revelation and to the twenty-first chapter of the same book, also to the twenty-third Psalm and to the Lord's Prayer.

Let us look at a few of these spiritual interpretations: Gen. 1 : 1, "Beginning," she says, "means the eternal verity and unity of God and man, including the universe." "The creative Principle—Life, Truth and Love—is God."

"Creation consists of the unfolding of spiritual ideas." Here she denies both the proper personality of God and the doctrine of an objective creation.

On Gen. 1 : 12, she says: "Christian Science, the Word of God, sayeth to the darkness upon the face of error, 'God is All-in-all.'" Here is a bright idea, but a flat contradiction of the text on Gen. 1 : 11, "The tree or herb does not yield fruit because of any propagating principle of its own, but because it reflects the mind which includes all." The tree and herb must therefore be forms of Mind, or of God. Again she tells us, "The seed is in itself, only as Mind is all and produces all. Mind is the multiplier, and Mind's idea, the universe, the product." Mind, or God, which is the same thing, is therefore both the creator and the creation. There is no existence objective to God. God is all and all is God. Where could you find a more grossly physical conception of God? A vessel that is full cannot be made fuller, we are told, so if God is all, there cannot be anything beside Him. As if God were measured and weighed as one buys potatoes and salt. God neither fills space, nor is His life computed by the almanac. If the language in Gen. 1 : 11, 12, means anything, it signifies that plant life is self propagating. On 1 : 14, we have this strange wisdom: "This text gives the idea of the refraction of thought as it ascends higher." "The periods of spiritual understanding are the days and seasons of Mind's creations." How extremely spiritual is her interpretation of Gen. 1 : 20: "The

fowls correspond to aspirations soaring beyond and above corporeality." Strange that Moses did not see so evident a fact.

Time does not permit us to look at any more of these Scripture contradictions. No sane person can accept them as even an effort at explanation. It is putting something else into the place of the plain statements of God's Word.

When she comes to the second chapter of Genesis, she declares everything from verse six on "Error's story." It is "false history." Contradicts all that has gone before. "It records Pantheism, as opposed to the supremacy of divine spirit." "In this erroneous theory, matter takes the place of spirit." "The lie claims to be Truth." "Is it the truth, or is it a lie? It must be the latter." Now we confess our contempt for the man who professes to be a Christian, and who allows one who is an utter stranger to the truth, to call Moses a liar. But one thing is true, either Mrs. Eddy's stolen book is a falsehood from start to finish, or there is no truth in the Bible.

Her treatment of Revelation is of the same character as that of Genesis. Her book is the "mighty angel" referred to in the tenth chapter. There are no angels in reality, what the Bible calls such, are only messages. She herself is the woman spoken of in Rev. 12 : 1. The goal of Christian Science is reached only by those who believe this abomination. Commenting upon 12 : 5, if we bear in mind that she claims that the female idea is superior to the male, she makes herself superior to Jesus. "This immaculate idea, represented first by man and last by woman, will baptize with fire."

Let me give you her "spiritual version" of the Lord's Prayer. One should think that she would have kept her unholy and wicked hands off this, but she has not. "Our Father-Mother God, all-harmonious, Adorable One. Thy kingdom is come, God is ever present and omnipotent. Enable us to know, as in heaven, so in earth, God is all in all. Give us grace for to-day; feed Thou the famished affections; and divine Love is reflected in love; And Love leadeth us not in temptation, but delivereth us from evil, sin, disease and death. For God is Substance, Intelligence, Life, Truth, Love."

In her chapter on prayer she rejects every scriptural teaching on the subject. There is no use of praying to God, for He cannot do more than love us. He is not moved by our prayers. "Audible prayer is impressive, but does it produce any lasting benefit?" This she answers in the negative. There is no good in praying for the sick. She says: "The only beneficial effect of such prayer is on the human mind, making it act more powerfully on the body, through a blind faith in God." "A belief in the unknown casting out a belief in sickness."

We have thus shown that this so-called Christian Science, is neither science, nor Christian, but unchristian nonsense.

HAS IT BEEN A BLESSING TO HUMANITY?

That depends on circumstances. Humanity is a very queer thing. What is sweet to one is bitter to another. That which would give a sane man a severe attack of seasickness, would make a fool happy. Christian Science has been a veritable fool's paradise. The happiest lot of people you can think of are such as thought they were sick and have discovered that they were only fooled by mortal mind. The world is full of people who imagine they are sick, when there is nothing the matter with them. For such Christian Science may be a blessing. They have only changed beliefs. Nothing ailed them and nothing cured them, blessed be nothing.

If we take for granted the claims of Christian Science we must certainly say that it has been a great blessing. In fact, about the only thing that has been a blessing. In the hey-day of its glory, "The less mind there is manifested in matter, the better. When the unthinking lobster loses its claw, it grows again. If the science of life were understood, it would be found that the senses of Mind are never lost, and that matter has no sensation. Then the human limb would be replaced as readily as the lobster's claw—not with an artificial limb, but with a genuine one" (pp. 384 and 5). What a blessing that will be to humanity. The amputation of a mere mortal belief-leg will have naught but pleasure in anticipation, when we are assured that a genuine one will soon grow in its place. The funny thing about this is that in case the lobster has a leg cut

off that it does not grow out again, and he is no better off than poor mortal man, who when he loses a finger nail has it replaced by a genuine one, but when it is a leg, the only one that he can get is an artificial one.

How great the blessing of the science that will make us as warm in a January blizzard as a June-day bride, or as cool on the fourth day of July as at Christmas. "If only this science were established," then "heat would pass from the body as painless as gas when it evaporates" (p. 374). In that day the fireman's job, as also that of the husband will be a very delightful one. There will be no more fires to kindle, or ashes to clean out. It will then be seen that "heat and cold are products of mind" (p. 373).

All this nonsense we can stand and in face of it we may say: "Where ignorance is bliss, 'tis folly to be wise." If a booby meet a booby coming through the rye, if a booby kiss a booby, need a body cry? But when this awful falsehood leads mothers and fathers to allow their little children, too young to decide for themselves, to burn up with a fever and to die in awful pain without turning a hand to relieve them, and even refusing kind friends to bring in aid, then we say that, if there is not, there ought to be, a place of righteous retribution.

ARTICLE IX.

CURRENT THEOLOGICAL THOUGHT.

I.

ENGLISH AND AMERICAN.

BY REV. M. COOVER, A.M.

Some reflections on evolution and science as echoes from the meeting of the Zoological Section of the American Association which was held in Washington in January of this year are given by Dr. George Macloskie in the *Bibliotheca Sacra* for April.

It is possible for an hypothesis to solve many mysteries and to explain natural forces and products so as to construct a most orderly system of knowledge, and yet not be able to serve as an answer to all the riddles of the universe. Evolution is found a master key to unlock many chambers of knowledge, yet it has not satisfactorily opened the door to human life, nor has it been able to conduct the earthly pilgrim into any assurance beyond the closed door terminating conscious physical existence. Science has not yet eliminated the creative factor in its teaching of origins. Evolution may account for man's physical structure and properties, but the intellectual and spiritual powers of man call for an independent explanation. Science may explain the evolution, but Revelation brings to knowledge the higher creative factor. Biologists all believe that man has been evolved, but just how, is a mystery yet. Professor Macloskie says, "Whatever may be the possibilities or probabilities, there is no difference of view among the scientists as to the matter of fact that the evolution of man is not yet scientifically established."

Comparison of the human brain capacity with that of monkeys has been the favorite method of showing the descent of man; but it has led to unsafe deductions, for not only cranial

capacity is a factor for study and solution, but the whole anatomical structure of man and monkey must be taken into account. Topinard, the French anthropological specialist, shows that while the foot of man and the posterior hand of the monkey are alike specialized and fixed, it is in opposite directions, and one is not derivable from the other. "It is manifestly impossible that the human species can be simian as to its brain, and anti-simian as to the limbs: and hence very reluctantly, and we might say sometimes with wry faces, the best biologists have been abandoning the simian ancestry."

Haeckel sought to eliminate the difficulty by taking the lemurs as an unspecialized order of primates from which both man and monkey were derived. But Haeckel blundered, for the lemurs are void of the "discoid placentation" which is characteristic of both man and monkeys.

Evolution as a law in the conduct of nature may be used deductively to explain the origins of structure, but as an explanation of man's complete personality we await the proof of facts. Though man be evolved, yet his probable physical descent even has not been consonously and indubitably ascertained.

In the *Biblical World* for June Dr. Masterman, a visitor to Jerusalem, gives an interesting account of the work of excavation by Mr. Macalister, of the Palestine Exploration Fund, on the site of ancient Gezer. This ancient site with its traces of a pre-historic cave-dwelling race using flint instruments and cremating its dead, dating from pre-Amorite days to the turbulent times of the warring Maccabees, is furnishing most valuable findings. At least seven periods of occupation are evidenced by the remains. Four walls were successively built about the city; the first an earth wall of the Amorite period, in the Abrahamic, or pre-Abrahamic age, built by a people using bronze implements in their rude forms of art, a religiously degraded race devoted to phallic worship. This mound boundary was succeeded by a rude stone wall constructed probably in the Tell el-Amarna correspondence period, a wall which

closed burial caves in which remains of bodies are yet found *in situ*.

Another massive stone wall fourteen feet thick with corner towers was built most likely in the age of Solomon, and probably by a Pharaoh; and lastly within this boundary a still greater wall was constructed by the hands of the sturdy Macabees.

Besides the interesting findings in the caves and cisterns consisting both of works of art and of human remains, the most sensational discovery is that of a megalithic temple of Baal consisting of eight uncovered monoliths, ranging from five to eleven feet in height, constructed in the days of the Amorite or Canaanite occupation.

Near the Baal shafts is a large stone socket used as a pedestal for the wooden pole erected as an Asherah. Here were conducted the orgies of the sensualistic worship condemned by Jehovah to destruction at the hands of the invading Israelites; some forms of which worship, however, continued to later periods of Israelitish occupancy, and received the most severe denunciations of the prophets of Israel.

Not far from these monoliths numerous jars have been unearthed, each containing the skeleton of a newly-born infant. The sacrifice of the first born was apparently associated with this sensual worship of Baal and Astarte. The higher Semitic religious conception of the Hebrew race, though allied to the general customs of Semitic orientalism, is manifested in the humane law of the redemption of the first born. The site of Gezer has furnished as yet the most encouraging and profitable excavations in Palestine.

The Expository Times for June contains numerous suggestive archeological and expository notes.

The spirit of Paul, the apostle to the gentiles, manifests itself in his companion and fellowworker, Luke. And Luke in his Gospel presents Jesus as the friend of gentile and Samaritan. He takes pleasure in selecting and recording those parables of Jesus which show favor to the classes which the haughty Jews despised.

In his *Jesu Muttersprache* Dr. Arnold Meyer adds another instance of Luke's selective attention in respect of the wide sympathy of Jesus.

Of the many lepers Elisha cures one, a man outside the Israelitish fold, Naaman, the Syrian; and of the widows of penury, Elijah helps one, a Syrophenician woman; Hebrew, or gentile? The Peshita has gentile, and the Palestinian Syriac, gentile; but the Estrangelo-Syriac palimpsest has "widow." Mrs. Lewis notes in her translation of the latter, that the shortening of one letter would give "heathen" instead of "widow." Dr. Meyer emends the text of Luke 4 : 26, and shows the appreciation of Jesus of the faith of the gentile world. Jesus significantly notes the action of Israel's earliest prophets, Elijah and Elisha, ministering to Syrians.

It has been the teaching of the Higher Critics that the early Hebrews were polytheists, and that the first commandment, in its traditional time, is an anachronism. Even Elijah at best was but a henotheist, since the conception of pure monotheism did not arise until the prophets Amos and Hosea. To Elijah Jahweh was the greatest of gods, but, "besides him there is none other," is a sentiment lacking in the earliest prophetic teaching. But Babylonia is the historic mother of Semitic conceptions, and among the early Babylonians apparently Marduk was the sole god, and not merely supreme among the gods. The other gods mentioned in the Babylonian Pantheon are but modal manifestations of the one god Marduk.

Dr. Pinches in translation of a fragment of a Babylonian Cuneiform tablet discovered that when "Marduk is to be thought of as the Possessor of Power, he is called Ninib; when he is the Lord of Battle he is Nergal; when he is Possessor of Lordship he is Bel; when he is Lord of Business he is Nebo; when he is Illuminator of Night he is Sin; when Lord of all he is Shamash; and when God of Rain he is called Addu."

The asserted illiteracy of the Mosaic age has been silently

dropped; and now monotheism appears before the Abrahamic age. It is well not to be too critically dogmatic.

"There are more things in heaven and earth than our philosophy has dreamed of," and the conjecture of Colonel Conder is at least a possibility. Were the ten commandments written in alphabetic letters? Colonel Conder thinks not. The age of Moses was an age of Cuneiform writing. The Tell el-Amarna correspondence, 1400 B. C., shows the literary form of the period to have been cuneiform.

Were the two tables of the law chiseled stone, or man-made stone—brick? Colonel Conder thinks they were bricks covered with cuneiform characters, and that the Pentateuchal history and legislation was at the first engraved on bricks. The Phoenician characters came into use at the time of the early Hebrew monarchy, and then a transliteration was made from cuneiform to Phoenician script.

It was in this transliteration from cuneiform to alphabetic Hebrew that scribal inefficiency through uncritical literalness transcribed the duplicate divine names, Jahweh, and Elohim, upon which the documentary hypothesis of the structure of the Pentateuch is based. Professor Sayce, however, expresses the opinion that the author of the Genesis story had in mind the Babylonian Gilgamesh Epic which gave rise to the duplicate divine names. Colonel Conder's theory places the cuneiform and alphabetic scripts side by side in the age of Hezekiah. But the Siloam Inscription of that period, as well as the Moabite Stone, *circa* 850 B. C., are solely in alphabetic writing. We await a brick from the Pentateuchal library.

The man with the most names may be the least known. Who was Lebbeus, Thaddeus, Judas of James, the Judas, not Iscariot, of the apostolate? In the apocryphal *Acta Thomae* and the Syrian *Doctrina Apostolorum*, as well as in the Abgar legend by Eusebius, there is prominent mention of one "Judas Thomas." Tradition says that the apostle Thomas was a brother of our Lord, and even that he was a twin brother, for

Thomas is not a name, but a title, and means "twin," so that Thomas was somebody's twin brother. The Syriac document calls him "Twin of the Messiah, and Apostle of the Most High." A later Syrian tradition identifies Thomas with Thaddeus. Who then was "Judas Thomas?"

Mrs. Agnes Smith Lewis offers a conjecture that he was a brother of Jesus, a twin brother of James the Lord's brother. The apostolic names Judas and Thomas refer to one individual, and "Judas Thomas" is Jude, the author of the Epistle bearing that name. If Jude was brother of James, he was brother of our Lord. Though he might distinguishingly and rightly claim himself brother of our Lord, he yet describes himself in his Epistle as brother of James. This seems to Mrs. Lewis to signify Jude's closer relation to James of twin brother.

None of the Lord's brethren believed on him during his earthly ministry, for though Jude, his brother, was an apostle, he was Judas Thomas, the doubting apostle, who vacillated in his faith. Mrs. Lewis asks that her words be taken only suggestively and not dogmatically.

The seemingly deceitful "borrowing" of gold and silver jewels by the Israelites upon their departure from Egypt has been the cause of some critical anxiety on the part of not a few Christians. The incident makes questionable the morality of the people of Israel, and also casts a most serious reflection upon the moral character of Jehovah who commanded the deed. But it is not a serious moral matter after all, but just a matter of our ignorance of oriental customs. The children of Israel did not "borrow," but in accurate translation of the Hebrew, they "asked," and the quality of the asking is very clearly shown by Dr. Trumbull in his *Studies in Oriental Social Life*.

The Israelites impoverished in Egypt were able in the wilderness to bring much golden treasure to Aaron to mould a golden calf; and after the destruction of the idol, were able to furnish great treasures of gold and silver at the call of Moses for the adornment of the temple, or sacred tent. The riches of oriental peoples were almost exclusively worn on the body

as ornaments, or secretly in the garments. Women were laden with bracelets, anklets, rings for fingers, nose and ear, chaplets for the hair, and brooches and chains of coins for the neck. There were no banks for the safe deposit of wealth, and every possessor must care for his own treasure.

A wife might be divorced at any moment at the whim of the husband, and she was then obliged at once to abandon the home, and was dispossessed of all property save what she wore on her own person. Her jewels were her absolute property, and all her personal treasure was worn for bodily adornment. The treasures of jewelry in all European museums, discovered in Egyptian tombs, show the wealth of possessions worn in this form. The traveler in the East to-day finds the same customs yet prevailing in Arabia and Egypt.

"Bakhsheesh" is demanded on every hand for every trivial or useful service. Not only the stipulated pay is expected for promised services, but to prove to all persons, and especially to friends of the servant that the service rendered has been satisfactory, an additional gift is always asked for and given on parting. The neglected and unpaid final bakhsheesh as a parting gift calls forth the deepest wail from the guide or attendant, for the satisfactory character of his service is at stake. The guide who journeyed with Dr. Hilprecht into the Lebanon region was appointed by the Sisters in the hospital of the Knights of St. John, at Beyrout. After the safe return and the payment to the muleteer of the amount agreed upon, the guide asked for additional bakhsheesh. Dr. Hilprecht protestingly said that he had barely money enough to see him back to Alexandretta; but upon insistence he sacrificed his last coin, and went hungry for fifty-two hours in deference to his muleteer, who declared he could not face the Sisters who recommended him unless he showed the gift which was a proof of satisfactory service.

When the people of Israel left Egypt they asked a parting gift. And the Lord said, "I will give this people favor in the sight of the Egyptians: and it shall come to pass, that, when ye go, ye shall not go empty; but every woman shall ask of her neighbor, and of her that sojourneth in her house,

jewels of silver, and jewels of gold, and raiment; and ye shall put them upon your sons, and upon your daughters; and ye shall spoil (carry away the treasures of) the Egyptians." "And they asked of the Egyptians jewels of silver, and jewels of gold, and raiment; and the Lord gave the people favor in the sight of the Egyptians, so that they let them have what they asked." Many of the difficulties of Biblical criticism are explainable by studies in archeology and oriental customs.

The Christian consciousness is a witness-bearer of the truth of our religion. That which is suited to our absolute need, which finds in the world's circumstances of sin an unfailing adaptation and adequate power for moral recovery, has a claim to authority for faith in it. But the ultimate ground of Christian certainty is not our personal religious consciousness. That which certifies to the religious consciousness is above that consciousness itself.

If the reality of the divineness and supernaturalness of our Saviour be minimized by naturalistic interpretations of his origin and character, works and profession, our religious consciousness cannot excel the humanistic limitations of our interpreted Redeemer. We may embalm Jesus in all the ethical beauty of a manly character, but if we deny him divinity, and divine properties and powers, we eliminate him from the role of a Saviour.

The most intelligent religious consciousness must see in Jesus divinity. The superhuman character of Jesus is revealed not merely in what he says and does, but in how he does it. His deeds are great not simply in power, but in the wise use of that power,

He is not a Moses with Aaron's wand. He does not turn a river into blood, nor produce a murrain, or a plague. He is unique in goodness as well as power, in wisdom of action as well as might of execution. He is seen to be superhuman not merely in his thoughts and deeds, but under the conditions and forms of exercising them.

None but a divine mind could unerringly choose the proper time, discern the appropriate conditions for action, and abstain

from humanitarian weakness in lavishing unfitting benefactions to men's injury instead of their blessing and salvation. A divinity of wisdom runs through every deed, and every choice of miraculous action. Give a mere man such divine power and who could curb his excesses, and restrain his folly?

Only a Jesus is able to handle the intricacies of perfect action. It takes more than divinity of power to make a Messiah. Mere omnipotence cannot constitute a Savior. It demands pre-eminence in everything that combines to form true character and adequate moral discernment to constitute a Christ for the world's redemption.

We do not see Jesus banishing conditions of penury from society. He would relieve the distress of immediate hunger, but never repeals the condition of human poverty. He taught men to pray for daily, not weekly, bread. He scattered neither drachmas nor denarii to relieve the poor. Yet his miracles are as necessary for human faith as his teaching, for his miracles convey and teach necessary doctrine.

In the sermon on the mount Jesus proclaims his doctrine of righteousness; in his healing miracles he teaches the doctrine of faith. Righteousness, love and hope are taught in the sermon on the mount, but not the principles of faith. This essential element is brought forth in the instruction which miracles teach. Take away the miracles and their moral setting and you practically expunge Jesus' doctrine of faith. His lavish hand and bounteous spontaneity of miraculous benefits were not simply to alleviate promiscuous temporal discomforts, or show forth his divine character. A deep moral purpose is discoverable in his constant calling attention to faith while he works his miraculous deeds. Both word and miracle are absolute essentials for saving doctrine and redemptive efficacy. Only the superhuman can save from human entanglement in subversive, destructive sin. The religious consciousness must be certified to by a greater religious fact.

II.

GERMAN.

BY PROFESSOR S. GRING HEFELBOWER, A.M.

Last year Otto Scheel, Privatdocent in Kiel University, published a pamphlet on *Luther's Attitude to Holy Scripture*, which has called forth considerable comment among theologians, perhaps more because of his interpretations of passages from Luther in the interests of modern biblical criticism, than because of any worth that his booklet may have. In a word, he would make Luther a forerunner of the destructive criticism of to-day in the fullest sense of the word, even going so far as to claim that Luther recognized only a limited authority in the apostles.

He finds in Luther's writings two classes of declarations concerning Scripture; in the one of which Luther establishes the worth of Scripture on religious rather than on historical grounds, while in the other there are mediaeval elements, which, more than the former, are remnants of a past development, and which Luther himself could not perceive as fetters. The former "grew out of Luther's experience of salvation. He finds the word of God in Scriptures, which presents itself to the heart as truth, and thereby loses the character of an external, legal authority". "The content of this Word of God is Christ, a fundamental principle which justifies a religious criticism, even of that which is apostolical". This the author regards as normative for Luther's entire position; in a word, he would make a modern critic out of the Reformer.

Of course he finds some expressions that are apparently contradictory, but they can be explained away. However, his explanations are not satisfactory to all students of Luther's works, and many of his interpretations are regarded as gross misinterpretation. Walther, of Rostock, in No. 19 of the *Theologisches Literaturblatt*, shows clearly that, though Luther often assumed a very free attitude toward Holy Scripture, he was very far from having either the spirit or the methods of the modern critics.

In the next No. of this journal Walther reviews a pamphlet by Pastor Kapp, of Ittenheim in Elsass, on *Religion and Ethics in the Christianity of Luther*, from which we condense the following.

However in noting the tendency of this book and Walther's criticism of it, we must remember that Ritschlianism has emphasized the ethical elements in Christianity at the expense of the doctrinal elements, and that the theological stress of recent decades has lead many theologians to seek in the works of Luther solutions for the many perplexing problems of the day. This last named tendency was probably greatly augmented by the attempts of Ritschl and his followers to use Luther in support of their favorite tenets, and by their criticism of his work as incomplete and needing the finishing hand of Ritschl. The result has been that a great deal of earnest and thorough investigation and discussion has centered about the theme of this pamphlet, and the tendency has generally been away from the extreme positions of Ritschlianism and toward a more conservative, if not the traditional, view.

As to the formulation of the subject of the pamphlet, Walther thinks, with Kapp, "that there is something suspicious connected with approaching historical quantities with theological problems in modern forms". Luther did not speak of religion, but of faith, and knows only one faith, which is the Christian. And Kapp should have informed the reader whether he understood by moral, the attitude of the Christian in all things, or only toward the world and men. However, this is clear, that the thing treated is that which Luther called the relation between faith and good works. It is indeed absolutely necessary to do away with the confusion which Ritschl and Herrmann and their successors brought about by attempting to have Luther answer their problems. Both declared that Luther's derivation of morality from faith was insufficient, and sought to surpass it by another. *The Moral Motive Power of Faith*, by Thieme of Leipzig, is an earnest attempt to present Luther's position fully and objectively. It offered such an abundance of deep thoughts of Luther, which were not sufficiently pondered,

that the mist began to clear away, which the criticism of the Reformer, resulting from a lack of acquaintance with his theology, had produced. Even Herrmann could no longer maintain his former judgment; "However we cannot deny that Luther remained in the path of Catholic tradition in so far that he speaks much too indefinitely of the derivation of good works from faith. If we want to advance on the way of Luther, we must develop in clearer speech also the inner processes, in which the inner life of faith unfolds itself. As a result of this, that Luther solved this problem only imperfectly, the dangerous conception has grown, even in his Church, that an impersonal power, which they claim is present in faith, gives man the capacity to will that which is good." In the third edition of his *Verkehr des Christen mit Gott* he acknowledged that he had learned from Thieme's book "in what richness of conception Luther had grasped this inner process of moral emancipation through faith." Of course his conception of good works differs so widely from that of Luther that all those declarations of Luther concerning the source of good works fail to satisfy him. We have at least advanced so far, that the old objection that Luther is satisfied with the mere assertion "that faith, according to its very nature, must do good works", need not be treated as worthy of further consideration. The chief problem now is, how the different derivations of morality from faith by Luther are to be understood; whether they are to be united, perhaps even to be joined closely into one brief formula, or whether we must consider them as only partly correct and not sufficing.

Kapp treats his subject in three parts. The first presents *The Religious Side of Luther's Christianity*, the fundamental religious character, and the valuation of the ethical within this fundamental conception. The second part presents *The Moral of Luther's Christianity*, which includes both its ethical content and the heights and limitations of his moral understanding. The third section shows *The Combination of the Ethical and the Religious Elements*, the religious basis of the ethical and the genesis of the ethical from the religious. As can be easily

noticed from this arrangement, the author does not belong to the orthodox Lutherans. Therefore it is all the more pleasing that in many respects he gives us more correct information concerning Luther's views than that which we have been accustomed to hear since the time of Ritschl. In many places he comes into close touch with Theime, yet he has a more accurate conception of Luther's teaching concerning the springing of the moral life from faith. We can note here the same course as in Luther's teaching concerning the Scripture. Ritschl presented an entirely new view; his followers accepted it and spread it abroad as irrefutable truth; the investigations of non-Ritschlians, above all that of Lepsius, which were called forth by this, compelled even Harnack, in the third edition of his *History of Doctrine*, to begin a retreat.

Hausleiter, of Greifswald, in a review of the last edition of Juelicher's *New Testament Introduction*, a work of considerable importance, calls attention to the author's marked change in his treatment of the Fourth Gospel. In the first edition he considered John's Gospel a philosophical production with a religious tendency, written probably in the beginning of the second century, hence almost worthless as a source for studying the historical events of Christ's life, but of great value as a primitive source for knowing the early form of the conception of Jesus which was to obtain in the Church later. Juelicher had no exact information concerning the original author, who was probably the greatest thinker of the Church of that time. He could not say from what district he came nor to what school he belonged. It is commonly believed the book was written in Asia, but since he considered it necessary to break with tradition in everything else, it would not be wise to insist upon this.

The last edition of his *Introduction* flatly contradicts some of these assertions. The theory that the Fourth Gospel was written as a philosophical creation is rejected as an out-lived and one-sided view. It is a work, born of the needs of the times, throughout apologetic and for the most part an arrange-

ment of the gospel history for the purpose of answering Jewish objections to the Gospel, as it had been taught until that time. Juelicher's change of position is no less marked in the matter of authorship. He recognizes a close relation between this gospel and the disciple of Jesus that lived so long in Asia, and of whom we have definite information through Polycarp and Irenaeus, who was probably John, the son of Zebedee. An enthusiastic admirer of this man was the evangelist, who was inspired to write by the stress of the times. The motive principle of the gospel is shown in the following: "The writer could not be a child of his times, if he paid more attention to the tradition from John than to the needs of the hour. The addresses of Jesus are mostly his own work, and likewise his keen reconstruction of the account of the passion." "That which gave him confidence for his work, was the conviction that he could reproduce with exactness the picture of Christ, as he had received it from the Apostle. The result is that the book contains much that is subjectively true, and much that is objectively doubtful. The second edition also differs from the first in that it does not hesitate to mention the place where the Gospel was written. "Why should we seek this enthusiastic admirer of the Apostle elsewhere than in Ephesus, where this disciple worked so many years."

We see that Juelicher has made great progress in seven years in his treatment of the Johannine problem. But this has been the course of most men who have attacked the Fourth Gospel. Bretschneider in Tzschirner's *Magazine fuer Prediger*, of 1824, speaks much more conservatively than he did in his *Probabilia* of 1820, and many others have shown like development. It is easy for intellectual zeal to be destructive in its criticism, but prolonged contact with and study of this Gospel makes a man, to a certain degree, helpless before its peculiar power, and compels him, perhaps in some instances against his will, to believe that it had some very close relation to those who were near to Christ.

During January of this year, Dr. Hilprecht, of the Univer-

sity of Pennsylvania, delivered lectures in Leipzig and Berlin on the results of the excavations at Nippur. Among other things, he said that he never had received such an object lesson concerning the irrefutable truth of Old Testament prophecies as in the great fields of ruins in the earliest civilized district of the world, between the Tigris and the Euphrates. "On the basis of my fifteen years study of cuneiform inscriptions, I must declare the attempt impossible, which was recently made, to derive the pure monotheistic idea of the God of the Israelites from Babylonian sources. The faith of the Chosen People was: 'Hear, oh Israel, the Lord our God is one God,' and this faith can never spring from the Babylonian mount of gods".

This last statement was evidently intended to contradict Delitzsch's assertions in his much discussed pamphlet *Babel und Bibel*. Soon there appeared a statement, signed by Delitzsch and four other assyriologists, who were only his assistants, which on the basis of reports, declared false certain of Dr. Hilprecht's statements in regard to the amount of work he had done in this field, and sought to discredit him generally as a scientist. Dr. Hilprecht's rejoinder showed that their criticisms were utterly without foundation, and that they were not acquainted with the latest literature on this subject. Some journals plainly hint that it was a cowardly way of trying to cover up their inability to reply to him. Luthardt's church paper says that they chose the way of personal depreciation in order to discredit the statements of a fellow specialist, who made them uncomfortable.

The theological position of Emperor William has been quite uncertain for a long time. Both conservative and liberal leaders have in turn assured the public that his views coincided with those of their respective parties. But during recent years, most of the facts that have become known seemed to show a marked preference for the more liberal way of thinking, as represented by Harnack. In fact it is claimed and generally believed, that the Emperor, contrary to custom, though not exercising authority that was not vested in him, secured

Harnack's transfer from Marburg to Berlin, which was against the very strong opposition of the Berlin faculty. Recently, especially during and since Harnack's year of service as Rector Magnificus of the University, he has received the very highest marks of Royal appreciation; the Emperor has repeatedly referred to his great service as an investigator and an educator, and during the Winter of 1901 and 1902 he invited him to the palace a number of times, an honor which was not shown to any other member of the theological faculty. Of course all this gave Harnack great prominence in court circles, and led the general public to believe that his type of theological thought was preferred by the Emperor to all others. Then last year the fact that Delitzsch was requested to repeat his lecture on *Babel und Bibel* in the palace, after the Emperor already had heard it once, strengthened this conviction. And when Delitzsch delivered his second lecture on *Babel und Bibel* before the German Oriental Society, the Emperor was present again. All these things seemed to form a net of conclusive circumstantial evidence that Emperor William sympathized rather with the negative tendency than with the orthodox party in the Church.

Of course his opinion was only that of an individual, but it was the opinion of the first man in the Empire, and of course had great influence. And then, too, according to the organization of the Prussian Church, he, as king of Prussia, is Summus Episcopus of the State Church, which gives his theological opinions a quasi official importance.

Several years ago already, the people began to speak of "court theology," and it was taken up and discussed by the secular and religious press. Of course the liberal papers praised the Emperor's sound judgment and did not hesitate to say that it meant a great deal for the final triumph of the so-called "modern theology," to have won the Emperor to their way of thinking. On the other hand, the conservative papers openly and severely criticised him for having taken this stand, and did not hesitate to draw uncomplimentary comparisons between the present "court theology" and that of old Emperor

William I, who was pronouncedly conservative. Then when he honored Delitzsch's second lecture on *Babel und Bibel* last January with his presence, and when the lecture appeared as a pamphlet and informed the public on the first page that it had been delivered before the Emperor and Empress, the criticism of the conservative press burst forth with renewed zeal, for this last lecture showed no essential change in position from the former and was evidently intended more as a blow at belief in revelation than as a discussion of the relation between the Bible and Babylonian civilization from the standpoint of the Assyriologist.

During all this time the Emperor had not expressed his attitude to the questions involved, and, though the public were repeatedly assured that he was quite conservative, they remained skeptical. But this uncertainty prevails no longer. The Germans know now pretty definitely what their Emperor believes. Under date of Feb. 15th, 1903, he wrote Admiral Hollmann, head of the German Oriental Society, a letter which was evidently intended to meet this criticism. And he has satisfied his conservative critics pretty well. His letter contains some things that are hazy and others that are positively objectionable, but in the cardinal points, he declares himself to stand clearly with the orthodox party. He unequivocally expresses his belief in the full divinity of Christ, and describes his position as "diametrically opposed" to that of Delitzsch. He could also have added that it was diametrically opposed to his friend Harnack's teaching on this subject. He also dissented from Delitzsch's views on revelation and did not hesitate to criticise the Professor severely. Also in this his position differs just as widely from that of Harnack. Luthardt's paper sums the matter up thus: "At all events, the Emperor will not have a court theology that disputes the fundamentals of the Christian faith."

Under such conditions Harnack could not well keep still. But the situation was quite complicated. He seemed to realize that the rebuke that Delitzsch had received fitted him just as well, therefore in self-defence he must at least make a feint at

defending Delitzsch, and it must be done in such a way as not to offend the Emperor. The result was an article in the *Preussischen Jahrbuechern*, which for the most part was a skillful bit of dodging. However, he shows himself to be thoroughly in sympathy with Delitzsch. The episode seems to be closed so far as the Emperor is concerned, but the Babel-Bibel controversy has been renewed, of which more later.

ARTICLE X.

REVIEW OF RECENT LITERATURE.

IMPORTED BY CHARLES SCRIBNER'S SONS.

Nova Solyma the Ideal City; or Jerusalem Regained. An anonymous romance written in the time of Charles I, now first drawn from obscurity and attributed to the illustrious John Milton. With Introduction, Translation, Literary Essays and a Bibliography, by the Rev. Walter Begley. (In two vols., 9x6; pp. xxi, 359, xi, 414; price \$5.00.)

These two well-printed, vellum-backed volumes contain the substance of a book of 392 pages of Latin prose and verse printed in 1648 but allowed to remain in obscurity for more than two and a half centuries. It was brought before English readers a few months ago with the claim in its behalf that an unknown work by John Milton had just been discovered. The skepticism aroused by such an announcement would doubtless have been stronger than it is but for the recollection that so recently as 1823 a Latin manuscript containing *The Christian Doctrine* was found and is now published as an unquestioned part of Milton's works. That the reviewers have not been unduly skeptical is evident from the fact that several of the foremost have already admitted the reasonableness of the contention made for the *Nova Solyma* by its discoverer.

The editor and translator states with commendable fairness the difficulties of the task he has assumed, though he somewhat impairs confidence in his judgment by the dignity he assigns (p. 76) to the Shakespeare-Bacon controversy. For ordinary purposes his translation would be worthy of all praise for its idiomatic and graceful style, making it easier reading than any acknowledged work of Milton either in the poet's English or in a rendition from his Latin. The translator is perhaps as fair as one greatly interested in the establishment of a theory

can be, and yet he sometimes indulges in unwarranted Miltonic words and forms. To ascertain just how far this is carried one should follow with the Latin edition at one's elbow. Opportunity for this to some extent is given in the copious extracts, especially the poetical, supplied from the original in an appendix.

Mr. Begley's arguments for the authorship of the work are drawn from the well-known sentiments and accomplishments of Milton, his Pythagorean principles, his pedagogical ideas, his fondness for music and his religious views. The superiority of the Latin, notably the verse with its striking imitations of the onomatopoeia of the classics, is vigorously urged in evidence. Several passages selected for strength and beauty are considered in detail. Many special words and phrases and even a few errors are cited as matching some in Milton's acknowledged works. When all these are marshalled together the array of evidence is certainly imposing. In many cases the resemblance does not need to be pointed out but is patent to any one familiar with Milton.

The argument is, unconsciously perhaps but inevitably, weakened when some of the opinions in the romance are traced to men of the time who were associated with Milton, as, for instance, some of the thoughts on education to Thomas Young, Milton's tutor. Ideas thus found in several writers were evidently "in the air" and Milton was less original in advancing them than he has credit for. Of course ideas that belong to a common stock cannot be used to settle questions of authorship. Neither must excellent Latinity be made to count for too much. In the days when Latin was still the current language of scholars there were many good Latinists. Milton had probably no more in common with the author of *Nova Solyma* than with Du Bartas or Joost van den Vondel.

The "Armada Epic" is an included fragment whose patriotic sentiments, religious sympathies and lofty style are greatly relied upon to prove the Miltonic origin of the whole romance. But its inconsistencies with Milton's thought and style as well as its resemblances to them must be considered in order to reach a valid conclusion. Compare the barbarous and meaningless designations of the angels, Architheus, Zatheus, Ergotheus, Mystotheus, Opsitheus, Autotheus and the like with the melodious and profoundly significant names of Milton's spirits! Can anything so weakly artificial be found even in the poet's least mature efforts? The author of the romance by a superficial mark identifies the classical Jupiter with the biblical Beelzebub, Milton identifies the same divinity with Mammon, "the god of this world," running the identification into so many particulars and fortifying it so strongly that it would seem impossible to have passed from one conception over into the other. Can it be conceived that the poet who makes Michael (Justice) commander-in-chief of God's host in another

work put the characterless Architheus (Captain of God) into the same high office? In the "Armada Epic" Terror is represented as an ally of Christ and his angels against the Spanish fleet; in Milton Death is not an ally of Heaven but an offspring of Hell. Terror's cave, located in the Arctic seas, has applied to it in the translation (the error is not in the original) the same words, "of amplitude almost immense," with which Milton describes the magnitude of the created universe. The laugh of Terror, which Mr. Begley finds so impressive, is a shallow-fancy, a mere rhetorical device compared with the profound significance in the "ghastly smile" of Milton's Death.

A strong reason against the Miltonic authorship of the romance lies in its lack of unity. The story is a mere thread upon which are strung, with little regard to order or sequence, speculations on education, philosophy, poetry, abstract politics, religion and theories of worship. Many incidents of the narrative have no vital connection with it. Milton's works are the very opposite in this respect. *Paradise Lost*, even more than this romance, is a storehouse of human science and speculation, but it has perfect organism and unity. It would seem impossible to attain equal unity without the support of a life-long habit founded in a natural sense of order.

Could young Milton have discussed so calmly and distantly the subjects of religion and politics amid the fierce agitations of 1648 and the preceding years? Could he have written as if unaware that the themes on which he wrote were absorbing all the earnest thought of his countrymen? When we reflect upon prevailing conditions we cease to wonder that the book written for quiet times remained unread. The writer wishes, he says, "after the manner of Apelles to take his stand out of sight, behind his picture, so as to hear what the passers by, the critics, and the men of the age, might say about it." How different from the Milton we have pictured, if at such a time he could be supremely concerned about the fate of a literary venture! Would duty, to say nothing of impulse, have permitted him to muffle his words in a foreign tongue and to hide even the name which to this day is hateful to pretenders in church and state. From this point of view it would almost seem as if no Englishman could have written the book, just as evidently few Englishmen cared to read it.

There is a kind of mysticism, inconsistent with what we know of the strong-minded Milton, found here and there throughout the work. It is most noticeable in the discussions about sorcery, trance, demoniacal possession and loss of God's presence. For instance, the ideal character called Joseph and supposed by Mr. Begley to represent Milton himself, suddenly and unaccountably falls into deep mental anguish, because of God's withdrawal, and then as unaccountably, after a severe spiritual struggle is honored with an ecstatic vision. With Milton spiritual distress was traceable to its cause in some specific sin; his

mind was too healthy to torment itself with causeless fears; his interest and participation in public affairs was a constant antidote to the diseases bred by solitude. He never forgot the dignity of human nature; even when Adam and Eve came in penitence before the Almighty after their "first disobedience" their port was not that "of mean suitors."

This romance was doubtless known to Milton and used by him as he used many inferior books. As Shakespeare stood in the midst of a group of great dramatists and in a sense was upborne upon their shoulders, so Milton had the support of sound and serious thinkers, not all Englishmen, in his day. From this work we may better understand the kind of atmosphere in which the great Puritan poet lived and wrote.

But while we are obliged to dissent from the conclusion of Mr. Begley as to the origin of the work we are far from denying its interest and excellence. Though in quality below the standard of the greatest mind of the seventeenth century, it is nevertheless a worthy product of a grand and serious age. The whole is readable, but the parts are better than the whole, and it would be a pleasure, if space were available, to draw attention to some of the best things, such as the Bridal Song and the wholesome religious sentiment of many chapters. May the sobering influence, inactive for a quarter of a millennium, descend into the thinking of our day.

J. A. HIMES.

THE LUTHERAN PUBLICATION SOCIETY, 1424 ARCH ST., PHILADELPHIA.

Meditations for the Passion Season. Translated from the German by Charles E. Hay, D.D. Pp. 238. Price 75 cents net.

This book satisfies the need of an orderly devotional exercise for the home observance of Lententide. Scripture readings, spiritual meditations and prayers, are here found adapted to every day of the Passion Season from Ash Wednesday to Easter. The book guides the devotions of the busy house father, and prepares the mind and heart of the family for the more stately public services of the sanctuary. Similar devotional helps for private worship during the whole year would be an incentive to family prayers, and a stimulus to spirituality, extending the piety annually compressed into the period of the Passion Season.

The work is a translation of the "Haus-Agende" of George Christian Dieffenbach. The prayers have been adapted by Dr. Hay, the translator. Appended is a harmony of the four Gospels on the Lord's Passion, giving a connected history of the sacred events which occurred during Passion Week. In the selection of subjects for meditation several instances of the repetition of themes occur.

The lesson for Thursday of the first week in Lent presents the Palm

Sunday topic; and the lesson of the Holy Supper on Thursday of Passion Week is preceded by a meditation on the same theme on Thursday of the second week in Lent.

While the treatment of the themes as spiritual meditations is chiefly for devotional exercise and personal piety, doctrinal bias is occasionally manifest. The meditation on the celebration of the Lord's Supper for Thursday of Passion Week, which is the longest meditation in the book, advocates the type of doctrine presented in the Formula of Concord, from which quotations are taken at considerable length. Oral reception and manducation of the body of Christ is taught. The sacrament is for the healing of the diseases of the body as well as for the nourishment of the soul. In the strengthening and preserving of the new life the bodily nature of Christ restores the believer's body, and the elements of the sacrament become "the medicine of immortality," according to the teaching of Chrysostom. The grosser nature of a resurrected body, or as expressed in the earlier form of the creed, of "the resurrection of the *flesh*," was extremely pushed to resist the stern denial on the part of heretics of any bodily resurrection. A restoration of the whole bodily organism was taught, including a re-incorporation even of lost hair and the products of manicure. To effect restored bodily perfection the elements of the Lord's Supper were deemed a "medicine of immortality," the divine corporeal giving renewal to the human corporeal structure. Oral reception and manducation of the body of Christ is a natural concomitant of this extreme tenet of belief. Exegesis of all the words of institution and biblical statement concerning this sacrament furnishes no adequate ground for this view. It may not hurt one to believe this doctrine; nor ought one to be hurt, or deemed unlutheran, if he cannot believe it.

M. COOVER.

An Adventurous Quest. A Story of Three Boys. By Laura Scherer Copenhaver. Rung Prize Series. Cloth, 12mo. Pp. 405. \$1.25

The book derives its title from the admonition written in Paul Hillis' Bible by his mother, bidding him work only for "the highest." Indulged by his relatives, and with an undue appreciation of his own ability, he enters upon college life. Here he meets the other boys of the story, Alexander Bernheim and John Poddington. "Poddy" makes no pretension of goodness, "Rock" is all that his nickname suggests, but Paul fails miserably in his quest during his first year. It is only when he is made to realize his self-conceit and Pharisaism that he rises to anything like true manhood. Severe chastening just as a brilliant career opens before him, finally teaches him humility and submission, and develops within him nobility of character. The three girls who figure in the story are true-hearted and lovable, and reveal the influence of womanhood for good.

The author shows familiarity not only with college life, but with life in a college town as well. The story is well told and abounds with pathos and power. A good Christian tone pervades all its chapters, and the attention of the reader is held to the end. The book deserves a place in every Sunday-school library.

Baron Stiegel. By Rev. M. H. Stine, Ph.D. Rung Prize Series. Cloth, 12mo. Pp. 331. \$1.25.

Among the early Lutheran settlers in south-eastern Pennsylvania, tradition has preserved the name of Baron Stiegel to the people of Lancaster County. His strong personality and simple piety have not yet lost their influence in the community where he was known. But it has remained for the author to gather up the loose strands of history and fable, and weave them into a lasting fabric which pictures unimpaired the salient features of the Baron's life. The story is told in narrative style, without being strictly biographical, and contains a definite plot into which enter scenes of stirring adventure.

In these days which so strongly emphasize success in the business world, it is refreshing to find strength and beauty of character held up as the highest ideals, and the truth preserved that misfortune in business does not necessarily imply failure in life. The story of Stiegel's struggles, witnessing the power of the Gospel to renew the heart, mould character, and influence one's fellow-men, cannot fail to please and edify the reader.

STANLEY BILLHEIMER.

LUTHERAN AUGUSTANA BOOK CONCERN, ROCK ISLAND, ILL.

The Book of Ijjob. Translated and Commented upon by Emil Lund.

The author, who is a busy pastor in Marquette, Kans., has found time, amid his numerous duties, to pursue the study of languages. His linguistic tastes have led him more particularly into the domain of Hebrew, where he has wrought successfully and become a recognized authority.

The book of Job, sublime as are its teachings, is confessedly difficult of interpretation. Its text is sometimes obscure and its references uncertain. Our author, however, has addressed himself boldly to his task and has made his own translation, which translation, while it varies materially from the Authorized and Revised Versions and sometimes violates good, idiomatic English, is nevertheless a faithful and literal rendering of the Hebrew. The comments in the form of annotations are brief and pointed and are altogether practical in their scope. At the end of each chapter a summary of its contents is given in a condensed form.

The author is a "traditionalist;" he has but little sympathy with

modern critical conclusions concerning the authenticity and genuineness of Job. He has done his work well, and has given us a book which will be of service to the pastor in the preparation of sermons as well as to the devout student of Hebrew poetry.

T. C. BILLHEIMER.

GERMAN LITERARY BOARD, BURLINGTON, IOWA.

The Free Church System compared with the German State Church. By J. L. Neve, Professor in the Western Theological Seminary, Atchison, Kansas. Translated by Rev. Chas. E. Hay, D.D. Flexible cloth 8vo.

The Socialistic agitation in Germany includes among the principles and policies desired a Free Church as a spiritual agent to do the religious work inefficiently done by the State Church.

The merits and demerits of the Church in Germany, and the comparative efficiency and success of the Church in our own country, are carefully and wisely presented in this booklet by Prof. Neve. The differing ecclesiastical circumstances of the two Churches with their divergent customs and religious proclivities are stated with brevity and clearness. The effects of union and of denominational rivalry, of State subjection and independence, and many intricate questions of church life are well considered. Principles for practice in Church Polity and Pastoral Theology are suggested, together with much information given on the condition of the Church in Germany.

M. COOVER.

EATON AND MAIN, NEW YORK; JENNINGS AND PYE, CINCINNATI.

Beyond Death. By Hugh Johnson, D.D. Price \$1.25.

This is a work of practical type, and deserves a wide welcome. Though the title throws the reader's mind specifically upon the things after this life, the discussion is more comprehensively eschatological, and embraces the questions of the Messianic Kingdom, the Millennium, the Second Advent, and the End of the World, as well as Death, the Intermediate State, the Resurrection, General Judgment, Hell, and the Final Heaven.

The author's effort has been to reproduce the teachings of the Holy Scriptures on these great features of the Christian faith. In his introduction he notices, on the one hand, the present active propagandism of a misleading Chiliasm, and, on the other, the endeavor of the New Theology to discard the truth of the personal second coming of Christ as an event, resolving it into a spiritual and continuous process, and to make the resurrection mean simply each believer's rising at death into another realm of life—eliminating the doctrine of a redemption of the body, and of an intermediate state. The agnostic and skeptical tendencies of the times, minimising the supernatural features, call for such an emphatic

reminder of the teachings of the New Testament and of their practical value for the Christian life.

By full right of the Scriptures, Dr. Johnson holds the truths of eschatology in close harmony with the fundamental and all-determinative conception of Christianity as a supernatural redemption—a power in which divine movement and working transcends nature. He connects human death, the dissolution of the union between the soul or spirit and the body, with the fact of sin, or man's lapse from the law of true living in God and holiness. For vindication of the natural immortality of the soul he recalls the well-known rational arguments in which the wise and good have always fortified the hope of it, but finds the full assurance of it in the clear teachings of Christ, and especially in the Redeemer's own resurrection from the grave. The intermediate state, between death and the resurrection, he presents, in harmony with the Scriptures, as a state of intelligent consciousness—the souls of believers passing at once into rest and happiness with the Lord, and the wicked into the misery that is the penal fruit of sin. But by the same Biblical authority, he excludes the whole Roman Catholic doctrine of purgatory. The view that has received such widespread encouragement these recent years, that takes the intermediate state as a further probation, he regards as wholly unsustained. "There does not seem to be any evidence in the Bible of an extension of probation into the intermediate state"—"all a mere speculation, an unscriptural and dangerous error." Our author clearly distinguishes, however, between such extension of probation there, and the continued developments of the faculties and powers of the saved soul. His statement of this invites quotation: "Though we do not accept the intermediate state as one of probation or purification, yet we may suppose there is such a thing as education and development. The best Christians are imperfect when they die. One-third of the human race die in infancy, before their moral powers are developed, while multitudes entering the spirit world, though in salvation, are yet unfit for the higher blessedness. This shadowy world beyond the tomb may be a state of developing energies, of ripening growth, of augmenting spiritual life. * * * What we conceive is that the Paradise-Hades is a school where under the gracious tutelage of the Church, holy angels and redeemed souls of high spiritual development, the weak, imperfect souls in their disembodied state, the boundless hosts of children and heathen who are saved, the vast multitudes born in Christian lands that are undeveloped in character, are disciplined and trained for that fulness of joy and blessedness which the Father has in store for his redeemed children. Does this imply that there is sin in this Paradise of believers? No, but inferiority and imperfect development. This is what we conceive of that state: growth, development, and the attainment of the highest and the best, in a perfectly holy environment; the soul separated from the earthly body with its temptations and impulses to sin, enjoying the vision of Christ;

the intellect expanding, the conscience growing more and more sensitive, the tastes refining, the affections becoming tenderer and stronger, and the whole being possessed by truth, dominated by righteousness and saturated with the spirit of God."

The rest of the topics are presented with the same loyalty to the word of God. The discussion throughout shows the author's mind to be at home in modern thought, but as soberly discriminative between its truth and errors. This excellent work shows the high value of this mental quality.

M. VALENTINE.

ATLANTIC MONTHLY, BOSTON, MASS.

The June number of the *Atlantic Monthly* will be a welcome companion to the Summer traveller as well as to the stop-at-home, for, as usual, it is full of good things. Its leading contributions are papers on "The Negro in the Regular Army;" "The Boston Religion;" "Changes in College Life;" "A Forgotten Patriot;" "The Cult of Napoleon;" "The Glamour of a Consulship" and "The Little Town of the Grape Vines." The fiction of this number is unusually attractive. "Chrystal's Century;" "The Atavism of Alaraaf" and "A Summer Morning" are all delightful. Arthur Sherberne Hardy's serial, "His Daughter First," is concluded in this number. Mildred Howell contributes a poem which is a gem. The book reviews and Contributors' Club are up to their usual high standard and they complete a most delightful number of this leader of all magazines.

The Textual Question in Acts. By Prof. Dr. O. Zöckler, of the University of Greifswald, Germany. Translated by Rev. A. Steimle. New York, 1903. Can be secured from Rev. S. Paulson, New Rochelle, N. Y. Price 25 cts.

All intelligent students of the New Testament know that for some decades of years the N. T. Manuscript known as Codex Bezae, or Codex D, or simply, D, now in the University Library at Cambridge, has been the *crux criticorum*. This Codex is supposed to have been written in Gaul in the sixth century. It has been characterized as containing "many bold and extensive interpolations," especially in the third Gospel and in Acts. Tregelles regarded its evidence as of very little value when alone, but of great value when supported by other ancient authorities. Westcott and Hort declared that "the text of D presents a truer image of the form in which the Gospels and Acts were most widely read in the third and probably a great part of the second century, than any other extant Greek MS." Yet as a matter of fact D has had very little weight in the formation of the critical editions of the New Testament, such as Tischendorf's, Tregelles's, Westcott and Hort's. But within the last dozen years D has excited extraordinary interest, stimulated in part and increased by the discovery in 1892 of a

Syrian palimpsest on Mt Sinai by Mrs. Lewis, and recognized to be a very old manuscript of the Gospels. Now the Codex D presents the most exciting problems of Textual Criticism, occasioned by the theory promulgated in 1894-5 by Professor Frederick Blass of the University of Halle, viz. that Luke put forth two editions of his Gospel and Acts—a longer and a shorter text of each, the second in each case being the shorter. The second edition of the Gospel and the first edition of the Acts appear in Codex D, and in other MSS. in reverse order. The result is that the D text is not a corruption, but is also right, and is of as much authority as is the corresponding texts of Codex Alexandrinus and Codex Vaticanus. In preparing his second edition Luke simply took such liberties as may be allowed to any author with his own work.

Blass bases his theory on such grounds as knowledge of time, places and circumstance, less refined and elegant style in the D texts of Luke and Acts, “marked similarity of diction in both revisions, that permits the identity of their writers to be inferred.” Naturally such a theory would excite great attention. Some New Testament scholars hailed it as a veritable Columbus egg for the solution of the most vexatious problem connected with the textual criticism of the New Testament, the question about 1240 variants in Codex D. Other scholars at once opposed it, and declared that the variants of D are “entirely arbitrary alterations.” There arose also a middle party, that acknowledges the great value of a large part of the D readings, but thinks that many of its readings are arbitrary additions. Professor Zahn of Erlangen finds the decisive argument for the essential correctness of Blass’s theory in the following considerations: “1, in the concrete directness and unintentionalness of the facts recorded in the D readings; 2, in the real agreement of its statements with the expressions of the received text, and 3, in the complete similarity of the style of both paralleled texts.”

The author of this pamphlet concedes that there may justly be diversity of opinions in matters of detail; but these do not shake the core of the proposition: “*In the Book of Acts we have two formulations—written by one and the same hand—of the record of the primitive Christian age from the ascension of the Lord to the arrival of Paul in Rome, and as the author of this record, in the one form as in the other, no other than Luke, ‘auctor ad Theophilum,’ can reasonably be considered.*”

The pamphlet will be read with profit by all who are interested in the question of a critical text of the New Testament, for it is now generally claimed by scholars that neither the Trischendorf nor the Westcott and Hort text is to be considered as the best attainable. It is thought that the former relied too much on the testimony of Codex Sinaiticus, and the two latter on the Codex Vaticanus. It is almost certain that D will hereafter exert a larger influence in determining the text of the New Testament than it has hitherto done.

J. W. RICHARD.

THE LUTHERAN QUARTERLY.

OCTOBER, 1903.

ARTICLE I.

DE RITIBUS ECCLESIASTICIS.

THE FIFTEENTH ARTICLE OF THE AUGSBURG CONFESSION.*

By LUTHER KUHLMAN, D.D.

Adhering to a custom, which, so far as I am aware, has not been departed from, that of treating the articles of the Confession in order, we come at this time to the XVth. In the Book of Concord, by Dr. H. E. Jacobs, this Article reads as follows:

“Concerning Ecclesiastical Rites, they teach, that those rites are to be observed, which may be observed without sin, and are profitable for tranquility and good order in the Church; such as are set holidays, feasts and such like. Yet concerning such things, men are to be admonished, that consciences are not to be burdened as if such service were necessary to salvation.”

“They are also to be admonished that human traditions, instituted to propitiate God, to merit grace and make satisfaction for sins, are opposed to the Gospel and the doctrine of faith. Wherefore vows and traditions, instituted to merit grace and make satisfaction for sins, are useless and contrary to the Gospel.”

Our Article, then, treats of what are known as the Adia-

* Holman Lecture on the Augsburg Confession, delivered in the Theological Seminary, Gettysburg, Pa., May 27th, 1903.

phora, that is, things indifferent, which are neither enjoined nor prohibited by the word of God, but are the result of man's mental and spiritual activities, influenced by the exigencies of time and place, and guided by the truth and Spirit of God. It has to do with externalities. The great evangelical truths which were primarily in controversy in that memorable religious struggle of the Sixteenth Century, which affected the whole course of history, and whose results will continue to bless the world down to the end of time, these truths it indeed touches, but in form only incidentally, as they are involved in, and affected by, the *Adiaphora*. For the treatment of so large a subject, and one that reaches out in so many directions, the Article is a brief one, and general. The material it presents may be thus summarized: It allows that there are *Adiaphora*; enjoins their observance; and in a brief, yet careful and well considered manner, in a moderate, conciliatory spirit, calls attention to some of the chief considerations which are to guide the Church in matters pertaining to the forms and accessories of worship, statements of faith, Church government and organization.

This being the character of the Article, the question might occur, is it then entitled to a place among the doctrinal articles of the chief Lutheran Confession, and so stamped as a fundamental tenet of the faith? Is it worthy to be included in the same category with such articles as those on God, Original Sin, the Son of God, the Church, the Sacraments, and Justification by Faith? To this query we unhesitatingly reply in the affirmative. It is a fitting companion to the articles we have named. These articles present elemental, constitutive truths. Apart from the apprehension and believing acceptance of these truths there can be no saved relation of the individual to God, and hence no Christianity, no Church. "This is life eternal, that they might know thee the only true God, and Jesus Christ whom thou hast sent" (John 17 : 3). Defined as the act of the perceiving mind and the trusting spirit, enabled thereto by grace, this knowledge of God in Christ, is synonymous with life, *it is eternal life*. But this renewed life of God in

the soul does not remain alone, and only within. According to its very nature it cannot do so. It seeks to create for itself a body. Under pressure of a necessity similar to that which impels the principle of vegetable life to clothe itself in innumerable forms of beauty and use, does this spiritual life seek manifestation and form. Thus, according to a divine order and process the visible Church, with all that pertains thereto, comes into existence. The one Church is viewed under two aspects, the visible, and the invisible. A correct understanding of the Church must include both aspects. Hence it is that the Article which treats of those features which pertain to the external Church may not be neglected.

The importance of the subject matter of the Article, in the view of the confessors, is further attested by the place which it occupies in the symbols and writings of that early period. The carefully prepared statements setting forth the position of the reformers are made to cover "all the articles, both of faith and of external Church usages and ceremonies," that were matters of complaint. In that presented at Torgau they say that "The discussion now is especially concerning some abuses which have been introduced by human doctrine and practices." The first topic treated is, "The Doctrines and Ordinances of Men," and the document itself, as is well known, became the basis for the Second, and much the longer part, of the Augustana. It is the view of Dr. Jacobs that this part dealing with abuses "was the main object in the minds of the Confessors, the doctrinal part being merely introductory." The unhappy and bitter controversies which followed the death of Luther, which estranged some who had been true yoke fellows in the cause of Christ and his truth, inflicted wounds that would not heal, and may be said to have imperiled the precious results which had been won at so great sacrifice in the contest with the papacy, were waged largely about these same matters. As in the case of the Lord's Supper, so here. These very debates and controversies are impressive proof of the importance of the questions at issue. Frank says, "It is not easy to find another Article whose shaping and recognition has encountered less

difficulties." True, religious controversialists are sometimes guilty of wasting precious time and making a great deal of unnecessary noise in the so-called discussion of veritable trifles, as when, a few years ago an ecclesiastical body seriously deliberated the question whether or not it was allowable for a man to wear a necktie. Graver issues were in controversy in the formation of this Article.

One other thought will serve to exhibit what may be regarded as the unique importance of our theme. It is strenuously insisted upon in some quarters that in the study of the Confession we must not rest until we arrive at the "true, native and original sense" of the same. As we are considering a historic document, it might not be easy to say why this is not a just rule, though in this case it would not necessarily follow that we must adhere exclusively to this "sense." If the rule is just, then it imposes upon us the duty to think ourselves back into the position of the confessors, see things as they saw them, and study them with the emphasis with which they studied them. Viewing the Article from this standpoint, we are impressed with the fact, that they had their eye not so much upon the *Adiaphora*, as upon the great truths which were inseparably interwoven with them. The structure of the Article exhibits this. "Yes," they say, "we approve of ecclesiastical rites; they are quite important, and they are to be observed, but it is essential that they be not unduly magnified, so as to burden conscience, and obscure precious truth." It is a case in which the provisos outweigh the rule itself. In framing the Article as they did they were guarding the center of their position, the sinner's justification by faith. The papists were saying, "Do this, observe that ceremony, and thou shalt be justified." To this spiritual cancer which pervaded the whole religious teaching, worship and life of their day, the reformers were ever presenting the evangelical antidote.

Having thus stated the scope of the Article, and called attention to the emphasis which it gives to certain truths, we may proceed to the consideration of the object or purpose of these human ordinances, which is, to aid the Church in attain-

ing her ideal, and to enable her to accomplish that task in the world which her Lord has appointed her. The ideal is nothing less or other, than holiness, the sanctification, individually and collectively, of the entire household of faith. "But of him are ye in Christ Jesus, who of God is made unto us wisdom, and righteousness, and sanctification, and redemption" (1 Cor. 1 : 30). "For this is the will of God, even your sanctification" (1 Thess. 4 : 3). In his sacerdotal prayer our Lord includes this petition, "Sanctify them through thy truth; thy word is truth" (John 17 : 17). This, according to St. Paul, is the object Christ had in view when he honored and blessed the Church with his love and gave himself for it, "that he might sanctify it and cleanse it with the washing of water by the word, that he might present it to himself a glorious Church, not having spot or wrinkle, or any such thing; but that it should be holy and without blemish" (Eph. 5 : 26-27). The sanctification which Christ cherished for his Church is not a partial one. Though not attained in this present order, yet the goal is completeness.

Parallel with this is the fact of the mission of the Church to the world, its evangelization. There is in the Bible a note of universalism. "In him," that is in Abraham, "shall all the nations of the earth be blessed" (Gen. 18 : 18). The family of God has been widely dispersed over the earth. In the passing of the centuries deep modifications have been effected in the scattered portions of that family, so that they scarce recognize each other as brethren. The divine Father, however, owns and blesses them all. His election is as wide as his love. The fore-announcements of the coming of the Messiah inform us, that "all nations shall call him blessed, the whole earth shall be filled with his glory; the gentiles shall come to his light, and kings to the brightness of his rising." The advent anthem is, "Glory to God in the highest, and on earth peace, good will toward men." Mark you, not peace in Jerusalem or Palestine, but on earth. Speaking of his cross, on which he would accomplish the world's redemption, Christ said, "And I, if I be lifted up, will draw all men unto me." His prayer, already

referred to, sounds the same note again and again. So when Christ, prior to his ascension, compressed this truth into one brief, authoritative command, he could not, without ringing false to the whole tenor of revelation, make it less broad than he did, "Go ye and make disciples of all nations." To this commission he attaches the promise of his perpetual presence. And it is not without interest to note that Pentecost witnessed a literal fulfillment of the commission. The Spirit-filled Apostles delivered their message not merely to the Jews, but devout men out of every nation were present, "and they heard every man in his own tongue, the wonderful works of God." This, my brethren, is the divinely appointed, two-fold work of the Church. For this she has been made the repository of the Word and the Sacraments; for this the Holy Spirit abides with her, to instruct, guide and inspire her; and for this, as the practical human agency for the teaching of the Word and the administration of the Sacraments, she institutes these human ordinances. Their suitableness as instrumentalities for this end is not only the measure of their importance, but of their very right to exist. The whole aim of the Article is to rescue these *Adiaphora*, one and all, from their perverted use of burdening consciences, destroying souls, and dishonoring Christ, and to restore them to serviceableness in the work of the Church. It is this object that imparts to our subject an intensely practical aspect.

Their purpose clearly before us, we note now the provisos which the confessors were constrained to insert.

The first of these is the doctrine of justification by faith. As already suggested, the Article bears on its face the evidence that it was the chief concern of the confessors that this precious truth might not be set in any uncertain light. It must be made to stand out clearly and distinctly. Two and a half brief lines suffice for them to say that ecclesiastical rites are to be observed, to define them, and to cite illustrations. Throughout the remainder of the Article follow the cautions, reiterated over and over: "Consciences must not be burdened as though such observances were necessary to salvation;

human traditions instituted to propitiate God, to merit his favor, to make satisfaction for sins, are contrary to the gospel and to the doctrine of faith." Clearly, with existing forms as such, they had no quarrel. As we shall note later, they cheerfully observed them. Nor is it too much to say, humanly speaking, that if their opponents had consented to the elimination of the perversions and falsifications which infected the whole system of the *Adiaphora*, and had in good faith assented to the evangelical view, the course of ecclesiastical history since then would have been vastly different than it is.

That the sacred interest of truth justified and necessitated these repeated precautions, may be readily set forth. In no other way could they disentangle error from truth, and clearly define their position as essentially and fundamentally different from that of their opponents. That this asserted difference was real and not fanciful, that they were not guarding against imaginary evils, may be learned from the statements of the Romanists themselves. In their *Confutation*, prepared by "learned, judicious and amiable men, for the purpose of approving what they regarded true, and refuting the rest from Scripture," the statement made in the first part of our article, namely, that certain rites which they describe "ought to be observed," is accepted. Here both parties stand on common ground. When, however, the *Confession* goes on to say that traditions instituted to propitiate God, etc., are contrary to the gospel and the doctrine of faith, then the note of dissent is heard. "The appendix to this Article," says the *Confutation*, "must be entirely removed," for its assertion is false. "Most false also is the declaration that the righteousness of faith is obscured by such ordinances," and in extolling faith above all things, they assert, "St. Paul is antagonized."

Out of their own mouth, therefore, we have the position of the Romanists, and this might suffice. The discussion of Plitt, however, in his *Einleitung*, on this point is so clear and instructive that we give it at some length. He not only states the position of the Romanists, but also indicates the line of plausible reasoning by which it is naturally reached. Plitt

says: "To Church government belongs, according to the Romish conception, also the authority to make regulations and to issue laws whose observance was not only beneficial for the salvation of souls, but even necessary. By this means large opportunity was given for the exercise of sacerdotal caprice and arbitrariness. Christ, it is properly observed, has taught that which is absolutely necessary to salvation; that which is helpful and beneficial thereto he has committed to the Holy Ghost. He, that is, Christ, did not himself, establish everything. Christians, during the sojourn of the Lord upon the earth, were not yet able to bear all things. For this reason much that was profitable to them was kept back, in order that at the fitting time the Church, in his name, might teach this order, and establish it. For this reason he invested her with great authority, and gave to her the Holy Spirit, who guides her into all truth, so that she cannot err. Because of the indwelling of the Holy Spirit it is also her prerogative to interpret the Scriptures, and to determine the correct understanding of the same. And, for this reason, her own enactments, are always in accord with the Scripture; they are merely a continuation, a completion, an elucidation, of the latter. Those things, therefore, which the Church, in the march of the centuries, has taught and decreed as useful for the life of believers and the salvation of their souls, these they should so regard, and in sincere obedience order their lives accordingly. The observance of these enactments of the Church secures for them as great advantage as does the observance of the immediate commandments of God himself, whilst disobedience and contempt of them are accounted to them as sins, and as casting their souls into ruin. What the commandments of the Church are, where they are to be sought for, there can be no doubt; for the Church is represented by the priests, and exercises control or government, through the bishops, especially through the councils and through the Pope. The Church is the Romish Church. What she enjoins, this, all Christians, by the salvation of their souls, are obliged to observe.

"Ecclesiastical ordinances aim at the salvation of souls;

through intentional disregard of the same, Christians forfeit eternal life. This was constantly asserted by those who maintained the necessity of these ordinances. They were, therefore, nothing other than a means of salvation, and their fulfillment, good works, in which Christians were directed to repose confidence. And this they did."

Here then are the teachings with which the reformers joined issue. We do not wonder that their confessional statement was constructed with the utmost care. Properly understood they might assent to the view of their opponents, that, "ecclesiastical rites aim at the salvation of souls," that they are "profitable," and so forth. When, however, it was insisted that in the enactment of ordinances the Church, that is, the Roman hierarchy, could not fall into any error, that these ordinances were necessary to salvation; that their observance secures as great advantage as does the observance of the immediate commandments of God, that Christians must repose confidence in them, and that disregard of the same forfeits eternal life, then they came to the parting of the ways. Such views were indeed contrary to the doctrine of faith, as they had learned it. Against this subtle and all pervasive error they could not bear their testimony too often or too emphatically. Human traditions, however ancient and venerable, however splendid and impressive, however august the authority with which they are promulgated, do not make satisfaction for sin. Abstinence from meats, the observance of days, the assumption of vows, ritualistic performances, and servile submission to hierarchical authority, these do not propitiate God, nor remove the guilt of the soul. Standing in the synagogue in Antioch in Pisidia, St. Paul said: "Be it known unto you therefore, men and brethren, that through this man is preached unto you the forgiveness of sins; and by him all that believe are justified from all things, from which ye could not be justified by the law of Moses" (Acts 13 : 38-39). To the Romans he writes: "Therefore by the deeds of the law there shall no flesh be justified in his sight" (Romans 3 : 20). And again, "Knowing that a man is not justified by the works of the law, but by the faith of Jesus

Christ, even we have believed in Jesus Christ, that we might be justified by the faith of Christ, and not by the works of the law; for by the works of the law shall no flesh be justified" (Gal. 2 : 16). "But that no man is justified by the law in the sight of God, it is evident: for, the just shall live by faith" (Gal. 3 : 11). Even the law given by God through Moses could not compass human salvation. Obedience to law resulted in the knowledge of sin, and the intensification of the sense of guilt. Should men then seek or hope to find, in conformity to human ordinances, that which the divine law failed to secure? No. "By grace are ye saved through faith, and that not of yourselves, it is the gift of God," was the legend emblazoned on their banner. This was the beacon which guided their feet in every devious, perplexing way of discussion, this the watchword that inspired their faith and courage in the mighty conflict. "That one truth, justification by faith without works of any character, was the impelling power of the Reformation, removed the oppressive yoke of legalism under which the Romish Church had placed her people, and restored again salutary Church ordinances, and good, historic practices."

Nor has the Church, in our day, in her understanding and use of the *Adiaphora*, passed wholly beyond the need of similar cautions. Amid the changes of the passing centuries, the tendencies of human nature remain essentially the same. So-called new errors, upon more careful examination, are usually found to be the old ones under a different form. The roots of legalism are deeply imbedded in the human heart. They are not easily destroyed. "What shall I do to be saved?" "Wherewith shall I come before the Lord, and bow myself before the high God? Shall I come before him with burnt offerings, with calves of a year old? Will the Lord be pleased with thousands of rams, or with ten thousands of rivers of oil? Shall I give my first-born for my transgression, the fruit of my body for the sin of my soul?" (Micah 6 : 6-7). These questions still echo in human hearts. To stand before God in abject weakness, in absolute poverty, to have nothing to offer, and to

receive forgiveness, peace with God, and everlasting life, as the undeserved gift of divine grace and love, this the natural man does not readily assent to. To substitute connection with the merely visible Church, participation in its work, observance of its forms, for simple trust in Christ, this is a temptation in which men are easily ensnared. The *Adiaphora*, then, must not be permitted to throw a shadow upon the cross of Christ. They must not usurp the place of faith.

A second proviso to be noted, is the relation of these human institutions to the word of God. This relation is one of origin, and harmony. They must be truly Scriptural. It is not meant of course, that they can be bodily drawn from the Scriptures. The Bible does not furnish ready-prepared formularies for worship, creeds, and systems of Church government. It does this less now, than it did in the past. For the people of God in their infancy the Old Testament did supply explicit and full directions with reference to many of these matters. Whole books are practical directories. Even the tabernacle, the place of their worship, was to be constructed and arranged in all its appointments in accordance with a model divinely exhibited to Moses. In the carefully prescribed social, civil and religious institutions of the old dispensation, God's people received an invaluable training and discipline, and when the time came for their freer development under the direction of the Spirit and providence of God in the new dispensation, they drew from them many suggestions. Yet, as we pass into the new, there is evident a marked change, an emancipation from a system of rules and directories. We are conscious of a different atmosphere.

And yet the present connection between ordinances and the word is not any the less real and vital than it was then. It is, if possible, more so, and the very fact that the relation is freer and more flexible, less of the letter and more of the spirit, devolves upon the Church the greater responsibility to see to it that this relation shall be kept inviolate. The power of the Church is in the Word, and to divorce her institutions from it is to palsy them. The Word is the norm, and the effectiveness

of ordinances of every kind depends upon the preservation of this living attachment. The branch that is detached from the vine has no life in it, and consequently bears no fruit. Similarly, ecclesiastical equipment, apart from the truth, spirit and power of the word, so far as the high ends of the gospel are concerned, is a useless, human mechanism.

This connection is clearly recognized, for example, in the General Synod's subscription of the Augsburg Confession. "All regularly constituted Lutheran Synods connected with the General Synod, receive and hold, with the Evangelical Lutheran Church of our fathers, the Word of God, as contained in the Canonical Scriptures of the Old and New Testament, as the only infallible rule of faith and practice, and the Augsburg Confession as a correct exhibition of the fundamental doctrines of the divine Word, and of the faith of our Church founded upon that Word." We cannot fail to note here the preëminence of the Word, and the relation of the Confession thereto. The Word is the truth, the Confession is the form it took at a particular time and under given circumstances, in the apprehension of men. The Word is the "infallible rule of faith and practice," while the Confession is a "correct exhibition of the doctrine of the Word." The Confession in its form is human, and hence subject to modification in the light of the clearer understanding of the Word; the Word, in substance and form, abides the same, except as the latter has been corrupted in the handling by fallible men. The whole document as a creedal expression is derived from and rests upon the Word. Its consistence with the word, is the measure of its binding force upon us.

A reference to the subject of Church government discloses the same connection. So rapid was the growth of the Church and the consequent multiplication of duties resting upon the Apostles, that they were soon burdened beyond their strength. When the complaint of the Grecians, that their widows were neglected in the alms ministrations reached their ears, they called the multitude of the disciples and directed them to "select seven men of honest report, full of the Holy Ghost and of

faith, whom we may appoint over this business." This they did, and we have the establishment of the office of deacon, and the beginning of government and organization.

Wherever St. Paul and his fellow missionaries succeeded in planting the faith, there they ordained "Elders," in whose charge for teaching and oversight the infant congregations were placed. The Church of Corinth especially exhibited activity. "No Church excelled it in the variety of its endowments and the satisfaction felt in them. Hence it is in his letter to that congregation that Paul enumerates and discusses the chief Corinthian charismata." There are, he says, "diversities of gifts," "diversities of administrations," "diversities of workings." Under "ministrations he embraces all Church ministry, the various forms of official Christian service, whether performed by the minister or the laity." In 1 Cor. 12 : 28 he indicates two administrative functions in the Church, "helps" and "government." The first includes "the office of deacons and deaconesses, as in Acts 6 : 3, while the second refers to the office of presbyter, derived from the synagogue, and often designated in Apostolic times as that of the Episcopate, or bishops, in accommodation to the Greek and other Gentile Christians. As the diaconate was occupied with works of mercy, the presbyterate regulated the order and discipline of the Church." (Jacobs). The beginnings then of polity and organization grew out of the needs of the rapidly extending Church, and the record of these beginnings contains many hints, and suggestions, precepts and examples, which are valuable guides for all succeeding time. It is not necessary that every detail be witnessed to by a clear "thus saith the Lord," yet all must be in harmony with the spirit of the Word. The Formula of Government holds it as a preliminary principle that "order is necessary to every associate body, and as Jesus Christ has left no entire specific form of Government and Discipline for his Church, it is the duty of every individual church to adopt such regulations as appear to them most consistent with the spirit and precepts of the New Testament, and best calculated to subserve the interests of the Church of Christ."

In the worship formularies of the Church this relation to the Word is still more apparent. Luther's characteristically strong statements on this point are familiar, and yet it will not be amiss to record a few of them here again. "In all worship the greatest and principal thing is to preach and teach God's Word." "We must know first of all that the Christian congregation should never assemble except the Word of God be preached and prayer be offered, even though it be very short, as in Psalm 102. When the King and the people assemble to worship God, they should proclaim the name and praise of God." "In all the world nothing is more holy than the Word of God; for the Sacrament itself is made and blessed and bestowed through God's Word, and thereby all of us are spiritually born again and consecrated to be Christians." "Given and shed for you, for the remission of sins—these words of promise, together with the bodily eating and drinking, are the chief things in the sacrament, and he who believes these words, has what they declare, namely, the forgiveness of sins." "Christian worship," says Horn, "rests primarily on the person and work of Jesus Christ." This is in harmony with what Luther says when he asks, "What is this Word, and by what means is it used since there are so many words of God? I answer that the Apostle Paul (Romans 1) explains what it is, namely, the Gospel of God concerning His Son, incarnate, suffering, risen and glorified through the Spirit, the Sanctifier." Says another, "Liturgy is the form that doctrine takes for the purposes of worship. Worship formularies are based upon the fundamental doctrines and are conditioned by them. Liturgy is informed by the doctrine, and if it be pure and true, it must at every point be in harmony with its inner doctrinal and spiritual life. As the bloom and fruit of a tree are the expression of its inner life, so a pure and sufficient liturgy is the natural bloom and proper fruitage of the living doctrine from which it springs" (Geisinger). To point out the scriptural richness of accepted Lutheran forms would carry us far beyond the proper scope of this lecture.

Having thus noted these provisos which the confessors felt

constrained to place in our Article, we may now call attention to a few of the principles which, according to accepted Lutheran teaching, underlie and regulate the use of the *Adiaphora*.

Their value and importance are recognized, and their use commended. The Article plainly says, "they are to be observed." From what we know of the position of the reformers it would not be reading anything into their language to say, that observance of properly instituted ecclesiastical ceremonies and regulations, is required. Meritoriousness in justification is always disallowed the *Adiaphora*, but their serviceableness in the process of the development of the soul in righteousness, for the preservation of the truth, as an aid to its dissemination in the world and thereby the extension of the Redeemer's Kingdom, and as an instrumentality for worship, has ever been recognized. This serviceableness rests on the fact that to all that God designs to accomplish in man, that is, his sanctification, and to all that he would achieve by him, the world's evangelization, man sustains a coöperative relation. Here he has something to do. Hollaz says, "The regenerate and justified man concurs in the work of his sanctification as a secondary cause, subordinate and moved by God, so that he renews himself daily by the powers which he has received from above. The Holy Spirit produces in man without human concurrence, the power to produce good works, and the first act of sanctification, but man concurs in the second act of sanctification, or in the exercise and continuance of it, when once introduced by the Holy Spirit. * * * The regenerate man coöperates with God in the work of sanctification, but not by an equal action, but in subordination and dependence on the Holy Spirit, because he does not work with native, but with granted powers."

The sculptor in releasing the angel imprisoned in the marble, works alone. From the first blow of the hammer to the last touch of the chisel, there is in the dead marble no will or power of either resistance or coöperation. The regenerated soul, however, has in it power of response to the wish and the effort of the Divine Artist. However feebly, it can and must

co-work with God in the perfecting of redemption. Luther in his "Christian Liberty," puts our thought thus: "Although as I have said, inwardly, and according to the spirit, a man is amply enough justified by faith, having all that he requires to have, except that this very faith and abundance ought to be increased from day to day, even till the future life; still he remains in this mortal life upon earth, in which it is necessary to rule his own body, and have intercourse with men. Here then works begin; here he must not take his ease; here he must give heed to exercise his body by fastings, watchings, labor, and other moderate discipline, so that it may be subdued to the spirit, and obey and conform itself to the inner man and faith, and not rebel against them, as is its nature to do if it is not kept under." Again he says, "Our doings, life, and being, in works and ceremonies, are done from the necessities of this life, and with the motive of governing our bodies; but yet we are not justified by these things, but by the faith of the Son of God." "We cannot live in this world without ceremonies and works." "We do not condemn works and ceremonies; nay, we set the highest value on them."

Fully persuaded of the utility of the *Adiaphora*, they proceed in the work of reformation in accordance with this principle. They did not, for instance, cut loose from all confessional statements. The Apostles' Creed, The Nicene Creed, and that of Athanasius, were accepted by them. Hutter (*B. of C.*, Vol. 11. p. 13) says, "Those symbols which have been approved by the unanimous consent of the whole Church (to which belong the oecumenical symbols) have far greater authority than those which have been received only by particular Churches."

In the Formula of Concord (*B. of C.*, Vol. 1, p. 535) we have this testimony: "And because, of old, the true Christian doctrine, in a pure, sound sense, was collected from God's Word into brief articles or sections against the corruption of heretics, we accept as confessional the three Oecumenical Creeds, as glorious confessions of the faith, brief, devout, and founded upon God's Word, wherein all these heresies which

had at that time arisen in the Christian Church are clearly and unanswerably refuted."

As furnishing an interesting sidelight upon this point, it may be of sufficient historic interest to deserve record here, that the congregation which I have the honor to serve as pastor, in 1747 made this confessional declaration: "That it worshiped God Almighty according to the Protestant Lutheran persuasion grounded in the Old and New Testament, and in the unaltered Augsburg Confession, and the rest of the Symbolical Book." It is a matter of further interest that this statement was prepared by Muhlenburg, and is in his handwriting.

This fidelity to approved doctrinal statements needs to be emphasized. Many are restive under creeds, and are eager to cast their bands from them. They regard them as interesting relics of the past, but not as possessing any value for the present. They are stigmatized as the enemies of intellectual freedom. The real motive for this depreciatory attitude is well stated by Plitt when he says: "Those who desire freedom in doctrine, in the sense ordinarily employed at the present day, place themselves thereby as lords over the Church. They speak much of Christian freedom, and just thereby they enslave, or attempt to enslave the Church. Under this liberal, fair-sounding expression, often the most arrogant ambition is concealed."

I cannot refrain from expressing the conviction that in the prospect of a period of doctrinal laxity and theological vagaries, it is the duty of the general bodies of the Lutheran Church in this land to make every honorable effort to reach a harmonious understanding and agreement in regard to the elemental beliefs of their common faith. There are minor matters upon which they will differ. These should be held at their true worth or rank, and not used as tests with which to expel each other from the one household. In the primary things the Lutheran hosts must see eye to eye, believe heart to heart, stand shoulder to shoulder. Intelligently, unitedly grounded upon the truth as it is in Christ, they will be in a position to render Protestant Christianity in this land a signal service. I am not hinting at

organic union. This will come, if ever, in God's own time. Further, I am persuaded that the unity, which many long for, would be more easily and rapidly reached, if the question of organic union could be wholly eliminated. The very suspicion that such union is sought, is a hinderance to unity. Such effort is particularly enjoined upon us of the General Synod. Our constitution says, "It shall apply all its powers, prayers, and means for the prevention of schisms among us, it shall be sedulously and incessantly regardful of the circumstances of the times, and of every casual rise and progress of unity of sentiment among Christians in general, in order that the blessed opportunities to promote concord and unity, and the interest of the Redeemer's Kingdom may not pass neglected and unavailing." True, this looks to unity among Christians in general, but it must be apparent also that the most practical way to this general end, is by reaching an understanding in our own denominational household.

A similar course was pursued in regard to the established forms and usages of worship. The charge of their opponents "that all the ceremonies, all the things instituted of old are abolished in our churches," they resent as a calumnious falsehood, "and assert that in large part the ancient rites are diligently observed." "Though dissimilar rites instituted by men do not destroy the unity of the church, yet, for the sake of tranquillity it is pleasing to us that universal rites be observed. In the churches we willingly observe the order of the Mass, the Lord's Day, and other more eminent festival days. And with a very grateful mind, we embrace the profitable and ancient ordinances, especially since they contain a discipline, by which it is profitable to educate and instruct the people and those who are ignorant."

In his *Formula Missae* (1523) Luther affirms "that it is not and never has been our intention entirely to abolish all divine worship, but to purify that now in use, though defiled by the most abominable additions, and to indicate its pious use." With what zeal and in what spirit Luther endeavored to bring about this renovation of worship, may be learned from his four

liturgical writings, The Letter to the Chapter of all Saints Church at Wittenburg, The Order of Divine Service in the Congregation, The Formula Missae, and the German Mass, (1526). Here he traces the origin and growth of what he denominates "The Ancient Service," passes under review the parts not merely of the chief service for the Lord's Day, but the minor services and those for the days of the week as well, indicating which are to be retained and which rejected, together with the exposition of the principles which guide him. It is matter for congratulation that these valuable writings have been given to the Church in excellent English dress in "Christian Worship, Its Principles and Forms," the joint work of Prof. Richard of this Seminary and Prof. Painter of Roanoke College.

The Lutheran Church then, at her beginning, throughout her history, and practically wherever she exists, is in worship a liturgical Church. She appreciates the propriety and worth of proper forms.

Again. No particular form, usage or custom, whether pertaining to worship, polity or organization, is to be regarded as essential. The word "essential" is employed here to designate that which is indispensable, absolutely requisite to the integrity or completeness of that of which it forms a part.

This principle is particularly in evidence in the sphere of worship formularies. Luther prepared the first ones, and others followed him in the same line. These earlier forms became models and guides, until every state, every city well nigh, published its own form of service. These numerous forms and their variations naturally gave rise to the question as to which of these orders are to be regarded as presenting more correctly the Lutheran ideas of worship. What a world of trouble Luther would have saved some of his followers if when he gave out his forms, he had inserted a rubric to this effect, "These forms are Evangelical in teaching, they are suitable and profitable for worship, let them be used without deviation."

Liturgical scholars usually include these forms under three

general types. Funk, in his *Kirchen ordnung*, specifies and comments on these types thus:

1. "Those in which, indeed, the Evangelical doctrine is recognized and its distinct proclamation determined, but in which church regulations in closest agreement with the Papistical were retained. These have set up proper ideas about evangelical Church regulations, but did not carry them out.

2. Those in which the practical directions of Luther were followed. This is especially the case with the liturgies into which his order of worship of 1526 and his other forms were either incorporated, or if perchance, there were cases leaning to the Papal ritual, yet, they were used as a basis.

3. Those in which the Church matters began to be arranged in close accord with the principles of the New Testament, and in which, therefore, Luther's directions were, indeed, regarded or used as types, but upon which Church matters were not exclusively founded.

Horn, in his *Liturgics*, states the division thus:

1. "Those which, while pure in doctrine, proceeded with greatest conservatism with reference to the traditional forms.

2. The Saxon-Lutheran type, represented by the *Formula Missae*.

3. Those orders which are more radical in their re-arrangement of service and try to take a mediating position between the Lutheran and the Reformed types."

Gerhard, speaking of Baptism, says: "There are in general, three substantial parts of baptism to be maintained, which cannot be separated or changed, viz., water, the Word, and the action." To this act as thus described, there is usually added a series of ceremonies and usages, such as, "the declaration of original sin, the giving of the name, the minor exorcism, the sign of the cross, prayers, the imposition of hands, etc." of which he says, "We must not assert that such rites belong to the integrity and essence of baptism, and are necessary, but they are regarded as *Adiaphora*."

That in the effort to set forth the historic, normative Lutheran form, supposed to be imbedded in these almost numberless

approved orders which originated in the Reformation, men should differ, is not to be wondered at. Here the advice of St. Paul is in place, "Let every man be fully persuaded in his own mind." Every candid and intelligent student is fairly entitled to an independent view. But let him see to it that he hold it in sweetness and charity, without either contempt or censorious judgment of those who may not agree with him. Let him not elevate his own view into a test of the Lutheranism of his brethren. Such a course offends against the sacred right of Christian freedom. "The very life principle of Lutheranism requires that what is purely accidental, and in no way affects the doctrine, be not raised to the standard of the essential. If this be done the essentials will be degraded to the level of the accidental."

If the *Adiaphora* are non essential, then also must the principle of modification, adaptation, be admitted. Under given circumstances it may even be proper to wholly displace existing forms.

Note this principle as embodied in the teaching and action of Christ. He came at once to fulfill, and in the fulfillment, to repeal. The entire Old Testament foreshadowed him, and when he appeared its mission, in this particular, was ended. He came to make all things new, and this new creation would proceed from within. "I am come that they might have life," is his own explanation. This life will create its own body. The heavenly water will cut its own channel, shape its own course. The new vine will put forth its own leaves, flowers, and fruit. It was this in fact that brought him into conflict with the ecclesiastical authorities of his time. It was this that clouded the expectations of the followers of the Baptist, and called forth their complaint, "Why do we and the Pharisees fast oft, but thy disciples fast not," "If you are a teacher come from God, why does your teaching result in leading your followers away from the old established forms and customs, confirmed by the example of our own teacher, John." The change from the one to the other was so radical that they could not understand it. The reply of our Lord not only answers these per-

plexed questioners, but enunciates principles that will rule all similar questions to all ages. Hear him: "No man putteth a piece of new cloth into an old garment, for that which is put in to fill it up taketh from the garment, and the rent is made worse. Neither do men put new wine into old bottles; or else the bottles break and the wine runneth out, and the bottles perish; but they put new wine into new bottles, and both are preserved." Edersheim explains the meaning of these two parabolic illustrations thus: "You ask, why do we fast often, but thy disciples fast not? You are mistaken in supposing that the old garment can be retained, and merely its rents made good by patching it with a piece of new cloth. Not to speak of the incongruity, the effect would only be to make the rent ultimately worse. The old garment will not bear mending with the undressed cloth. * * * Or, again, take the other view of it, as the old garment cannot be patched from the new, so, on the other hand, can the new wine of the Kingdom not be confined in the old forms. It would burst these wine skins. The spirit must indeed have its corresponding forms of expression; but that form must be adapted, and correspond to it. Not the old with a little of the new to hold it together where it is rent; but the new, and that not in the old wine skins, but in a form corresponding to the substance. Such are the two final principles—the one primarily addressed to the Pharisees, the other to the disciples of John, by which the illustrative teaching concerning the marriage feast, with its bridal garment and wine of banquet, is carried far beyond the original question of the disciples of John, and receives application to all time." The entire external organization of the Church is to be the development of her own inherent spirit and life, adapted to particular needs, and shaped by existing conditions. What Plitt says of the Confessions, applies still more widely. "As much as the fact should be emphasized that the Confessions originate under the guidance of the Divine Spirit, yet it must never be forgotten that, since they were composed by men, they must be imperfect, and therefore not only are capable of, but need, development and improvement."

This principle however, must not be applied recklessly. "The Church, in working her way into the future, has constantly to look back into the past, in order to sustain her living connection with it." There should be no breaking of historic continuity. The Church of the present should carefully conserve the results of past experience and labor. This applies particularly in the sphere of worship. Truly devotional forms are not made to order in a day. They are a growth springing out of the faith, love, and spiritual experience of souls gifted with a genius for these matters. Some of these forms can be traced to Apostolic times, and even then, they were only adaptations of what was already old. Their survival, amid so many and great changes, is the proof of their adequacy to voice the emotions of the soul. They are hallowed by association, and to disturb them would be little short of profanation. Sometime the Church will make, or, perhaps better, arrange another service. On the whole it will be better than what we have now, but will there be in it anything superior to the Kyrie, the Glorias, the Magnificat, The Apostles' Creed, and some of the Collects in which we now worship? Will the Church resting upon the atonement of Jesus Christ ever drop out of its form for the Lord's Supper, the Agnus Dei? Where will she find, or who will compose for her, a more fitting, tenderly beautiful closing hymn than Simeon's "Lord, now lettest thou thy servant depart in peace?" Here it is well to follow the example of the reformers. What was in conflict with the Word of God, what obscured or falsified the gospel, this they unhesitatingly rejected. Beyond this they proceeded with caution. Through long use these ceremonies and usages had become a potent factor in the religious life of the people, and to change them unnecessarily could only result in confusion and dissatisfaction, and increase the difficulties of the work in which they were engaged. Chemnitz's rule that, "no doctrine that is new and at variance with all antiquity, should be received in the Church," has application here also.

The Church Year is so inseparably interwoven with Christian worship that it should receive at least passing notice. The

truth that underlies this adaptation of the natural year, is Christ. The conviction that he is the one source of spiritual life, light and power, lead the Church to arrange her year about him as its sun. His birth, his death, his resurrection, and the outpouring of the Holy Spirit are its chief festivals. These divide it into periods, and impress upon the whole their distinctive character. As time went on, other festivals were added. "Martyrology suggested Saints' days, asceticism furnished the preparatory seasons of fasting, and now and then the settlement of a great doctrinal battle added a special day." Particular attention was given to the selection of Scripture passages suitable to the event of the day, and so resulted the Pericopes. This same care is observable in the arrangement of the introits and collects, so that the variable parts of the service for each Sunday or festival, preserve a thematic harmony, which in turn, has its appropriate place in the unity of the entire year.

This institution is not an innovation. It has long historic precedent. Heathenism had its sacred year. For his ancient people God prescribed one, and it is not improbable that both the Passover and Pentecost of Judaism were adaptations from the heathen cultus, renovated and filled with revealed truth, while in the Christian year they are appropriated again, and appear as Easter and Whitsunday.

To this established order, Christ conformed. He observed the religious festivals of his people. There is no reason to doubt that in his home synagogue he himself read the Haph-tarah for the day, taken from the prophecies of Isaiah, and that he made it the basis of his instruction, saying, "This day is this scripture fulfilled in your ears."

The aim of the Church year is to secure the regular, systematic presentation of those fundamental facts and associated truths which are the substance of revelation, and the basis and nourishment of Christian faith, and life. In this it recognizes the pedagogic principle that we learn thoroughly, only by constant repetition. In approving the use of the established order of the Church Year it is not signified that it must be undeviatingly followed in every detail, nor that, as we have it, is per-

fect. It is meant, however, that it rests upon correct principles.

This imperfect review of some of the principles which underlie this Article may serve at least to stir our gratitude and to emphasize duty. In the view of the confessors the *Adiaphora*, standing alone, were of secondary importance. They subordinated them to the Word and to the doctrine of faith. Such is still the position of our Church. Neither rationalism nor higher criticism have disturbed her confidence in the Bible, as the revelation of God. This Book is the living source of her doctrine and of her ordinances, the one authoritative standard by which all are measured. She knows and teaches no other Redeemer than the Christ of the gospels; points to no way of salvation except that of St. Paul, "By grace are ye saved, through faith." She not only continues to be satisfied with the *Augustana*, but accepts it with increasing intelligence, heartiness and enthusiasm. In her schools north and south, east and west, there is not a teacher, not a professor, under suspicion of disloyalty to the denominational standard. Luther's catechism is still the incomparable manual for the religious instruction of youth. The liturgists have fought their battle. The echoes of the strife are occasionally heard, but they are becoming fainter and fainter. Peace is coming, is here, on the only practical basis, that of Christian freedom and mutual respect. What remains then? This: Conscious of our direct connection with the greatest religious movement since the introduction of Christianity, and so with the Church of God in all ages; profoundly grateful for, and appreciative of the rich theological and liturgical treasures which are our inheritance, we need to remember that we live neither in the sixteenth century nor in the fatherlands beyond the sea, but in the twentieth century, and in free America, the queen in the sisterhood of nations, and the field of struggle for the supremacy of the religion of the old Book here, and the world over. Here and now is our mission. It is so indescribably great and urgent that to expend strength and energy in disproportionate discussion of non-essentials, is not only foolish, but positively wrong. To the ever increasing ful-

fillment of this mission, may the great Head of the Church graciously help us by his good Spirit.

In the preparation of the foregoing Lecture the following works have been consulted: *Book of Concord* by Jacobs, *Theologie Der Concordienformel* by Frank, *Einleitung in die Augstana* by Plitt, *Die Augsburgische Confession* by Zöckler, *Die Ehre und Lehre der Augsburgische Confession* by Weidner, *Populäre Symbolik* by Günther, *Christian Worship, Its Principles and Forms* by Richard and Painter, *Primary Works* by Luther, *Liturgics* by Horn, and the *Memoirs* of the Lutheran Liturgical Association.

ARTICLE II.

SOME PRESENT-DAY ASPECTS OF HIGHER CRITICISM.

BY C. W. HEISLER, D.D.

The so-called Higher Criticism is not altogether a modern science. The study of the books of the Bible with a view of determining their origin, date, literary structure and value does not belong wholly to the recent past, though perhaps it has not followed scientific methods until within comparatively recent times. Attempts were made to determine certain questions affecting the integrity of Old Testament books quite early in the history of Christianity. For our present purpose we may disregard these earlier attempts and confine ourselves to a brief historical survey of the modern period of Higher Criticism of the Scriptures.

This period dates from the middle of the eighteenth century. Jean Astruc, 1684–1766, a French physician of eminent learning but profligate life, may be regarded as the founder of the modern critical methods of Bible study. Astruc was led to conclude that Moses, in composing Genesis and part of Exodus, used at least two previously existing documents, in

one of which the divine name Jehovah (Lord) was exclusively employed, and in the other Elohim (God), while the subject matter of both largely paralleled. Eichhorn (1752-1827) extended the hypothesis to the other books of the Pentateuch and in addition pointed out differences of style in the alleged documents. He contended that the Pentateuch was compiled sometime between Joshua and Samuel, from documents written mostly during the age of Moses, and some by Moses himself. He claims that when these documents were put together they formed a continuous narrative, and differ from each other in diction, style, ideas, and aim. Eichhorn is the author of the "Higher Criticism." This is known as the Documentary Theory or Hypothesis. It will be observed that here the Mosaic authorship of the Pentateuch, at least in the main, is not denied. Moses simply used two or more documents in compiling his histories. However some of the advocates of this theory came to regard much, if not most, of the Pentateuch as post-Mosaic.

The next step in higher critical study was the development of The Fragmentary Hypothesis, proposed by Rev. Alex. Gaddes (1737-1802), of Great Britain, and elaborated by Vater (1805) and Hartman (1831). Dr. Green calls this the Document Theory run mad. This hypothesis holds that the Pentateuch was composed, mostly in the reign of Solomon, of fragments of a large number of documents, some from the age of Moses, some from an earlier date. Instead of two or three documents pieced together section by section, the books of the Pentateuch are made up of bits and scraps from many sources, forming a literary mosaic. Vater held that Genesis alone was made up of fragments from 38 different sources. These two theories, the Documentary and the Fragmentary were developed by an application of the Literary Method of Criticism, that is, a comparison of the words, idioms, phrases and rhetorical style of the books. To De Wette (1780-1849) belongs the credit of first applying the historical argument in addition to the Literary, *i. e.*, using the historical data furnished by the books themselves. De Wette elaborated a the-

ory known as "*The Snpplementary Hypothesis.*" According to this there was a first document known as the Elohist, which formed the ground work, the kernel, the germ, the basis of the Pentateuch. A later writer, the Jehovist, took this, added to it, or supplemented it, by a history of his own, making such additions and supplying such omissions as were necessary to bring it into its present form. The Jehovist in his work probably used germane material from other documents. Deuteronomy, according to this, was composed in the reign of Josiah, 631 B. C.

The next theory of importance is "*The Crystalization Hypothesis*" of Ewald (1803-57). Ewald held that the nucleus of the Pentateuch consisted of the remnants of four primitive treatises which are imbedded in the various strata of the books. According to him the Pentateuch was made up of eight sources. (1) Book of the wars of Jehovah, *i. e.*, the military exploits of Moses and Joshua, composed soon after Joshua's death. (2) The Biography of Moses, written within a century after the death of Joshua. (3) The book of the Covenants from the period of Samson. (4) The Book of Origins, including the Levitical legislation, composed in Solómon's time. (5) The whole, thus far, enlarged by a Third Narrator, appearing in North Palestine, soon after the Book of Origins. (6) The Fourth Narrator, belonging to Southern Palestine, in the 9th century B. C. (7) The Fifth Narrator, belonging to Southern Palestine in the 8th century B. C. (8) The Deuteronomist, about 650 B. C., about 30 years before Hilkiyah's discovery of the Book of the Law, in Josiah's reign. You will observe that according to Ewald, who was very dogmatic and arrogant in his assumptions, the Elohist was first and Deuteronomy was last in order. Ewald insisted on the unity of the Pentateuch. Each Narrator impressed a literary unity upon his work. These points are important.

The next important step was the development of "*A Modified Document Hypothesis.*" This in fact worked a revolution in the critical world. It overturned the theories of Ewald and earlier critics, in large measure. The names of Hupfeld

(1853), Graf (1866), Kuenen (1865) and Wellhausen (1878 and 1889), are most prominently identified with this theory. Hupfeld undertook to show that the Jehovist document was an independent narrative; that the Elohist document, of the Documentary Hypothesis, was in reality not one but two documents, which he called the First Elohist and the Second Elohist. These three, the Jehovist, the First and Second Elohist, were fused into one by a nameless redactor, who is responsible for all the difficulties and troublesome passages.

Graf added to this his development theory, which was an application of the scientific theory of evolution in criticism. According to Graf Deuteronomy was written before the ritual law or Priests' Code of Leviticus and Numbers. The Ritual Law was begun by Ezekiel and completed in the time of Ezra, 445 B. C. The whole of the Elohist Document was post-exilic. Kuenen adopted the theories of Hupfeld and Graf and taught in addition that "the religion of Israel is a purely natural religion, beginning, like all other great religions, with polytheism, and developing gradually into the monotheistic and spiritual system of the prophets of Israel." Wellhausen elaborated this theory so as to include the following points: (1) The credible recorded history of Israel dates from the time of Samuel. (2) With Samuel begins the crystallization of the religion of Israel into its present form, the process continuing through centuries. (3) The Hexateuch is a composite work. (a) First we have a writer designated J = a Jehovist, a Judæan prophetic historian, who composed a history of Israel about 800 B. C. (b) Then have we a writer E = an Elohist, an Ephramite prophetic historian, who wrote a similar work about 750 B. C. These two were fused together by a redactor, JE, about 700 B. C. (c) Then we have a third writer, D = the Deuteronomist, who wrote the main portion of Deuteronomy in Josiah's reign, 621 B. C. Another redactor, JED, united Deuteronomy to JE with some further additions to Deuteronomy. (d) Then we have a fourth main writer, P = Priests' Code, who began to write this ritual law in Ezekiel's time, 600 B. C. There were three parallel forms of this which were codified by Ezra 444

B. C., and sometime between 444 and 280 B. C. it was joined by another redactor to JED, which gives us the Hexateuch in its present form. This you observe destroys much of Ewald's theory. Ewald said the Elohist was first and Deuteronomy was last, but Wellhausen insists that the Jehovist was first, then the Elohist, then the Deuteronomist, then the Priests' Code. Dillmann held, in opposition, that the Priests' Code was before the Jehovist and Elohist, and Deuteronomy was last. So there you are. When doctors disagree who shall decide?

Meanwhile similar methods of study were applied to the other books of the Bible, including those of the New Testament. It is impossible for us to do more than glance at the theories at present held with reference to the Hexateuch and several of the prophetic books. We shall not attempt to discuss the problems of the New Testament. The most generally accepted theory held at present is as follows:

In the Hexateuch we have at least four documents. (1) The Jehovist J, is the oldest of all; the work of a Judean compositor or editor, a prophetic historian, not earlier than the time of Hosea and Amos, 800 B. C., *i. e.*, about 600 years after Moses. This document begins at Genesis 2 : 4. Large portions* of Genesis and Exodus belong to this writer, while nothing from his pen appears in the rest of the Hexateuch. The Elohist E, is next in order; a north Israelite or Ephraimite prophetic historian, or Relator, called by some the second Elohist, the third a Theocratic Relator, who wrote according to Wellhausen about 750 B. C.; about 850 B. C., according to Dillmann. This document first appears in Genesis 20 : 1. Large portions of Genesis and Exodus are his work.

The Deuteronomist D, comes next, who wrote during the reign of Josiah, about 621 B. C. To him must be assigned the most of Deuteronomy and small portions in other books of the Hexateuch. According to the critics, Deuteronomy cannot be the work of Moses, though much of its matter is very ancient, being an adaptation of older legislation in the light of

* Hastings' *Bible Dictionary*, p, 373.

prophetic teaching. It is the book of the law found in the temple by Hilkiah, in Josiah's time² (Ki, 22). "The majority of critics believe this book of the law to have been the result of a pious fraud promulgated by Hilkiah and Shaphan, with the intention of deceiving Josiah into the belief that the reforms which they desired were the express command of God revealed to Moses."* It was supposed that these proposed reforms would carry much more weight if connected with the venerated name of Moses. But we are told we must not regard this pious act as a forgery since literary methods were not as strict then as now, and plagiarism was more universally practiced. It is hard to restrain one's indignation in the face of such statements. And thus we are asked to believe that our Divine Lord quoted from and endorsed the teachings of a book which was a pious fraud. But what is a *pious* fraud? What is a pious lie? Is our Lord to be appealed to as endorsing the infamous doctrine that the end justifies the means?

The next main document in the make-up of the Pentateuch is the so-called Priestly Code, a Ritual Law, known also as the First Elohist, the Foundation Document, a Book of Origins of Ewald, The Annalistic Relator. It is the last and most highly developed form of the Hebrew legislation. It begins with Gen. 1 : 1-2 : 4, and to it belong portions of Gen. and Ex.; at least 16 chaps. of Leviticus (17-26 are doubtful), nearly all of Numbers and parts of Joshua. This comprehends the whole of the ritual or ceremonial law. It began to be written down in the time of Ezekiel, was codified by Ezra, 444 B. C., and was added to the Hexateuch in complete form sometime between 444 and 280 B. C. In other words it is post-exilic. Yet some critics are disposed to allow an earlier date for what is called "The Covenant Code" (Ex. 20 : 22-24 : 8), also Miriam's Song in Ex. 15, and some few poetical fragments.

Here, then, in the Hexateuch we have four main documents, the Jehovist, the Second Elohist, the Deuteronomist, the Priest Code. No part of the Hexateuch, as we have it, is older than

* Hastings' *Bible Dictionary*, p. 368.

850 B. C., except possibly portions of the Covenant Code just mentioned. The Elohist document dates from about 750 B. C.; Deuteronomy from 621 B. C., and is a pious fraud; the Priest Code from after the exile in Babylon. You observe what a radical departure this is from the traditional view. Dr. Geo. Adam Smith, of Glasgow, Scotland, considered one of the conservative Higher Critics gives "this principal conclusion of modern criticism—that the written law of Israel, in the three forms in which we possess it (*i. e.*, Covenant Code, Deuteronomic Code, Priest-Code) cannot have been the work of Moses, or of the Mosaic, or of the immediately post-Mosaic age, but must be assigned to a much later date." * He also declares the first eleven chapters of Gen. "do not contain a transcript of actual history in the narrower sense of that word." † He assures us however that this fact that their framework is woven of the raw material of myth and legend cannot discredit the profound moral and religious truths with which they are charged, any more than the cosmogony of his time which Milton employs, impairs by one whit our spiritual indebtedness to *Paradise Lost*. ‡ All of which may be true if the Bible is not and does not claim to be, a book different in character from *Paradise Lost*. But the Bible is a book different from *Paradise Lost* or any other merely human book. Again, Dr. Smith tells us that "the legendary character of these stories" does not altogether destroy their historical value. § The Fall of Man is "a prose-poem." || As to the reality of the patriarchs he has this to say, ¶ "We perceive, *first*, that many of the personal names are names of tribes as well; *second*, that the characters described in the individuals are the characters developed in the history of the corresponding tribes; and *third*, that the transactions between individuals, who bear tribal names may often be most naturally explained as transactions between tribes." ** These "stories of the Hebrew patriarchs are just

* *Modern Criticism and the Preaching of the Old Testament*, p. 53.

† *Id.*, p. 90.

‡ *Id.*, p. 92.

§ *Id.*, p. 92.

|| *Id.*, p. 93.

¶ *Id.*, p. 102.

** Ryle (*Hastings Bib. Dict.* p. 147) says the attempts to resolve the

what their late date would lead us to expect; efforts to account for the geographical distribution of neighboring nations, for their affinities, contrasts and mutual antipathies, and in particular, for the composite character of Israel."* That is, a late historian invents fictitious stories to account for these facts and palms them off as veritable history, and as such they have been accepted by all classes of writers and by millions of God's dear children during the centuries, until the critics of the 19th century with their superior wisdom have been able so to dissect the stories as to give us the real facts. This strikes me as unmitigated nonsense. But here is a great concession by Dr. Smith. "With critics there has been a distinct reaction of late in favor of admitting the personal reality of Abraham; no one has ever doubted that of Moses; while Joshua's personality rests to-day on surer grounds than in the earlier stages of criticism."† We may rest in peace. The critics allow us to retain a belief in the reality of Abraham and Moses and Joshua! I have quoted Dr. Smith so largely because he is one of the most recent writers, and has been supposed to belong to the conservative school. And I am seeking to present the present status of higher criticism on the Pentateuch.

For centuries the Jewish and Christian Churches have, with practical unanimity, accepted the prophecy of Isaiah as the authentic work of Isaiah the son of Amoz. But the higher critics insist that we must give up this cherished belief. Modern criticism claims that the book of Isaiah falls into three parts. Chapters 1-35 are the work of Isaiah, except possibly 24-27, which must be assigned to the beginning of the post-exilic period. Chapters 36-39 form an historical appendix to the first part, and are considerably later in date. Chapters 40-66 are by some great unknown, called for convenience Deutero-Isaiah, and are positively post-exilic. This is a most general statement. There are great divergencies among the critics.

patriarchs into abstract personifications have "admittedly failed." Kittel says, "Without the patriarchs the religious position of Moses stands before us unsupported and incomprehensible."

* *Mod. Criticism*, p. 104.

† *Id.*, p. 107.

Some divide the third section into at least three parts and assign them to different authors. Here are at least four Isaiahs, and the number, according to some critics, runs up much higher. Prof. T. K. Cheyne, of Oxford University, who possibly would resent being called a rationalist, and yet who represents the extreme radical school of higher criticism, in his new *Encyclopaedia Biblica* following Duhm and Hackmann, has subjected the first thirty-five chapters of Isaiah to a minute analysis, and he denies the Isaian authorship of the major portion of it. Indeed there is very little left as the work of Isaiah the son of Amoz. We cannot examine the grounds of this analysis in detail. In brief, it is claimed in respect of the last twenty-seven chapters of Isaiah that the historical background differs materially from that of 1-39, that Isaiah does not claim to be the author, that the literary style is different from the former; that the ideas and doctrines of the latter part differ from the former, and that Isaiah relates as history what has been erroneously considered prophecy, *e. g.*, his statements about Cyrus. None of these arguments carry much weight with a devout student of Isaiah. The trouble with Isaiah is that his prophecy is entirely too definite for the critics. It involves a supernatural element, and this is precisely what the rationalistic school, at least, will not admit. If one will even cursorily examine Dr. Cheyne's edition of Isaiah, in colors, with the notes, he will feel, I think, the utter weakness and inadequacy of his arguments for the composite characters of the book. We cannot enter more fully into the subject here. We can merely state that none of the critical arguments we have seen have shaken our confidence one whit in the Isaian authorship of those matchless passages in Isaiah, chapters 40-66.* We are

* The testimony of the New Testament as to the Isaian authorship of chapters 40-66 apparently counts for little with these critics. It is very easy to say that they shared the current notion and the popular ignorance of their times. But this again invalidates the historical trustworthiness of the New Testament writers. Compare Matt. 3 : 3, Luke 3 : 4, John 1 : 23 with Isaiah 40 : 3 ; Matt. 8 : 17 with Isaiah 53 : 4 ; Matt. 12 : 17, 18 with Isaiah 42 : 1 ; John 12 : 38, Rom. 10 : 16 with Isaiah 53 : 1 ; Rom. 10 : 20, 21 with Isaiah 65 : 1, 2.

not yet ready to give up these priceless portions of the Holy Word. The critics may say they do not want us to give them up; but if we must deny their historical trustworthiness, and look upon much of the book as a forgery then our confidence in it is gone.*

Already in the third century Porphyry attempted to prove the spuriousness of the book of Daniel. "Spinoza in the 17th century, Collins and Corrodi in the 18th, Eichhorn, Bleek, Ewald and others in the 19th, disputed, while Hengstenberg, Keil, Hävernicks, Delitzsch, and others defended its genuineness."† The unity of the book is now universally conceded. Bleek acknowledged this and then denied its genuineness. The attack is now upon its genuineness and credibility. Many acknowledge the historical reality of Daniel but deny his authorship of this book. We are assured by Dr. E. L. Curtiss‡ that the genuineness of Daniel has now been generally abandoned, and that the book in its present form must be assigned to the age of Antiochus Epiphanes, (175-163 B. C). Daniel is not prophecy, according to the critics, but the writer writes history down to the time of Antiochus Epiphanes under the veiled form of prophecy, which is little short of charging him with downright dishonesty. The presence of three solitary Greek words in Daniel, the names of musical instruments,§ proves

* The unique message of the Great Unknown, Isaiah 40-66, is "that the sorrowing ones are the triumphant ones, that suffering love is conquering love, that sorrow is victor. Christ's life and death will illustrate and exemplify this truth." Lyman Abbott, *Life and Literature of the Ancient Hebrews*, p. 371. This is taken as the meaning of those sublime passages concerning the Suffering Servant of Jehovah. This may be very fine sentiment and it expresses a great truth, but it is meant to eliminate the element of predictive prophecy in the passages. Dr. Abbott's school of critics account for the prophetic messages quite otherwise than the Bible itself. They say that the prophets were simply preachers of righteousness to the men of their day and spoke as preachers of any age should speak. But the Scriptures say that the Holy Ghost spoke through them, and that they spoke as they were moved by the Holy Ghost. Cf. John 12 : 41.

† Rishell, *The Higher Criticism*, p. 147.

‡ Hastings Bible Dict., p. 552.

§ Cf. *Hom. Rev.*, Vol. 44, p. 305.

that the book could not have been written until after the Greek conquest of the East by Alexander in 332 B. C. And this despite the fact that there seems to be clear evidence of the presence of Greeks at the court of Babylon at the time of Daniel and prior thereto.* (The rhetorical style of Daniel, its historical allusions, some of its doctrines, and its inclusion among the Hagiographa instead of among the Prophets in the present Hebrew Bibles, are argued as proofs of its composition at least 370 years after the real Daniel). Here again it is the marvelous character of the prophecies of Daniel that trouble the critics. It too plainly involves the supernatural. Of course our Lord endorses the book of Daniel, but then He, according to these scholars, shared in the errors and general ignorance of His times and people, or lent Himself to popular error on the subject for purposes of influence and instruction. But, excuse me, I for one cannot yet bring myself so to dishonor my blessed Divine Lord.

The problem of Jonah has been an interesting battle-ground for the critics. Are the contents of the book pure myth with no foundation in fact whatsoever; or legend with a slight basis of fact; or allegory, or parable, a veritable history. The critics now universally deny that it is the work of Jonah, the son of Amittai, 2 Kings 14 : 25.† It has been held to be (1) pure myth; (2) a mixture of legend and history; (3) a didactic poem; (4) a symbolical prophecy; (5) a pure legend. Dr. Abbott calls it a satire.‡ All agree that it is not prophecy, and yet all agree in some objective value in the book of a superior kind. Some think it was intended as a lesson to the prophets, others, to teach "God's love for the heathen and to rebuke the Jews for their narrowness and bigotry."§ The critics date the book from the post-exilic period. Smith (p. 89) calls it a sermon in the form of a parable. But read Christ's parables and their setting, then read Jonah and see if you can find

* Cf. Anderson, *Mod. Criticism and the Bible*, p. 131, note.

† Rishell, p. 142.

‡ Zenos, *Elements of Higher Criticism*, p. 221.

§ Rishell, p. 144.

any justification for such a view. There is no room here to enter into an examination of the historic reality of the book. I am simply giving the present critical view of it.

We have taken a mere glance at Higher Criticism at the present, as it affects a small portion of the Old Testament, but this is all we may here attempt. Now as to the subject in general, in its present-day aspects, we may observe—

1. That there continues to be such a wide divergence of view among critical scholars as to impair the validity of their conclusions. We are reminded again and again by the critics that there is substantial agreement among themselves; that the results of modern criticism must be accepted because they are vouched for by so many eminent names with such substantial unanimity. But whilst we may grant this unanimity as to the general assumptions of higher criticism, and as to its main contention the composite character of the Pentateuch and of many of the historical and prophetic books, and an origin and date different from that of the traditional view, yet when we seek for this unanimity in further results we cannot find it. And this necessarily leads us to question the infallibility of the higher critics. Theory after theory once held so confidently has been abandoned. The Documentary Theory of Eichhorn yielded to the Fragmentary Hypothesis of Geddes and Vater and this in turn to the Supplemental theory of De Wette, which itself had to give way before Ewald's dogmatic advocacy of the Crystallization Hypothesis; and today we have, in general, a modified form of the Wellhausen theory. But the latter has revolutionized the whole critical situation of former days.

We must discriminate among higher critics. There are higher critics who hold largely to the traditional views of the Scripture. The late Dr. Green, of Princeton, was a conspicuous example of this class. There are constructive Higher Critics and destructive Higher Critics. But taking the term in its ordinary usage as applying to those critics who hold views very essentially different from the traditional view of the Bible, we may make a rough classification into conservative, or semi-evangelical, and radical, or rationalistic. Many of these

critics labor to assure us of their reverent love, their sincere search for the truth, and of their recognition of the supernatural element in the Bible. They gravely tell us that it contains a divine revelation, and that their efforts are directed to eliminating errors and difficulties, separating the truly historical from the fictitious, and explaining on rational grounds many of the things that have proved stumbling blocks from the traditional standpoint. We must assume their sincerity and honesty in these declarations, whilst we strenuously insist that their work creates vastly more difficulties than it resolves. Prof. Addis, of Oxford, speaks of his deepening conviction that Israel was the subject of a divine guidance, in the strictest sense supernatural and unique, till He came to whom the law and the prophets alike bear witness."* Dr. Lyman Abbott thinks the result of the new criticism will be to destroy that faith in the letter which killeth, and to promote that faith in the spirit which maketh alive; to lead the Christian * * * to regard the Bible not as a book of philosophy about religion, but as a book of religious experiences, the more inspiring religious life of man, because frankly recognized as a book simply, naively, divinely human."† But consider what it amounts to that the Bible is "simply a book of religious experiences," a book "naively, divinely human." Prof. George Adam Smith, of Oxford, one of the most brilliant of recent English critics of the conservative school, though he seems to be fast going over to the radicals, repeatedly affirms that the Bible contains a record of a real revelation of God, and he seeks to show us how much divine revelation modern criticism has left us in the Bible. He assures us that on the present evidence it is impossible to be sure of more than a substratum of actual history in the stories of the patriarchs, "but," he asks, "who wants to be sure of more?" If a preacher cannot be sure of Genesis, "let him seek his texts elsewhere; his field

* Quoted in *Hom. Rev.*, Vol. 39, p. 509.

† By the way what does divinely human mean? We rightly speak of the Divine-human Christ; and we believe this compound term best characterizes the Scriptures. But this is something entirely different from divinely human.

is wide and inexhaustible."* Though Genesis is untrustworthy as history yet "as preachers we cannot refuse to follow the narratives of Genesis until we refuse to follow the parables of Jesus."† In other words, writers of this school insist that we can reject the historical trustworthiness of the Hexateuch and Historical Books, regard Deuteronomy as a pious fraud and Jonah as a parable, allegory, myth or legend, give up David's authorship of any of the Psalms, hold to a half dozen authors of the prophecy of Isaiah, bring down the Priest's Code to the time of Ezra and Daniel to the Maccabaeian period, and yet claim that the Bible contains an authoritative revelation, and that its character is not thus impaired but improved. Well, perhaps some men capable of extraordinary feats of intellectual legerdemain may do so, but scarcely the ordinary Christian. Some of these critics may be able to do so because in their early training they were so saturated with the truth of the Bible that their hearts still cling to it, while their heads reject its integrity.

The radical school does not mince matters much. Two notable Bible Dictionaries have recently appeared, *Hastings*, representing in general the more conservative school, and "The Encyclopaedia Biblical," edited by Dr. T. K. Cheyne, of Oxford, the more radical. According to Dr. Cheyne, "Abraham, Isaac and Jacob are lunar heroes." Here he follows Hugo Winckler, who regards the patriarchs as astral myths. Cheyne allows his exuberant fancy to run riot in conjectures, and then calmly asks us to accept them as emendations of the Biblical history. The virgin birth of Jesus is denied and Paul is robbed of every last one of his epistles in Cheyne's Dictionary. Cheyne raises the question whether any credible elements are to be found in the gospels at all. He finally concludes to save us nine passages from the general wreck, though the story of the empty sepulchre must be given up.* Dr. Driver, of Oxford, is considered quite an advanced higher critic, yet Cheyne says of him that "his sympathy with

* *Mod. Criticism*, etc., p. 108.

† *Id.*, p. 109.

‡ Anderson, *Modern Criticism and the Bible*, p. 7.

old fashioned readers has led him to forget the claims of criticism."* Driver says the Hebrew of Daniel is of much later age than the 6th century B. C. But Cheyne does not agree with him.† Kuenen boldly takes the position that "we must either cast aside as worthless our dearly-bought scientific method or must forever cease to acknowledge the authority of the New Testament in the domain of the exegesis of the Old Testament. Without hesitation we choose the latter alternative." Kuenen acknowledges: "It is the common conviction of all the writers of the New Testament that the Old Testament is inspired of God and is thus invested with divine authority." And yet this testimony must be thrown overboard by the wholesale in order to save the modern scientific method. What are we to think of such an attitude toward the Word of God? Cornhill, of Königsburg, seems to accept the historicity of Jonah, while others reject it; though Cornhill claims that the Old Testament narratives give us "an absolutely false representation of the religious history of the people."‡ The critics are not absolutely agreed as to the order of the Codes, as to the number of the Redactors in the Pentateuch, as to the partition of the Hexateuch and of Isaiah, the character of Daniel's or Jonah's prophecies. Such experts as Wellhausen, Stade, Kuenen, Cornhill, Stark, Addis, Driver, Cheyne, differ materially on many points. Dr. Willis Beecher is right in saying that these differences may show independent study, but they certainly also show the fallibility of the experts. Dr. Driver writes that "Criticism in the hands of Christian scholars does not banish or destroy the inspiration of the Old Testament; it presupposes it."§

The critics admit that the divine authority of the Old Testament was taught by Christ, but then they make Christ "the dupe of the current Jewish nation."|| We are told that our Lord's knowledge of critical questions was no greater than

* Id., p. 41.

† Id., p. 44.

‡ *Hom. Rev.*, Vol. 39, p. 503.

§ *Introduction to Literature of Old Testament.*

|| Anderson, *Mod. Crit.*, p. 73.

that of his contemporaries; Jesus simply shared in the popular notions of his time and Jesus was mistaken. If this is considered dishonoring to our divine Lord the critics fall back upon an unwarranted and distorted view of the doctrine of the Kenosis. The New York *Independent* boldly declares the story of Adam and Eve a myth. St. Paul speaks of Adam as an historical personage, but St. Paul was mistaken. He did not know what he was talking about and the editor of *The Independent* does. And so the merry war goes on. In general, the conservative critics admit a supernatural element in the Bible; the practical result of the radical contention eliminates it. Dr. G. A. Smith acknowledges that modern criticism "has been forced to abandon some positions which it had previously accepted with confidence, and upon innumerable details still exhibited among its supporters differences of opinion."* If this is true—and who can deny it?—we may certainly be excused from accepting the infallibility of the critics. We may properly question the validity of many of their conclusions.

2. Again the careful student cannot fail to notice the precariousness of the methods of the Higher Criticism. This is as pronounced to-day as formerly. Sometimes it is claimed that none but experts are competent to pass upon the questions involved here. The claim is not well founded. The critics themselves acknowledge that their results are not all, or chiefly, or necessarily, obtained from a study of the Hebrew of the Old Testament. Indeed the literary argument is not so much depended upon as formerly. Sir Robert Anderson does not hesitate to declare that "a knowledge of Hebrew has nothing whatever to do with the question of the authenticity of the books of Moses," (p. 44). It is really a question of evidence. It involves the examination of testimony. And here ordinary intelligence and common sense have a place, not to speak of a highly trained mind in general. Moreover the testimony of experts is to be received with caution. It is apt to be one-sided and warped. Expert testimony in a court of law is not necessarily conclusive. One expert will testify that two specimens of handwriting are from one and the same person;

* *Modern Criticism*, etc., p. 32.

another will testify to the contrary. Such conflict of expert testimony is by no means uncommon. An eminent jurist declares as the judgment of the Judicial Bench of Great Britain that no kind of testimony needs more the test of cross-examination than that of experts. And Sir Robert Anderson, of the King's Bench, remarks that "the history of the Higher Criticism movement gives abundant proof that no class of expert is more untrustworthy than the critic."* Again and again this writer inveighs against the weakness of the evidence upon which the higher critics demand acceptance of their conclusions. He examines the evidence from the standpoint of a jurist and this is his deliberate conclusion. With this, it seems to me, every candid mind must agree: We resent the claim that no one but an expert can judge of the trustworthiness of the testimony. If this testimony cannot stand the test of fair intelligence and common sense it is not worthy of acceptance.

Moreover, during the last few years, an enormous literature has been put into our hands. And as Kuenen says, "the Bible is in every one's hand. The critic has no other Bible than the public." We have a perfect right then to an independent examination of the testimony, though we may not pose as experts. In general, the method of the Higher Critics are threefold. The LITERARY METHOD is based on qualities of expression. It aims to determine the origin, form and value of the Biblical writings by a minute study of their vocabulary, idioms phrases, rhetorical qualities of style and expression, on the assumption that "the style is the man." It is assumed that every writer will have his own individual style of composition and that he will always be consistent therewith. All this is true in general. And yet there are many elements of precariousness in it. A writer may vary his style in different kinds of composition, at different times, and ages of life, in different moods. To identify a man's style there must be at hand a considerable body of undisputed writings from his hand. This argument is not now used with the same confidence as formerly. "Ver-
nes insists that the argument from style is absolutely worth-

* *Mod. Crit. and The Bible*, p. 48.

less.”* To this day it has been impossible for the literary critics to identify the famous “Letters of Junius.” Now think of it. We have only the prophecy of Isaiah from the pen of Isaiah. There are no other writings of his with which to compare this prophecy. And yet we are asked to believe that the critics can determine what part of this prophecy was written by the Son of Amoz, what by a second narrator, what by a redactor, what by a third or fourth narrator and what by the Deutero-Isaiah.

The precariousness of this method led to the development of THE HISTORICAL METHOD. This argument is based on the assumption that cotemporaneous history is reflected in any writing of that age. This method includes the argument that the facts and institutions of any age will appear in its literary products; also the argument from anachronism and the argument from silence. This method has its legitimate place and great value. But it must be used cautiously, and the conclusions reached through its employment must be carefully inspected before they can be accepted as valid. In the case of the biblical records we are dependent entirely on the records themselves for many of the facts and institutions recorded. Comparatively few are known from other sources.

THE THEOLOGICAL METHOD is the argument from the content of thought found in the writings. It is claimed that an author's thought is characteristic of him; likewise also the development of his thought.

We have no desire to depreciate the efficiency and the value of any of these methods, nor to reflect upon the critics who use them legitimately. But we insist that they must all be employed with caution, and whilst they may furnish us valuable hypotheses, we must be chary in accepting the absolute validity of the results so obtained. Different critics using these same methods arrive at materially different results, though they may agree in certain main features. This should teach us caution in accepting their results. In view, therefore, of the precar-

* Dr. Behrend, *O. T. under Fire*, p. 122.

iousness of the critical methods employed, and the fatal weakness of much of the evidence advanced, we resent being classed as "brainless idiots" if we do not at once accept the results of faulty logic or of mere conjecture.

Many of the arguments of the critics are based upon mere assumptions. Underlying the whole work of criticism, since Graf's time, is the theory of evolution. The scientific theory of development is assumed in the biblical history. There is distinct progress, we are assured, from the primitive to the organized; from the rude to the cultivated; from polytheism to monotheism; from the tribal conception of God to a conception of God as universal sovereign. A more detailed and elaborate law must hence be later in date than a more simple one. Hence the Deuteronomic Code must be later than the Covenant Code of Ex. 20 : 22-24 : 8, because it is more elaborate than the latter. The Priestly Code of Leviticus and Numbers—the ritual law concerning the Tabernacle, Priesthood, Sacrifices—must be later than the Deuteronomic, because it is still more specific. You can easily see what violence this does to the historical narrative.* And that makes necessary another assumption, that the Pentateuch is primarily a body of legislation, and that the history is subordinate to the laws. The critical methods are then applied in accordance with this assumption. But we have been taught to believe, what lies on the

* But the testimony of the monuments is making havoc of this evolutionary hypothesis. In an article in the *Hom. Review* for June, 1902, Prof. Sayce says, as one of the results of recent archæological work in Egypt, "We have learned that at what was formerly regarded as the very beginning of its history, the culture and civilization of the people were as highly developed as they were at any subsequent period. Indeed, in some respects the art of later Egypt shows a decline. * * * The traditional account of it (*i. e.*, the highly civilized Egypt of Menes) was declared to be mythical or fictitious, and critical analysis had proved it to be unworthy of credit. Such was the house of cards erected by 'criticism,' a few blows of the excavator's spade have levelled it with the ground. * * * The vindication of the historical reality of Menes means the vindication also of the historical reality of the Hebrew patriarchs." Prof. Hilprecht's splendid work in *Biblical Lands* tends in the same direction. The critics will now be obliged to go vastly farther back than the patriarchs for the age of myth and legend and semi-barbarism.

surface of these books, that the Pentateuch is primarily history, much of it constitutional history, and that the laws find their appropriate place in the course of the history. And we shall demand stronger evidence than that so far presented before we accept this new critical assumption. Another assumption of the critics is that the non-observance of a law or a body of laws proves its non-existence. Because in Judges and some of the historical books but scant reference is made to the Levitical legislation, and it seems not to have been observed, or fully observed, therefore it did not then exist. It could not have originated until after the exile, and the pious (Sic) priests who wrote it connected it with the revered name of Moses to secure for it greater authority. But history contradicts this assumption. Dr. Behrend* is right in maintaining that the historical criticism of the Old Testament, so far as its results are revolutionary and destructive, proceeds upon utterly unwarrantable assumptions. It denies the reality of supernatural revelation and guidance. It sneers at miracles and discredits any history which contains them. It resolves predictions into happy guesses, or regards them as uttered *post eventum*." One eminent higher critic (Addis) says of another (Stärk), "He heaps conjecture upon conjecture, and they remain mere conjectures notwithstanding his constant assurance that this is 'clear,' and that 'without doubt.'"† Prof. Cheyne begins his analysis of the Psalms "by assigning a later Psalm to a probable date. This result 'established' he determines the date of another psalm, and so repeats the process backward until the supposed earliest psalms are reached."‡ He thus begins with a probability, agrees on probabilities, and then demands that we accept his conclusions as certainties. But we prefer to be excused. A historian *may* assume that the battle of Yorktown took place in 1807, and then determine the date of the Battle of Bunker Hill and the Declaration of Independence therefrom. But what will be thought of such a history? Theoretically

* *Old Testament Under Fire*, p. 22.

† *Hom. Rev.*, Vol. 39, p. 508.

‡ Rishell, *Higher Criticism*, p. 167.

the critics discredit conjecture, or permit it tentatively as a last resort; but practically they build up many of their arguments and base many of their conclusions upon it.

I have often been struck with the tendency of the critics to exaggerate difficulties, to insist on finding discrepancies, to conjure up contradictions; to magnify differences of detail; to discredit the testimony of the Bible and accept the slenderest facts from other sources that seem in conflict with the Bible. The thought has often come up, why is not the testimony of the Bible just as valid and valuable as this bit from some other, in many cases unknown or unidentified source. But it seems to be a settled principle with many of the critics that the benefit of the doubt *must not* be given to the Bible. The same process applied to any accredited modern writing would yield largely the same results. Dr. Green has shown how these methods may be applied to the parables of the Prodigal Son and the Good Samaritan, and how they yield us two distinct documents as sources in each case, and another writer has done the same with the Epistle to the Romans. I wish I might have time to give illustrations of these statements just made. Take as one, the story of Joseph, as given in Gen. 37. We quote here Dr. Behrend (p. 128). It contains 127 lines in an Oxford Bible. "The critics assign it to five different hands, and distribute the parts as follows: Three lines fr. P, 3 fr. JE, 2 lines gloss, 1 ½ fr. E, 7 fr. J, 1 ½ fr. E, 1 fr. R, 9 fr. E, 2 fr. R, 4 ½ fr. E, 1 fr. R, 6 ½ fr. E, 23 fr. JE, 6 fr. E, 1 word fr. R, 2 lines fr. J, 5 fr. E, 2 ½ fr. JE, 1 fr. J, 3 ½ fr. JE, 1 fr. J, 3 ½ fr. JE, 11 fr. J, 2 fr. E, 2 fr. J, 8 ½ fr. E, 6 ½ fr. J, 3 fr. E, 5 fr. J, 2 ½ fr. E. And yet I am to be called a brainless idiot if I cannot believe such bosh as that! I can scarcely forbear quoting these strong statements from Dr. Dewart, of Toronto, Canada,* "That the Bible account of the history of the religion of Israel is more consistent and probable than the fanciful reconstruction which has been substituted for it. That the theories of these critics are largely based on un-

* *Hom. Review*, Vol. 43, p. 122.

verified conjectures. "That in dissecting and adjusting the Old Testament to make it accord with a preconceived theory, the higher critics use unscientific and unwarranted methods. That the many contradictory differences of leading critics discredit their methods and conclusions."

3. Again we are struck with the acknowledged uncertainty of the results of the Higher Criticism. As we read, we are informed that this is "probably" the correct order; it was "possibly" so and so; it is "likely" that a Redactor wrote this; the results here are "uncertain," etc. I open Dr. Driver's Introduction, p. 12, and I read, "In the details of the analysis of JE, there is sometimes uncertainty, owing to the criteria being indecisive." Of course! Again certain verses "may have been expounded or glossed by the compiler" (p. 15). Certainly, and again, they may not have been. In Gen., 34th chapter, "the analysis throughout is not equally certain (p. 15). "Other verses have probably been expanded or recast by the compiler." These are specimens at random. I turn to Dr. Smith's Modern Criticism and the Preaching of the Old Testament (p. 42) and I read, "From the nature of the materials, much uncertainty must, of course, prevail." Again (p. 42), "Here the work of the critic is necessarily extremely delicate, and the results are often uncertain." And so again and again. Turn to Cheyne's Isaiah, to Hasting's Bible Dictionary, to any works of this class, and the same fact greets you repeatedly. Now I insist that when there is such widespread uncertainty in the results, coupled with such precariousness of method, we need not be too eager to accept the conclusions of the critics, nor should we be charged with unworthy conservatism in taking such a position. When there is not quite so much of "probability" and "possibility", and "uncertainty" about them we may more readily accept them. But when it comes to guessing, I prefer to stand to my guessing, if it is a guess, with the historic Church of God throughout the centuries, with the noble army of the martyrs with the goodly company of the saints, with the holy band of the apostles and with the Blessed Lord Himself!

4. Again, we are impressed with the dogmatism and the ar-

rogance of the higher critics. It is similar to that of the scientists who advocate the doctrine of evolution. The poor layman who dares to question the truth of this hypothesis, for it is still no more than that, is tabooed as behind the times, a poor moss-back of a bygone age of intellectual darkness. Whilst the scientists, in working out this hypothesis, have laid the intellectual world under an immense debt, yet so long as there are so many and such awful breaks in the chain of the evolutionary hypothesis, we may justify our refusal to accept its teachings *in toto*, especially in reference to man. And so with the Higher Criticism. Let us cheerfully acknowledge our indebtedness to these profound and patient scholars. They have given the Bible an historical setting it never had before; they have shed much light upon many dark problems; they have helped to clear up many difficulties; they have compelled a modification of some traditional views of the Holy Scriptures for which the Bible itself was in no way responsible. Let us cordially grant that they have done us an immense service, and that many of them, perhaps most of them, are sincere and honest in their search for the truth, and that they mean to be thoroughly reverent in tone and method and spirit. And yet all this does not justify their extreme dogmatism and arrogance. They claim practical certainty for their conclusions, and hence there is no room to differ with them. They are right and the rest are wrong. They apparently forget the instability of critical opinions in the past. Fifty years ago Ewald was the power in the critical world. But Ewald speaks freely of the failure of Ilgen's studies, and characterizes Hupfeld and Knobel as "unsatisfactory and perverse," and the opinions of such eminent scholars as Hengstenberg, Delitzsch, Keil and Kurtz as standing "below and outside of all science." He arrogantly claimed the field all to himself. Ewald resolved the entire patriarchal history into a myth, because he positively assumed that the art of writing was unknown in the time of Moses. Yet no sane scholar would dare maintain that opinion to-day, and his crystallization theory has been driven from the field by the Kuenen-Wellhausen. Present-day scholars are as arrogant

as Ewald, and likely will so continue until their theories are forced into the background by some new hypothesis. The new school claims the victory. Dr. Smith says that* "Modern Criticism has won its war against Traditional theories. It only remains to fix the amount of the indemnity." This remarkable statement exhibits the temper of most of the critics. Then he proceeds to fix the indemnity by asking "What does criticism leave to us in the Old Testament; how much true history and how much revelation?" He tries to assure us that only a small portion of the Old Testament has been affected. For instance, we do not enter real history until the time of Samuel; the two stories of David's introduction to Saul are irreconcilable, and his dictum is, "What an advantage, then, has the preacher of to-day who can frankly say: These are two different traditions of the same event, and confine himself to the rich material and moral issues of the one or the other?" But not every honest man can so easily satisfy himself. As Beecher long ago pointed out, a man cannot grow enthusiastic over an uncertainty. Some of the history of Elijah and Elisha we may retain, some must go; we must give up all of David's psalms; the book of Jonah is but a parable; Abraham we may possibly retain and Moses certainly, but the rest of the patriarchs must recede into the shadowy regions of limbo, while the creation and flood stories are myth or legend. This distinguished author speaks glibly of errors of date and authorship in the Old Testament books which scholars like himself are only now able to correct (p. 8). It is small wonder that Prof. Sayce protests against the papacy of the modern critical school. Cheyne, on the books of Nehemiah and Ezra says, "The traditional account is, I regret to say, to a large extent untrustworthy. Tradition has partly imagined facts where there were none, partly exaggerated the really existing facts." Alas! what a supreme pity that poor deluded Nehemiah and Ezra did not have Dr. Cheyne with them to give them the facts, and that Jews and Christians alike have been obliged to wait until the dawn of the Twentieth Century for this eminent critic

* *Modern Criticism, etc.*, p. 72.

to correct for them this Old Testament upon which they have relied with such confidence and which has been to them such a source of comfort and hope. Prof. Addis speaks of "modern scholars who can study Jeremiah's writings in a historical spirit, of which no author of fictitious history in early days was capable." The fictitious history here referred to is that of Kings and Chronicles. Certainly the words of one of the Lord Chancellors of England are in place here, "Writings of this character are far more dangerous to the simple-minded Christian than any direct attack upon his Master. They are very shockingly irreverent. A patronizing tone is assumed, which exhibits the critic as presuming to judge Him who will be our Judge (Anderson, p. 70).

5. And now just a word or two in conclusion. I have already referred incidentally to certain valuable results from modern critical study of the Bible. Let us not be slow to acknowledge this fact. It would be easy, had we the time, to indicate some of these benefits so received. They have taught us to review and revise some of our traditional theories for which the Bible itself never was responsible. Here is a distinct gain. What if there is evidence of the use of several documents in the Pentateuch? If so, Moses simply exercised the prerogative of the historians of every age in using any reliable extant documents in writing his history. No true scholar ever would claim that Moses got his ordinary historical facts in any other wise than other historians get theirs. And certainly we may grant that the postscript to Deuteronomy was added by another hand without impairing the Mosaic authorship or the inspiration of the Book. And so of some other minor points. But let us scrutinize carefully the methods and the alleged results of Higher Criticism before yielding to its demands. The critics practically claim the field of critical scholarship all to themselves. There is the ring of confident victory in their claims. The battle with the traditional theories has been fought and won, so they tell us. But we are not so sure of that. We have heard that boast before.

Let us not be alarmed. The followers of the now discredited Tübingen school made it again and again.

I am persuaded that even now the tide is turning. A reaction has set in. Two things have practically always followed from determined attacks upon the truth of God's word, and the integrity of that word. First the assailants have gotten into a conflict among themselves. One of the interesting things in the study of unbelief is to note how the different schools have been mutually destructive of each other. It is so now. The critics refute the critics. Cheyne's radicalism is causing a reaction. Another fact is that assaults on the truth have compelled its adherents to examine more thoroughly the foundation of belief on the points involved. This has resulted in a sifting out of error, in modifying, in some cases, former unguarded statements, and in new formulations of the truth that will stand the severest test. The cause of truth has thus gained immensely. It will be so here. Conservative scholars are busy with these modern problems as never before. Meanwhile let us not fear for the truth, but welcome the light from whatever source it comes. These are golden words from the late Dr. Greene, of Princeton: "Every attempt to interfere with freedom of inquiry on this subject should be frowned down from whatever quarter it may proceed, or by whatever object it may be actuated, and vigorous threshing will free the pure grain from the worthless chaff."* And so also are these words from Dr. Sinker:† "We are prepared as Christian men to receive and welcome the fullest light of the new learning. We are not prepared to be dragged at the wheels of those who would give us a discredited Old Testament, an emasculated New Testament, a fallible Christ."

One Sunday evening, a few weeks ago, the writer had a memorable and very comforting experience. The work of the day had been very hard, and I was unable to sleep. My mind ran on this subject, and especially on the attacks now being made on the integrity of the sacred Word. And the question came to me, as it has come to multitudes of others, "Will the

* Behrends *O. T. Under Fire*, p. 139.

† Anderson's *Mod. Critic*, p. 254.

old Book stand?" And then I thought, what a variety of theories have been held about the sun. Centuries ago, we are told, Pythagoras held that the sun was the center of our system. But presently the Ptolemaic theory won the day against him. Centuries after came the Copernican theory. For ages men have been speculating as to the character of the sun, the nature of his atmosphere, and have been trying to solve the great problems of his motion, influence and place in the universe system. Manifold theories have been proposed; some of them very silly and unscientific. But all this while the old sun has been shining with undimmed lustre, bathing the earth with his glorious light, and blessing plant and animal life. No matter what men have said of him, there is the sun as a fact in the material universe, and here on earth are his beneficent influences, despite all theories as to how they are effected. And so with God's blessed Word. There is the Bible as a fact, a fact to be reckoned with whether it can be fully or satisfactorily accounted for or not. And for ages this old earth has been witnessing the beneficent influences of the teachings of this old Book of God, despite all the attacks made upon its genuineness, credibility and integrity. Men may say what they please about it to-day, its origin and composition, and entertain any theories they desire as to its inspiration, it will go on giving light to the path, and joy to the heart of those who study its blessed pages in a reverent spirit; and its leaves will continue to be for the healing of the nations. I cannot describe the joy and the peace that came to my heart that night through this experience. "Forever, O Lord, Thy word is settled in heaven." "The word of the Lord endureth forever."

ARTICLE III.

THE TWO REFORMATION THEOLOGIES.

BY PROFESSOR J. W. RICHARD, D.D.

[CONCLUDED FROM PAGE 355.]

I. THE PARALLEL.

Having in the foregoing installments of this essay presented the fundamental principles of the Christian doctrine as held and stated in one way by Luther, and as held and stated in another way by Calvin, it may not be unprofitable to draw a parallel between these two great men as they stand before us in the character of theologians. This we purpose doing now in a few brief delineations.

But it must be said at the outstart that both Luther and Calvin held firmly by the authority of the divine word. The word of God, and that alone, should make articles of faith, though Luther was more influenced by traditional practices of the Church than was Calvin. And that they often conceived differently the meaning of the divine word on important subjects is doubtless due in part at least to differences in psychological organization, in Christian experience, and in external circumstances. Luther had suffered great mental distress on account of his sins, and was led to the experience of pardon partly through the ministry of the Church, and partly and permanently through the divine word. Luther became a reformer by restoring and revitalizing a much neglected and almost forgotten truth. Calvin accepted the Reformation when it had now an established place in the world. His own deep experiences would naturally lead Luther to gather his thoughts about Christ and his work for man. Circumstances and his own logical mind would naturally lead Calvin to concentrate his thoughts on the system, in which Christ and his work had place. Logically and by reason of his antecedents Calvin would

be led to emphasize the doctrine of God, who is the author and finisher of salvation with himself as the end of all his operations. In other words, Calvin would be inclined to lay the greater stress on the first article of the Creed, while Luther would be inclined, indeed inwardly necessitated, to lay the greater stress on the second article. Here at once we have cause for the characteristic distinction of the *per Christum*, and the *propter Christum*—the *um Christi willen*. The former places Christ more in the relation of an instrument to an antecedent purpose; the latter places him more in the relation of cause to a subsequent result. Calvin holds that salvation, which is antecedently determined by the eternal decree, comes to the elect *through Christ*. Luther holds that salvation comes to us *on account of Christ*, whose benefits are offered alike to all.

This distinction is not only characteristic, but it has great significance—the significance of the difference between a cause and an instrument. In the one case we have Christ placed at the very heart of the love of God, and made a fountain and cause of salvation. In the other case we hear Christ himself called *electus*, and see him standing at a distance from the purpose to save. We hear Luther say that “mercy is promised to us on account of Christ,” that “righteousness is reckoned to us on account of Christ.” We hear Calvin say that Christ is a means through which God extends his mercy to the elect, and is the mirror and pledge of the divine mercy. This difference means a great deal when logically carried out and applied in a system of theology. It makes the Lutheran theology more *christological*. It makes the Calvinistic theology more *theological*. It causes the one system to praise and magnify the provision in the divine economy for the redemption of man from sin and misery. It causes the other system to reverence and adore the provision made in the universe for the manifestation of the divine glory.

If we turn our attention specifically to the article of justification, we hear Luther call it “the master, the prince, the lord, the ruler, the judge over all kinds of doctrine, which governs all the doctrine of the Church, and raises up our conscience before God,” but we hear Calvin call justification the second proof of

our election. We hear Luther say that all the other articles follow from this article of justification, and hence that this article is "the head and sum of all the Christian doctrine." We hear Calvin say that "the first cause, both of our calling, and of all the benefits which we receive from God, is his eternal election." We find that Luther places justification before regeneration as its cause. In his *Catechismus* (1537) Calvin discusses Election and Predestination; then Faith, Faith as the gift of God, Justification. His formula is: "We are justified in Christ;" "we obtain life in Christ." In the *Institutes* Regeneration is postponed to Justification. Luther declares that all his theological studies gather round, proceed from, and return again to the article of Justification. He thus makes Justification his first fundamental principle. Calvin declares that Election is his first fundamental principle, and that "ignorance of this principle evidently detracts from the divine glory, and diminishes real humility."*

But if we go back of justification to God, we find ultimately a still greater difference between these two theologians. They do both indeed affirm the absolute sovereignty of God. But Luther makes a distinction between "the hidden God" and "the proclaimed God." With him it is "the hidden God," who is absolute. With this God we have nothing to do. "The proclaimed God" limits himself by his word. This is the God of our salvation. Calvin, so far as we have observed, makes no such distinction. With him God is God, and it is exactly with God's secret counsel that we have to do, inasmuch as by his secret counsel God determines the destiny of each individual of the human race. This secret counsel, according to Calvin, expresses itself through the Scriptures in Election and Reprobation. But according to Luther "the proclaimed God wills that all men be saved, inasmuch as by the word he comes to all." According to Calvin it is the eternal purpose of God to elect a few persons to salvation, and to reprobate all other persons to damnation. According to Luther it is the sincere purpose of God, as expressed in the Scriptures, to save all who believe. *Volui et tu noluisti*. According to Calvin Christ died for the

**Institutes*, II, XXI; I.

elect only ; according to Luther "the Incarnate God was sent into the world, that he might will, might speak, might do, might suffer, might offer for all men all things that are necessary unto salvation." According to Calvin only the elect are effectually called ; according to Luther the call comes alike to all who hear the Gospel. According to Calvin faith is given to the elect only ; according to Luther God offers grace to all alike in the word and sacraments, "and it is the fault of the will which does not admit him." According to Calvin they are justified who have been elected ; according to Luther they are elected who diligently hear the Gospel and believe in Christ. According to Calvin the "all" included in the open call of the Gospel does not mean *omnes universaliter*, but only some of every rank and condition of life ; according to Luther "in the revealed word God wills that all be saved, and if they believe that word they shall be saved." According to Calvin, not all who hear the word of God can believe, since the majority are judicially blinded and hardened ; according to Luther "God wills that all men be saved without a single exception. * * * But that all men are not saved, not God, but man is the cause." And according to Calvin the Church is "wonderfully concealed in the bosom of a blessed predestination, and in the mass of a miserable damnation."* According to Luther Justification is "the head and cornerstone, which alone begets, nourishes, edifies, preserves, and defends the Church," and the Church is revealed by the word and the sacraments.

But in order to make this parallel more complete it will be necessary to exhibit the more practical side of Luther's idea of God. Growing out of his conception of "the proclaimed God," but so closely connected with it as to be a part of it, is his conception of God as *Love*, as *Holy Love*, and of his revealed will as the will of salvation. Luther does not deny, yea, he affirms, that God is omnipotent, omniscient, omnipresent, sovereign. But he does not find the heart of God in omnipotence, omniscience, omnipresence, sovereignty. Pre-eminently does he find the heart of God in that attribute of his being, which is turned toward the world in Christ Jesus, and in the will of salvation

* *Institutes*, II, XXI, I.

that embraces all men (Ezek. 18 : 23). According to Luther we rightly see God in Christ Jesus, and "recognize him as a gracious Father, who gladly helps and saves us ; who daily points to all his works, and throughout the whole world preserves his creatures, does them good, richly bestows his blessing upon them, except where necessary and for the sake of the pious he must punish the wicked—who so governs that we always see more of his grace and goodness than of his wrath and punishment, for where one is sick, blind, dumb, paralytic, leprous, a hundred thousand are sound. A person may have a disorder in a part of his body, yet is the whole man, body and spirit, the pure goodness of God."*

And as the benevolence of God lets itself down to the humble, Luther declares that the "title and most appropriate definition of God is, Respector of the despised and humble." The love of God Luther describes as "the nature of God," as "the heart of God." He also distinguishes between "God's own work" and "God's strange work." "God's own work is beneficence and salvation. God's strange work is anger, judgment and condemnation. But even in the execution of this strange work God is beneficent, for thereby he seeks to humble us, and to draw us to himself. Indeed, God's anger exists only in appearance. He seems to be angry, yet he does not hate nor reject us, but sometimes he does, as Isaiah says (28 : 21), *alienum opus*, and pretends anger for the purpose of slaying the carnal mind, which is enmity against God. Job says, though he slay me, yet will I hope, for Job is certain that God thinks otherwise, and really is not angry."†

From Hosea 11 : 8 he draws this conclusion: "That heart aroused to wrath on account of the sins of men is *not the true* heart of God, the heart that is affected by our miseries, that burns daily with pity," etc.

"The idea intended to be conveyed by such declarations as these," says Köstlin, "is essentially the same as that embodied in the distinction drawn between God's strange work and his own or natural work. The nature of God is in itself pure love

* *Erl. Ed.*, 49 : 94.

† *Ex. Op.*, 5 : 176.

and goodness, but this very nature must also, when sin faces it, glow with zeal and act as a burning fire. In illustrating this thought, he compares God to the king (queen) among bees, which has no sting and injures no one, but which must for protection, in order not to be killed by the drones, have others about him that can sting. Thus God suffers all manner of calamities, and even the devil, to come out of hell, and he uses them as stings on every hand.”*

To this fundamental idea of the divine love and goodness Luther gives a very practical term. In the small Catechism the children are taught that all the blessings of life come “through the pure, paternal, divine goodness and mercy.” “Hence we conclude,” says Luther in the Large Catechism, “that we Germans from ancient times call God (more beautifully than any other language) even by this name, deriving it from the word *Gut*, as he is an eternal fountain-head, which overflows with pure *goodness*, and from which issues all that is, or can be called good.”

These ideas of God as enunciated and expounded by Luther, especially after 1525, and his conception of the means of grace as the true expression of the divine will towards man, and as instruments by which God works efficaciously on the minds and hearts of men, entered genetically into the Lutheran theology. The proclaimed God wills that all men be saved, inasmuch as by the word of his grace he comes alike to all who hear that word, so that it is the fault of a man's own will if he be lost, especially since “the Incarnate God came into the world that he might will, might speak, might do, might suffer, might offer, for all men, all things that are necessary unto salvation”—an aphorism that lies very near the center of the Lutheran theology.

II. THE DOGMATIC AND CONFESSIONAL DEVELOPMENT OF THE LUTHERAN THEOLOGY.

It may at once be confidently affirmed that Luther's doctrine of “the proclaimed God,” of justification by faith alone, of the

* *Luther's Theology*, II, 290.

means of grace, forms the guiding lines of the Lutheran dogmatic and confessional theology to the exclusion of the Determinism and Predestinationism of the earlier Luther and Melanchthon. In other words, the Lutheran dogmatic and confessional theology is not formally characterized by the Double Predestination, but by that Christian Universalism that sincerely offers salvation to all men, and maintains that the atonement of Christ in its purpose and design extends to all men in such a way as to make the salvation of every hearer of the Gospel certain, provided he believes the Gospel and accepts Christ as his Saviour, which he is able to do through the ministry of the word and by the working of the Holy Spirit, who is active in that ministry.

That these affirmations are fully justified, the following facts and quotations will show :

1. In his *Commentary on Colossians* (1527) Melanchthon clearly abandons that doctrine of Determinism and Pedestinationism which had been expressed in the first edition of the *Loci*, and recognizes the freedom of the will on things appertaining to this life ; but he denies that the will has power to perform Christian righteousness.* The same position is taken by him in the Saxon Visitation Articles of the same year, which were heartily approved by Luther and Bugenhagen, and were officially employed in organizing the Lutheran Church in Saxony.

2. In the Augsburg Confession (1530) there is, as many persons suppose, a faint reminiscence of the earlier deterministic and predestinarian *usus loquendi* in the statement of Article V, that the Holy Ghost "worketh faith, where and when it pleaseth God in those that hear the Gospel." But in a letter to Brentz in 1531 Melanchthon states that he had purposely excluded from the Apology all reference to Predestination, and declares that Predestination follows faith.† From this time on one peculiarity of Melanchthon's teaching is that he rejects all abstract and philosophical theories in regard to God's will, and bases all his thoughts about salvation on the clear and distinct word of God. He rests Election on the mercy of God, affirms

* See Galle, *Characteristik Melanchthon's*, p. 274

† C. R., II, 546.

that the promises of the Gospel extend to all, and that reprobation results from unwillingness to believe the Gospel. Such teaching appears already in the Apology: "In courts of men law and obligation are certain, mercy is uncertain. In the presence of God the case is different. Mercy has the clear command of God. For the Gospel is itself the command which bids us believe that God pardons and saves on account of Christ, according to the text: God sent not his Son into the world to condemn the world, but that the world might be saved through him. He that believeth in him is not condemned. Hence whenever mercy is mentioned, it must be understood that faith is required. And this faith makes the difference between those who are to be saved and those who are to be damned; between the worthy and the unworthy."

3. But this line of thought is much more amply exhibited by Melanchthon in his *Commentary on Romans* (1532). In commenting on the ninth chapter he says: "Here we must hold fast to the word of the Gospel in regard to gratuitous mercy. For this very purpose was the voice of the Gospel touching the gracious reconciliation on account of the Son revealed, viz., that it might meet the question of merit and save us in this hard struggle by asseverating that we certainly are received gratuitously on account of the Mediator and not on account of our own unworthiness. See evident proofs of this in Rom. IV, and Titus III.

"The question of particularity arises. Because when we hear that mercy is the cause of Election, and yet that few are elected, we are even more distressed, and wonder whether there is respect of persons with God, and why he does not have mercy on all. To such temptation ought to be opposed the universal promises of the Gospel, which teach that God for Christ's sake, and gratuitously, promises salvation to all, as is said: The righteousness of God through faith in Jesus Christ is to all and upon all. And again: The Lord of all is rich in mercy to all. Again: Whosoever calleth on the name of the Lord, etc. These universal statements must be opposed to the temptation in regard to particularity. Then it must be affirmed that in regard to the will of God we must not judge according

to reason without the word of God. As in Justification, so in Election, we must not judge according to reason, or according to the law, but according to the Gospel."* In this same connection he declares that the cause of reprobation is persistent opposition to God's call, and unwillingness to trust to the Gospel call, and is in the will.

4. (a). In the year 1535 Melanchthon issued a thoroughly rewritten edition of his *Loci*. In this book he declares that Predestination must be learned, not from the law, but from the Gospel, and that its cause is identical with that of Justification. Again and again does he say that the promise of the Gospel appertains to all men; that if any one should seek the cause of Election apart from the Gospel, he must necessarily err; that to particularize the Gospel is to make it uncertain; that God has mercy on all, and wishes all to be saved; that Christ is the cause of Election. He says: "Let us therefore seek the promise in which God expresses his will, and let us know that there is no will of God apart from the word; but the command of God is unchangeable, and let us hear the Son as he says: Hear ye him. This word embraces all the promises. Let it therefore be fixed in our minds, and let us always think of it in daily devotions that the command of God is eternal and unchangeable, that we may believe the promise of grace, which is the sum of the Gospel, as the prophets, Christ and the Apostles teach, as John 3:16; John 6:40: This is the voice of the Father that every one who believes in the Son, may have eternal life. In a word, this is the proper and perpetual voice of the Gospel. As the preaching appertains to all, and condemns all (Rom. 3), so also the promise of grace appertains to all." The universality of Predestination and the call is proved from such passages as Matt. 11:28; John 3:15; Rom. 3:22; 10:12; 11:22; Isa. 53:6; Acts 10:43; 13:39; 10:34.

(b). In 1543 Melanchthon published a still further revised edition of the *Loci*. He lays down three rules for the discussion of Election. He says: "The first is, we must not judge of Election from the reason, nor from the law, but from the Gospel.

"The second is that the whole number of those to be saved,

* C. R., XV, 678-687.

are elected on account of Christ. Wherefore unless we embrace the recognition of Christ we cannot speak of Election.

"The third is, that we do not seek one cause for Justification, and another for Election. Peter is elected because he is a member of Christ, that is, he pleases God because by faith he has been made a member of Christ. Therefore as when we speak of justification we begin with a recognition of the voice of the Gospel, so when we are about to speak of Election, let us embrace the voice of the Gospel. So must we judge; we must begin with the recognition of Christ and with the Gospel."

(c). In the *Loci* of 1559 (the last edition) Melanchthon repeats the above, word for word, reaffirms the universality of the call, and declares that the cause of Election is compassion in the will of God, and that "we must judge of Election *a posteriori*, viz., that without doubt those are elected who lay hold on the compassion promised on account of Christ, and persevere in faith to the end."

(d). In the *Catechesis Puerilis*, which, beginning in the year 1532, passed through numerous editions, Melanchthon says: "As the preaching of repentance appertains to all, so also the promise appertains to all. Let us not allow our faith to be shaken by unreasonable discussions about Predestination; but let us begin with the word of God, and let us remember that the promise appertains to all, and let us be assured that those things truly belong to us which God has set forth and promised in his word, because he acts through his word, and wishes to be found in his word, according to the passage: The Gospel is the power of God unto salvation to every one that believeth."* To the same effect speaks Melanchthon in his *Explicatio Symboli Niceni*, completed in the year 1557, and first published after the author's death: "The promise appertains to all, and God's will of salvation must be learned from the divine word."†

(e). The significance of this teaching lies in the fact that it received the almost unqualified endorsement of the Lutheran Church. Melanchthon's *Loci* was the common theological

* C. R., XXIII : 179.

† *Ibid*, 347-584.

text-book. It was in the hands of all theologians, pastors and students. From 1535 to 1559 the *Loci* appeared in not less than forty-eight editions, some of them in German, but the most of them in Latin. In 1545 the *Loci* received Luther's endorsement in the following words: "There are now many systematic works extant. Among those Philip's *Loci Communes* excel. By means of these the theologian and pastor can be well instructed, and can be effective in preaching the Gospel."*

(f). And still more significant is Melanchthon's testimony, that in the *Loci* he "faithfully brought together the teaching of those churches which embraced the Confession delivered to the Emperor in 1530," and that he brought into "one body" the teaching of Luther scattered in many volumes, saying: "I always submitted all my writings to the judgment of our Church and of Luther himself. Also in regard to many subjects I carefully inquired of Luther for his opinion."†

It thus appears that the *Loci* were not an exhibition of the private opinions of Melanchthon, but such an exhibition of Lutheran teaching as received the indorsement of Luther himself.

(a). In 1533 Melanchthon issued a new German edition of the Augsburg Confession, which was republished again and again, always as the Confession that had been delivered to the Emperor in 1530, and which for more than a generation supplanted Melanchthon's German *Editio Princeps*, and which has never been objected to by any part of the Lutheran Church. In Article V, instead of "when and where he will," we have the following: "God has instituted the ministerial office to preach the Gospel, which announces the wrath of God against sin, and also offers the forgiveness of sins to all men, so that all who are alarmed at the wrath of God against their sin, and comfort themselves with the promise preached in the Gospel, and believe that with God there truly is forgiveness on account of Christ, and not on account of their own repentance, wor-

* Preface to first edition of Luther's works.

† Quoted in Baumgarten's *Glaubenslehre*, II, 153.

thiness or works, all these certainly have forgiveness of sins."*

(b). In 1540 Melanchthon was authorized to publish a new edition of the Confession in Latin. This edition was called *Confessio uberior, Confessio locupletior, Confessio emendata*, was approved by Luther, was by public authority employed in several diets as the Confession of the Lutheran faith that had been delivered to the Emperor in 1530,† and so completely did it supplant all earlier editions as to render the *Editio Princeps* almost a forgotten book. For at least twenty years it was emphatically *the* Confession of the Lutheran Church, and was not thought of as *variata* until after jealousy and calumny had aspersed the memory of its author.

In this "emended" Confession, in Article V, instead of: "Where and when it seemeth good to God," we have: "Christ instituted the office of teaching the Gospel, which teaches repentance and remission of sins; and each kind of preaching is for all, condemns the sins of all, and promises remission of sins to all, so that the promise may not be uncertain, but that all minds terrified may know that they ought to believe that remission of sins is certainly bestowed on us for the sake of Christ, and not on account of our merits and worthiness."‡

(c). In the year 1551 Melanchthon, by command of his Elector, prepared *The Confession of the Doctrine of the Saxon Churches*, commonly known as the *Confessio Saxonica*, to be presented to the Council of Trent. The author "wishes simply and faithfully to recite and to repeat the doctrine of the Confession which was presented to the Emperor, Charles V, at the Diet of Augsburg in 1530." The document was signed by the Professors of Wittenberg and Leipzig, and by Superintendents and pastors of Saxony, by the Legates of the Margrave of Brandenburg, by the Legates of Count Gebhard of Mansfeld, by the ministers of Strassburg, the ministers of Hither Pomerania and by others, "as the common doctrine taught in our churches and universities."

* C. R., XXI : 728.

† See facsimiles of title pages in C. R., XXVI : 343.

‡ C. R., XXVII : 327 *et seqq.*

In this Confession there is not a word that favors the doctrine of Predestination. On the contrary the universality of the offer of salvation is presented in the clearest form: "It is most certain that the preaching of repentance appertains to all men: So also the promise appertains to all, and offers the promise of pardon to all, as is said in those passages that refer to all: Come unto me all ye that labor and are heavy laden, and I will give you rest. Also John 3: That everyone who believes on him might not perish. Rom. 10: Whosoever believeth on him shall not be confounded. Also: The Lord of all is rich towards all who call on him. Rom. 2: God hath concluded all under disobedience, that he might have mercy on all. Let every individual include himself in this universal promise, and not indulge distrust, but strive to assent to the word of God, obey the Holy Spirit, and seek assistance, according to Luke 2: "How much more will he give the Spirit to them that ask him?"

(d). In the year 1552 Melanchthon composed the *Examine Ordinandorum*, which was incorporated in numerous *Kirchenordnungen* and widely used in the examination of candidates for the Lutheran ministry. In its doctrinal teaching this *Examen* excludes every thought of Predestination except as the same depends upon faith in Christ. It says: "The rule must be held without exception: We must judge of the will of God by this word. The word condemns all without exception who do not turn unto God, as is said in 1 Cor. 6: Do not err: Idolaters, murderers, adulterers are not heirs of eternal life. Likewise, if anyone believe not on the Son the wrath of God abides upon him. On the contrary God receives all without exception, who by conversion and repentance believe on the Son according to the passages: As I live saith the Lord, I have no pleasure in the death of the sinner, but that he turn and live. Likewise, God so loved the world that he gave his only-begotten Son, that whosoever believeth on him might not perish, but have everlasting life. Let these two rules, which throw light on all other doctrines, be ever kept in view." Here it appears that the doctrine of repentance and the offer of salvation to all men, is to be held as regulative for the entire

system of Christian truth. Those passages of Scripture are quoted which call all men to salvation. In the very language of Melanchthon, both the command to repentance and the call to faith embrace *omnes universaliter*.

(e). In 1552 the *Confessio Wirtembergica* was prepared by John Brentz at the command of Duke Christopher. It also was designed to be sent and was sent to Trent, and is written very much in the strain of the *Confessio Saxonica*. It contains not one word in exposition or defense of Predestination. Brentz did indeed in some of his other writings show some remnants of Luther's earlier predestinarianism. But in this Confession he again and again uses the *propter Christum*, and not the *per Christum*, and more and more did he advance with the Lutheran tendency, as we shall hereafter see. Flacius, Amsdorf, and a few others, chiefly out of jealousy and hate of Melanchthon, retained a larger proportion of the earlier Lutheran Predestinarianism. But that they were not in the true line of Lutheran development on this subject, is shown by the fact that their views were not admitted into the Form of Concord.

If now we bring together the facts, we find that after the year 1530 the Determinism of Melanchthon, as it appeared in the first edition of his *Loci*, and of Luther as it appeared in his *De Servo Arbitrio* in connection with "the hidden God," and their consequent Predestinarianism, disappeared entirely from the greater part of the earlier dogmatic, and the last remnant of it from all the confessional, teaching of the Lutheran Church. Again, the most influential dogmatic teaching of the Lutheran Church had been compiled, as Melanchthon declares, from Luther's "numerous volumes," and Luther himself had placed his *imprimatur* on Melanchthon's *corpus*. It was found in 1551 that the two most influential universities, many superintendents and representatives of national Churches, could state their views confessionally, not only by omitting Predestination, but by affirming that the promise and intention of the Gospel embraces all men *propter Christum*, and that the will of God touching man's salvation must be learned from the Gospel. They had

thus made a practical application of Luther's proclamation that "the Incarnate God had come into the world that he might will, might speak, might do, might suffer, might offer, for all men all things that are necessary unto salvation," and of his other proclamation, viz.: that "inasmuch as the word of God comes to all, it is the fault of the human *voluntas*, which does not admit him."

These principles, together with Justification by faith, and the view that God is active in the means of grace, had entered genetically and constructively into the Lutheran teaching from the very beginning. Now by the middle of the sixteenth century they had driven the earlier Predestinarianism completely into the background, and for the simple reason that this last had never entered genetically and constructively into Lutheranism, but had been used as an auxiliary to support the doctrine of the bondage of the will. Moreover, it could not logically consist with the doctrine of "the proclaimed God," of the design of the atonement, and with the view of the means of grace, expressed even in the *De Servo Arbitrio*. Melanchthon had declared that the propositions *de Praedestinatione, sue de Electione*, are to be avoided; and the phrases, *propter Christum, gratis propter Mediatorem*, and their equivalents, appear thousands and thousands of times in the writings of Luther, Melanchthon, Brentz and others. Predestination where taught at all mostly followed the order given in Luther's Preface to the Romans, and the universality of the call and of the promise of grace, had become marked features of the Lutheran teaching, while Melanchthon had compared the Geneva teaching to the Stoic necessity, and Calvin to Zeno.* There were exceptions, but the exceptions were against the fundamental principles, and against the tendency, and served to illustrate, not to disprove, the rule. The Lutheran Church had not followed Luther, and did not follow him in the doctrine of Predestination as set forth in the *De Servo Arbitrio*.

* C. R., VII, 932.

III. SWITZERLAND.

But how was it in Switzerland? The Zwinglian doctrine of Predestination, which affirms that "election precedes faith," and "faith is the seal of Election," remained at Zurich, and was taken up by Henry Bullinger, "who preserved and completed the work of his predecessor, and exerted, by his example and writings, a commanding influence throughout the Reformed Church inferior only to that of Calvin."* In 1555 he was joined by Peter Martyr, who had taught at Strassburg, and who was a most orthodox Zwinglio-Calvinist, as his *Loci Communes*, now lying before us, do show, for in this book we have the Double Predestination—Election and Reprobation—done to perfection.†

Moreover, in 1549 the *Consensus Tigurinus*, composed by Calvin, had united Zurich and Geneva, not only in the doctrine of the sacraments, but also in the doctrine of Predestination, for its Article XVI reads as follows: "In addition we seduously teach that God does not promiscuously exert his power in all who receive the sacraments: but only in the elect. For as he illumines to faith only‡ those whom he has foreordained to life, so he accomplishes by the secret power of his Spirit that the elect receive what the sacraments offer."‡

This Consensus was adopted by Zurich, St. Gall, Schaffhausen, the Grisons, Neufchatel, and, after some hesitation, by Basel. Thus the union of the Swiss Protestant Churches was practically completed by the adoption of a formula in which Calvinism prevailed. Hence it is well said that "the dogma of predestination consolidated the Calvinistic creed."§

Zwinglio-Calvinism now, that is, from about the middle of the sixteenth century, ruled Switzerland and brought peace and harmony to its churches, though some of the Swiss did not relish the extreme development of Predestination exhibited in the

* *Creeds of Christendom*, I, 391.

† *Classis Tertia*, pp. 443 et seqq.

‡ Miller's *Bekenntnisschriften der Reformirten Kirche*, p. 161.

§ *Creeds of Christendom*, I, 477.

Consensus Genevensis. Calvinism also made advances into Germany, as at Lindau, Ulm, Strassburg (where Calvin had lived and taught for three years), into the Palatinate and into Hesse. It was a powerful system, and was bound together by the bands of an inexorable logic.

IV. THE CONFLICT.

Enough has been said in the current volume of the *QUARTERLY* to show that Lutheranism and Calvinism are two different theologies. The former places Justification by faith at the center, and regards it as the living source from which all other doctrines spring. The means of grace are regarded as real bearers of grace, in which God himself is active. The atonement embraces in its purpose and destination all men. The promise of grace is directed alike to all who hear the gospel, and becomes effective in all who believe. The will of God respecting the salvation of men must be learned alone from the divine word. "They are elected and please God who diligently hear the Gospel, believe on Christ, prove their faith by good works, and suffer what they shall be called on to suffer."*

"The Calvinistic doctrine is this, that God from eternity chose or elected some men, certain definite individuals of the human race, to everlasting life—that he determined certainly and infallibly to bring these persons to salvation by a Redeemer, that in making this selection of some men and on resolving to save them, he was not influenced by anything existing in them, or foreseen in them, by which they were distinguished from other men, or by any reason known to or comprehensible by us, but only by his sovereign good pleasure, by the counsel of his own will—and that this eternal decree or purpose he certainly and infallibly executes in time in regard to each and every one included under it. This is the Calvinistic doctrine of election; every Calvinist believes this, and every one who believes this is a Calvinist."† In addition to this description

* *Erl. Ed.*, I : 106.

† *The Reformers and the Theology of the Reformation.* By Principal Cunningham, p. 434.

we may say that Calvinism makes Reprobation just as prominent as it does Election, puts faith after Election, makes Justification a symbol of Election, and distinguishes between an effectual and an ineffectual call.

Theologies that are thus different from each other at the very heart and center, must sooner or later come into conflict with each other at the deepest point of difference. Any disturbance on the periphery is only a sign of internal disharmony, as the sacramentarian controversy was only a sign of diverse ways of conceiving the two fundamental—formal and material—principles of the Reformation. That the conflict between Zwinglio-Calvinism and Lutheranism at the deepest center did not break out earlier is due to the common opposition to Rome, to the Sacramentarian War, and to the remnants of the earlier Lutheran Predestinarianism that still lingered in Flacius, Amsdorf, Heerbrand and others. But just so soon as Lutherans saw that the absolute Predestination was not necessary to guard the center, and that its own doctrine of the appropriation of salvation could not exist side by side with the Calvinistic doctrine of Predestination, and that the Calvinistic doctrine of Predestination and its consequences had entered genetically into the Creeds that proceeded from Calvin's hand, and were shaping the worship and discipline of the Zwinglio-Calvinistic churches—just so soon the conflict came, and it came exactly at that place where the two theologies met in church and school, namely, at Strassburg, where Lutheranism was represented by John Marbach, superintendent and professor of theology, and by numerous clergy; and where Zwinglio-Calvinism was represented by Jerome Zanchius, Calvinistic professor of theology, and by John Sturm, rector of the University, who was a Zwinglio-Calvinist, and by others.* In February, 1561, Zanchius, in lecturing on 1 John 2: 19, declared that "those, who went out from us," must be looked upon as antichrists,

* Our account of the Strassburg Controversy is compiled from Loescher's *Historia Motuum*, Schweizer's *Centraldogmen*, I, 418 *et seqq.*, and from *Theologische Studien und Kritiken*, 1859, pp. 643 *et seqq.* These works reproduce many of the original documents.

and that those who abide in the fellowship of Christ are the elect and that "there are many in the Church outwardly, who do not belong to it. These are the reprobate. The saints who are not only through the covenant of eternal election, but also through that of the Holy Ghost, united with Christ and are inserted in his body, the Church, persevere unceasingly in faith, and cannot fall away." Marbach said that such a doctrine of the perseverance of the saints and of the inamissibleness of grace rests upon the eternal decree of election. He did not deny that the Bible teaches a doctrine of Predestination, but he preferred to begin with faith in Christ. Here was the real point of difference. Zanchius proceeded by the *a priori* method; Marbach by the *a posteriori* method. For the conference that was arranged between them, Marbach prepared the following as one of his theses: "He (Zanchius) in regard to salvation and the decree of God should not go out *a priori*, that is, from the secret eternal predestination of God, but should conduct his hearers to the revealed will of God, namely, to the Bible, or to the ministry of the Church instituted by Christ, or as Paul says, to the call. Rom. 8 : 29." This, it is hardly necessary to say, is the true Lutheran position. One of Zanchius's theses *de Praedestinatione* reads as follows: "The number of those elected to eternal life, and the number of the Reprobate, is in each case fixed with God. As those elected to life can never be lost and consequently are necessarily saved, so those who are not predestinated to life, cannot be saved, and hence are necessarily damned. He who has once been elected, cannot be reprobated." This, it will be seen, is unqualifiedly Calvinistic. Agreement between Lutherans and Calvinists on the basis of such a thesis would not be possible. The conference that ensued was an occasion of bitter personal recriminations, and served only to widen the chasm between the two parties. The theses of Zanchius were very offensive to the Lutherans, especially so the fourteenth: "If when Paul says (1 Tim. 2 : 4) God will have all men to be saved, the word 'all' be referred only to the elect, and if 1 John, 2 : 2 : Christ is the propitiation for the sins of the whole world, be understood only in ref-

erence to the elect scattered throughout the world, such an explanation is not contrary to Holy Scripture."

Zanchius felt the difficulty of the situation, and in August went to Marburg, whence he brought an *Opinion* that expresses full approval of his theses. A little later he went to Heidelberg, and obtained from the theologians there a similar *Opinion* of unqualified approval. He also went to Zurich and Schaffhausen and obtained an *Opinion* at each place that approves his theses and contains the full Calvinistic doctrine of Predestination. That is, the theologians of these four influential centers placed themselves squarely on the Calvinistic fundamental basis.*

Zanchius went also to Stuttgart, to see Brentz, who (Zanchius reports) approved some of the theses, and rejected others; but later Brentz wrote to Marbach that he had rejected all of them, declared that the doctrine of Predestination presented nakedly and absolutely, profaned, rather than clarified, the mystery, and said that Zanchius's doctrine of the perseverance of the saints is nonsense.⁷ From Stuttgart Zanchius went to Tübingen, where Vergerius, with whom he stayed, invited the theologians to meet him at dinner. But they did not come. Then Zanchius visited them in their colleges. They approved (so says Zanchius) all the theses except those on the inamissibility of grace.

The lines were now distinctly drawn. Four ecclesiastical centers, two of them in Germany, and two in German Switzerland, had placed themselves unmistakably on the side of the rigid Calvinistic Predestinarianism; and positions were offered to Zanchius at Marburg, Heidelberg, Berne and Zurich. Basel had counseled moderation. But John Brentz, the most influential theologian in Würtemberg, and Tübingen on the point centrally in dispute at that time, had placed themselves on the Lutheran foundation.

This division of sentiment abroad only aggravated the strife at Strassburg. Finally it was decided to place the matter in

* The *Opinions* are given by Schweizer, *Centraldogmen*, I, 449 *et seqq.*

the hands of arbitrators to be called from Württemberg, Zweibrücken and "the half-Lutheran Basle." In February, 1563, these assembled at Strassburg—four theologians, viz.: Andreae, of Tübingen, Flinsbach, superintendent of Zweibrücken, Sulzer and Köchlin, of Basle, and two civil counselors from Zweibrücken. In March these arbitrators agreed on a *Consensus*,* which, as the Lord's Supper had figured, though only secondarily, in the strife, contained two paragraphs on the Lord's Supper and twenty on Predestination. It was agreed that in reference to the Lord's Supper the teaching should be in accordance with the Augsburg Confession and its Apology, as subscribed at Naumburg, and that all should follow the Wittenberg Concord of 1536. It is not said that the body and blood of Christ are present *in, with* and *under*, but only *with*, the bread and wine, and nothing is said about the eating of the godless. In regard to Predestination it is said that Predestination pertains to the elect, that the promises are universal, and exclude *no* one, that all are alike called to salvation, that "grace is offered *universaliter omnibus*," that we must begin with the written word, that Predestination is useful as a foil against Free-will and as a comfort to distressed consciences. In a word the *Consensus*, though lacking in definiteness, is prevailingly Lutheran. A few years later it was used by Andreae in composing Article XI of the Form of Concord.

March 18th the *Consensus* was subscribed by thirty-seven persons—by Zanchius as follows: Hanc doctrinae formulam ut piam agnosco, ita eam recipio ego Ieronimus Zanchius. This subscription was given under "protest," and with the explanation that it was made "conditionaliter:" "that I might be allowed to explain the Augsburg Confession, the Apology, and the Articles of Concord, as well as these present articles, according to the will of God's word, the doctrine of Augustine, Luther and Bucer."†

This manner of subscription on the part of Zanchius gave offense to both sides. The Lutherans charged him with in-

* Given by Loescher, *Ibid.* *Anderer Theil*, 229 *et seqq.*

† *Zurich Letters* (Second Series), pp. 98 *et seqq.*, and pp. 60 *et seqq.*

sincerity; the Calvinists, with the lack of steadfastness. Bullinger counselled him to regain his freedom of teaching, or to leave Strassburg, and Calvin exhorted him to stand by his "protest," and not to suffer himself to be led by the ambiguity of his subscription to ambiguity in teaching. Soon he left Strassburg, and, after wandering from place to place, was called in 1568 to the Heidelberg University, where in harmony with his colleagues he taught a rigid predestinarianism. He died in 1590.

The lines were now more sharply drawn than before. All Protestant Switzerland (with the exception, for a while, of the half-Lutheran Basle), Heidelberg and Marburg, stood emphatically on the Calvinistic side. Strassburg and Tübingen had declared for the true Lutheran tradition.

In these late contests the Lord's Supper had played only a subordinate part.* The real cause of the schism between the two theologies of the Reformation, was the doctrine of the Double Predestination, which had never had a determinative place and relation in the Lutheran theology, but which from the beginning had had exactly such a place and relation in the Zwinglio-Calvinistic theology.† Henceforth, that

* For the Marbach-Zanchius Conference (1561), noted above, Marbach had prepared the following thesis on the Lord's Supper: "On the Lord's Supper he should teach in harmony with us according to the form of the Augsburg Confession. Since he conceives of the mode of Christ's presence otherwise than we, for the sake of peace he should keep silent on this point and leave the explanation of that to us." In Zanchius's fourteen theses prepared for the same conference, and afterwards carried by him to the Universities (see above), there is absolutely no reference to the Lord's Supper. He tells us that in an interview with Andreae at Strassburg during the sessions of the arbitrators, after explaining his doctrine of the Supper, Andreae exclaimed: "Truly then you hold the same opinion as we do;" and again, after further exchange of views on the subject: "Well, we have said enough upon the Supper. We thank God that in this article respecting the Supper there is no great difference among you, since you admit on both sides a real and substantial presence." *Zurich Letters* (second series), p. 101. These facts show that the chief ground of dispute was not the Lord's Supper, but Predestination and its consequences.

† Very properly does Schweizer say: "Now this is the real difference.

is, from about the year 1560, each of these theologies came more and more to understand itself better in its innermost center, as the disciples had begun consistently to develop and to apply the principles of their masters. Gradually there was developed a distinctly Lutheran doctrine of Predestination, which later received confessional statement in the Form of Concord, and was elaborated by the dogmaticians; while the Zwinglio-Calvinistic doctrine of Predestination, which had been seminally and principally enunciated by Zwingli, and had been developed dogmatically by Calvin, entered confessionally into the second Helvetic Confession, into the Heidelberg Catechism, and still more distinctly into some of the later Calvinistic Creeds.

V. THE REFORMED CONFESSIONS.

1. *The Second Helvetic Confession.*

J. J. Hottinger calls the *Zurich Opinion* for Zanchius *a brief confession on Predestination*. Schweizer says "that Calvin would have given a great deal to have had such a confession from Zurich against Balzac ten years earlier. Such was the faith exactly at this time, and immediately thereafter the Second Helvetic Confession was drawn up at Zurich. The faith of the Zurichers was, as a matter of course, the same in both documents, but a confession for congregations and a more exact one for exact theological controversies require different statements. It would be perverse to conclude from the Helvetic Confession that its authors did not believe what it says in an unscholastic way. Manifestly Martyr's influence had wrought specially to bring the Zurichers to such a point. How could we imagine it otherwise? When one has conceded what Bullinger had already conceded, a more logical mind, provided there be no

In the *Zwinglio-Calvinistic* system Predestination is *in its very self a weighty doctrine*, according to which others are adjusted; yea, as Martyr, Beza and others say, the chief part of Christian doctrine. But in the *Lutheran* (system) it becomes *merely an auxiliary dogma* for other more important central doctrines. Not so much the dogma itself as its position and significance are disputed" (I, 445).

special disinclination, easily shows the necessity of the full Calvinistic doctrine.”*

This Confession, in its essential features, was composed by Bullinger in 1562. In 1565 Beza proposed a common confession for the Swiss churches, and joined in conferences with others at Berne and Zurich to produce such a confession.† Bullinger's Confession was revised at these conferences and accepted to become the common confession of all the churches of Helvetia, and was approved by Zurich, Geneva, Berne, Schaffhausen, Biel, the Grisons, St. Gall, Mühlhausen, and later by Basel. It thus, as a matter of fact, became the bond of union among the churches in Switzerland, which, as we have seen, had become distinctly Calvinistic.‡ The heading of the Tenth Article is: *Of God's Predestination, and of the Election of the Saints*. The Article reads as follows: “God from eternity predestined or elected freely and of pure grace, without any respect of men, the saints whom he wished to save in Christ, according to the word of the Apostle (Eph. 1:4): God chose us in him before the foundations of the world were laid. And again: Who hath saved us and called us with a holy calling, not ac-

* *Centraldogmen*, I, 459.

† The title of the Second Helvetic Confession as given in the original edition, printed at Zurich in 1566, is as follows: *Confessio et Expositio simplex orthodoxae fidei, et dogmatum Catholicorum syncerae religionis Christianae, concorditer ab Ecclesiae Christi ministris, qui sunt in Helvetia, Tiguri, Bernae, Schaffhusii, Sangalli, Curiae Rhetorum et apud confederatos, Mylhussii item, et Bienne, quibus adjunxerunt se et Genevensis Ecclesiae ministri, edita in hoc, ut universis testentur fidelibus quod in unitate verae et antiquae Christi Ecclesiae perstent, neque ulla nova aut erronea dogmata spargant, atque idio etiam nihil consortii cum ullis Sectis aut haeresibus habeant: hoc demum vulgata tempore, qui de ea aestimare piis omnibus liceat.*

‡ Ersch und Gruber, *Allg. Encyc. in loco*. The particulars of this movement for a common Reformed Confession are given by J. J. Hottinger in his *Helvetische Kirchengeschichte, Dritter Theil*, pp. 894-6. The movement embraced the Reformed churches of Switzerland, Scotland, Poland, Hungary, France and Neuberg. The primary object was to refute the calumnies of the Papists and others. According to Hottinger *ubi supra* it was the churches of the Swiss Confederation and of Geneva, which first moved in the direction of having a common confession.

according to our works, but according to his purpose and grace which he hath given unto us through Jesus Christ before times eternal (2 Tim. 1: 8, 9)." In true Calvinistic style the Article speaks also of the Reprobate, of the small number of the saved, of the end of Election, as the glorification of God's grace, and says that the grace of free election and predestination and their salutary admonition and doctrines must be preached.*

When we recall the rigid predestinarianism of Bullinger, Beza and Peter Martyr, "who fully consented to this confession, shortly before his death,"† and recall the rigid predestinarianism of the Zurichers, as expressed in their *Opinion* for Zanchius in 1561, and recall the fact that Zanchius was invited in 1563 to be Martyr's successor at Zurich—recalling these facts it would be absurd to inquire whether this Confession was intended to set forth the Calvinistic doctrine of Predestination.

Bullinger declared that the Confession "agrees with all those who in various places through all the believing churches of Germany, France, England, and other kingdoms and countries, profess Christ with sincere faith."‡ Though at first intended to be a private confession, and then a common confession for Swizerland, it soon came into larger prominence. Frederick III, of the Palatinate, who had been scandalized by the Hess-huss-Klebitz fight over the communion cup, had for years shown strong Zwinglio-Calvinistic inclinations and had become a Calvinist. He wrote to the Strassburg Magistracy in behalf of Zanchius, and invited the latter to his University; had sustained the Heidelberg theologians in their rigidly Calvinistic *Opinion* for Zanchius; had in 1563 given his electoral permission to the publication at Heidelberg of a German translation of the Catechism, Confession and Liturgy of the French churches, "which," says Henry Alting, "are the basis and foundation of the Palatinate Church, and the bonds of its union with the French, the Swiss and the Belgic churches."§ Now, late in 1565, Frederick, in view of the approaching Diet (1566) of Augsburg, where

* Müller, *Bekenntnisschriften der Reformirten Kirche*, pp. 181-2.

† *Creeds of Christendom*, I, 392.

‡ Müller, XXI. § *Historia Eccle. Palatinae*, pp. 191-2.

he expected to be called to account for his departure from Lutheranism, sought advice from Geneva and Zurich, and requested from Bullinger the confession that was to express the unity of so many churches in Switzerland, France and Germany.* "In all these negotiations," says Professor Müller, "there echoes the purpose to demonstrate to the Elector that his faith is by no means sectarian, but is shared by evangelical Christians in Switzerland, France, the Netherlands, and England. A common confession of all these churches is spoken of as a matter of course. Bullinger was now in the fortunate position, at the beginning of December, 1565, of being able, upon request of the Elector, immediately to send, with a lengthy *Opinion*, his confession, which had long been prepared."† January 6th, 1566, the Electoral Chancellor answered Bullinger in a letter full of enthusiasm. "In order to introduce a great common act of all the Reformed, this Confession was ordered to be translated and printed in German in Heidelberg, while the Zurichers were to publish the Latin text. Meanwhile this had been anticipated by the Swiss theologians, who immediately enlisted in the movement all the evangelical localities in their own land. In a short time these—with the exception of the Lutheranizing Basel—all declared their approval."‡ Armed with six Latin and six German copies of the Confession the Elector, "on the twenty-fifth of March, 1566, encouraged by the unanimity of the Swiss faith, could enter on the journey to Augsburg."§ But more. By the adoption of this Confession the Elector, according to the recognized principle: *Cujus regio, ejus religio*, imposed the Zwinglio-Calvinistic faith upon the churches of his dominions, and made them Zwinglio-Calvinistic churches, and allied them confessionally with the whole group of the so-called Reformed Churches. For even a Scotch Synod at the instance of Beza, September 4th, 1566, after "diligently examining and exploring everything, felt compelled by their consciences and

* Ersch und Gruber, *ut Supra*.

† *Ibid.*, XXI-II.

‡ *Ibid.*, XXII.

§ Müller, *Ibid.*

by their sense of duty, to express not only their approval, but also their exceeding commendation, of every chapter and every sentence,"* and subscribed it and affixed the seal of the University of St. Andrews. On February 4th, 1567, it was adopted by the Hungarian Church, and later by the Bohemian, Polish and Holland churches. Very properly then does Dr. Karl Müller say: "Abroad and at home Bullinger's Confession, which in a mild manner fused together the ideas of Zwingli and Calvin, presented a strong bond of union between the Reformed." And very correctly does Schaff say: "The Helvetic Confession is the most widely adopted, and hence the most authoritative of all the Continental Reformed symbols, with the exception of the Heidelberg Catechism."† Hence the body that adopts this Confession, makes, marks and defines itself as Calvinistic, as over against both the Catholic and the Lutheran Church, as any confession might be supposed to do, which had Henry Bullinger as its author, Peter Martyr as its approver, and Theodore Beza as its endorser, translator and patron, for already in 1566 a French translation executed by Beza and Senebier appeared at Geneva; and Beza was especially active in urging this Confession upon foreign Churches. Dr. Shedd not only classes it with the "Calvinistic Confessions," but says: "It enunciates the strictly Calvinistic view of the sacraments in opposition to the Lutheran view, and maintains the Calvinistic theory of Predestination, and represents the theology of that great division of Protestantism which received its first formation under the guidance of Zwingli and the Swiss theologians, and was completed under that of Calvin, and his coadjutors."‡

2. *The Heidelberg Catechism.*

This book of popular instruction was composed in 1562. Its chief author was Zacharias Ursinus, who completed his

* See the long letter to Beza with the signatures of forty professors, superintendents and ministers, among the *Zurich Letters*, 1558-1602. *Second Series*, pp. 263-5.

† Creeds, I, 394.

‡ *Hist. Christ. Doctrine*, II, 469.

theological studies under the influence of Calvin, Beza, Bullinger and Martyr, "and was thoroughly initiated into the Reformed Creed."* Casper Olevianus, who shared the responsibility of authorship, had received his theological education at Zurich, Geneva and Lausanne, and had assisted in composing the Heidelberg *Opinion* for Zanchius. That they were out-and-out Calvinists is shown conclusively by the chief events in their lives, and by their theological works. Ursinus, after his dismissal from his native city, went to Zurich, and spent the Winter of 1560-1 in pursuing theological studies under Peter Martyr, whence, the next Summer, on recommendation of Martyr, he followed a call to Heidelberg to become professor of systematic theology. In the year 1562, just while the Marbach-Zanchius controversy was raging at Strassburg, he and Olevianus, under commission of the Elector Frederick III, composed the Heidelberg Catechism.

The influences that prevailed at Heidelberg at that time were altogether Zwinglio-Calvinistic. So far as the University was concerned, it had committed itself to Calvinism in the *Opinion* for Zanchius. Olevianus, the Court preacher, was unqualifiedly Calvinistic, and Erastus, the Court physician, was an ardent Zwinglian, as was also Ehem, the Chancellor. Under the influences that surrounded his Court, and forced along by events, Frederick had broken away from Lutheranism, and had become a Calvinist, or was strongly tending to Calvinism.

On this last point the testimony of the old Reformed historians is decisive. Hospinian in his *History of the Sacramentarian Controversy*, p. 264, writes: "A general reformation of the University and of the churches of the Palatinate having been resolved upon, Frederick called orthodox ministers, teachers, and professors from various quarters, and dismissed those who held different views.† Also in the following year,

* Schaff, *Creeds* I, 566. The Tercentenary Edition of the Heidelberg Catechism, p. 30, says that Ursinus "surrendered himself to Peter Martyr as his theological guide and instructor."

† "The decree by which the Palatinate was purged of Lutheranism appeared immediately after that disputation, namely August 12th, 1560.

June 3d and 4th, in a public disputation he defended the orthodox faith and satisfied all in regard to his change of religious views." That by "orthodox" Hospinian means Zwinglians and Calvinists, is evident from the title of his book. And Diestius in his *De Lite Religiosa*, p. 124, says: "Frederick III reformed religion in his dominions according to the sentiment of Melancthon and of Calvin."* To this must be added the testimony of contemporary Lutherans: Under the date of September 9th, 1563, John Brentz, in an official *Opinion* to Duke Christopher, says that a council of electoral and princely delegates just held in Heidelberg had "unqualifiedly subscribed the French and English Confessions," and that "it is notorious that Calvinism reigns in England and in the Palatinate." Three days later Duke Christopher in acknowledging the receipt of the resolutions of said Heidelberg council reminds Palsgraf Wolfgang that while France and England had agreed with Württemberg against the papacy, "as regards the articles of the Lord's Supper, Predestination, Free-Will and some other things, we could not indeed agree with the French churches."† But the Palatinate had now officially endorsed the French Protestant Confession, which in essentials is the work of Calvin. More-

Also the theological faculty was henceforth to be filled with men of the Reformed Confession." Sudhoff, *Olevianus und Ursinus*, p. 79.

* Modern Reformed Historians affirm that Frederick's conversion to Calvinism took place before the composition of the Heidelberg Catechism: Klüpfel in Herzog² IV, p. 690: "The religious conference which was held at Heidelberg in 1560 at the instance of his sons-in-law, completed his conversion to Calvinism." Good, *Origin of the Ref. Ch. in Germany*, p. 147, referring to the same conference says: "This conference settled Frederick's mind in favor of Calvinism." Ullman, *Studien und Kritiken*, 1863, p. 637: "After the Naumburg Convention of 1561 he (Frederick) inclined more and more to the *Reformed side*. To this his own inner development may have contributed, as the preponderating influence of the Reformed theologians, with whom he had surrounded himself, had more attractive power for him than the harsh Lutherans. * * * Upon the whole his standpoint can be designated as that of a *mild Calvinism* mediated through *Melancthon*." See also *Tercentenary Edition of the Heidelberg Catechism*, pp. 22-3.

† See Original documents in Pressel's *Anecdota Brentiana*, pp. 505-510.

over, much Calvinism had been brought into the Palatinate by the French and Dutch Protestant refugees.

Under the circumstances that clearly prevailed at Heidelberg and in the Palatinate generally by the middle of the year 1561, Frederick, feeling that he "must satisfy his own conscience, and consult for the salvation of his subjects," would naturally desire a confession and a book of popular instruction that should express his own faith, the faith of his theologians, and the faith of his people, and that might, as he says in the preface to his Catechism, correct the things in his dominions that were corrupt and depraved. A book prepared under the given conditions and for the purpose expressed, would be Calvinistic, and could be only Calvinistic. It would not have been morally possible for the authors to have composed a catechism or a confession of faith, that was not Calvinistic. A Calvinistic Catechism was required of them by the necessities of the situation, as well as by their own well-known theological convictions; and it is in line with a purpose to compose such a catechism that they made use of the catechisms of Bullinger, Lasky, and Calvin. Consequently the whole Catechism moves in an atmosphere of Calvinism, and many of its answers are charged with the *usus loquendi* of Calvinism, and, interpreted by the other writings of its authors, can be understood only in a Calvinistic sense. Hence the Heidelberg Catechism has always been catalogued with the undisputed Calvinistic confessions, has been endorsed by more Calvinistic synods than any other Reformed catechism in the world, and has been used in connection with the most rigidly Calvinistic confessions of faith.

But as a book designed chiefly for popular instruction, and having a conciliatory aim, we should expect that it would avoid the metaphysical subtleties of Calvinism, just as Calvin's own Catechism does. Very properly, therefore, does Schaff say: "The Calvinistic system is herein set forth with wise moderation, and without the sharp angular points."* Dr. Van Oosterzee declares that "the Dogmatics of the Reformed Church obtained

* Creeds, I, 540.

a preponderating Calvinistic character. * * * Calvin's doctrine of predestination, and not last in the Heidelberg Catechism, though here it has a thoroughly practical tendency."*

In December, 1562, the Catechism was approved by a synod assembled at Heidelberg, and a month later was ordered to be introduced into the Palatinate churches. Says Dr. Nevin: "The Catechism was fully enthroned in the Palatinate, from the beginning, as the rule and measure of the public faith. It was made the basis of theological instruction in the University. It was introduced into all the churches and schools, under the regulation which required the whole of it to be gone over in course in the way of familiar repetition and explanation, once every year."† Ursinus lectured on the Catechism until the year 1577. In 1591 his *Lectures* on the Catechism were published by David Paræus. Says Dr. Nevin again: "The Heidelberg Catechism has been honored with an almost countless number of commentaries of later date; but this first one, derived from Ursinus himself through David Paræus, has been generally allowed to be the best that has been written. No other, at all events, can have the same weight as an exposition of its true meaning." It is to this exposition, then, that we now turn in order to ascertain the "true meaning" of the Heidelberg Catechism.

Under the heading, *Of the Eternal Predestination of God*, Ursinus says: "The common place of the eternal election and reprobation naturally grows out of the doctrine of the Church: and it is for this reason correctly connected with it" (p. 393). Here we have the Double Predestination in true Calvinistic style. Immediately following, the author says: "In discussing this subject we must inquire principally: I. Is there any predestination? II. What is it? III. What is the cause of it? IV. What are the effects of it? V. Is it unchangeable? VI. To what extent may it be known? VII. Are the Elect always members of the Church, and the reprobate never? VIII. Can

* *Christ. Dogmatics*, I, 37.

† *Introduction* to Williard's Translation of Ursinus's *Lectures on the Heid. Cat.*

the Elect fall from the Church, and may the Elect always remain in it? IX. What is the use of the doctrine?"

In answer to the first question it is said: "Election is the eternal counsel of God. That there is such a thing as Predestination or Election is proved by these declarations of Scripture." Here follow quotations of Scripture. It is denied that "the promise of grace is universal." "It is declared that God wills that some men should not be saved." "God does not will the salvation of all as respects the efficacy of the call." The sufficiency of Christ's ransom is acknowledged, "but God has not obligated himself to apply it to all." In answer to the second question it is said that Predestination embraces two parts, "*Election and Reprobation*. *Election*, is the eternal and unchangeable decree of God, by which he has gratuitously decreed to convert some to Christ, to preserve them in faith and repentance, and through him to bestow upon them eternal life. Reprobation is the eternal and unchangeable purpose of God whereby he has decreed in his most just judgment to leave some in their sins," etc. All other questions are answered in harmony with the above affirmations. Both Election and Reprobation have their cause in "the good pleasure of God, which is most free." The effects of Predestination comprehend "the entire work of our salvation," as well as the creation and blinding of the Reprobate and "their banishment into everlasting punishment." It is decreed that "Predestination is fixed and unchangeable." Taken as a whole we must say that in our reading in Calvinistic theology—Calvin, Martyr, Beza, Turretine, Mastricht, Venema *et al*—we have not found ten consecutive pages that set forth the Calvinistic doctrine of the Double Predestination more distinctively than do pp. 293-303 of Ursinus's *Lectures* on his own Catechism. The doctrine is there with all its antithetical sharpness, and with answers to current objections. Such, according to Dr. Nevin, is the "true meaning" of the Heidelberg Catechism. To intimate that Ursinus read this Double Predestination *into* his Catechism, and thus practiced deception upon those who were to be the future pastors of the Palatinate churches, is simply monstrous, and is to fix an indeli-

ble stain upon his memory. In these *Lectures* he officially expounded a public standard of the faith, and did not merely discuss problems of theology. He was under the highest moral obligation to give the sense of the Catechism. And as to the *Lectures* themselves, now standing before us in an octavo volume of 659 pages, it can truthfully be said that there is not one line in the entire book, in which the author teaches that the purpose, intent and destination of Christ's atonement is the salvation of all men, or that all men are treated alike in the application of redemption, or that the promise of grace extends alike to all men, or that God wills alike the salvation of all men, or that in trying to ascertain the Predestination of God we must *begin* with the word of God. And as further evidence that the authors of the Catechism wished their work to be understood as harmonizing with Calvinism, we find that they had a German translation of Calvin's Catechism, printed by public authority at Heidelberg, bound together with the Heidelberg Catechism, one copy of which is known to exist to-day.* Not even in the answer to the thirty-seventh question, nor in Ursinus's exposition of the same, is there a single sentence to which Calvin himself might not have subscribed, since both the answer and the exposition simply affirm the sufficiency of Christ's sacrifice for the sins of all mankind, which Calvin freely conceded,† and declared "that Christ has taken upon himself and suffered the punishment which by the righteous judgment of God impended over all sinners; that by his blood he has expiated those crimes that render them odious to God;"‡ while the historians of the Catechism have proved that from the beginning the answer was interpreted in favor of the limited application of the atonement, or as having reference "solely to the whole company of the elect and faithful."§ And Sudhoff has shown beyond the possibility

* Good's *Origin of the Ref. Church in Germany*, p. 181, 189.

† *Consensus Genevensis*, p. 285.

‡ C. R., XXX, 369.

§ See Von Alpen's *Hist. and Lit. of the Heidelberg Cat.*, Berg's Translation, pp. 29-30. Sudhoff's *Theologisches Handbuch*, pp. 257-266, and his *Fester Grund*, *passim*, and Koecher, pp. 259 *et seqq.*

of refutation that through and through the Catechism is Calvinistic, and that Heppe's "discovery" that it is "Melanchthonian," and "non-Calvinistic" is "out and out untenable" and "unhistorical." In his *C. Olevianus und Z. Ursinus*, pp. 88-124, Sudhoff has made a most thorough analysis of the Heidelberg Catechism, and has traced very many of the questions and answers to their Swiss sources, and has quoted (p. 482) Olevianus's letter to Bullinger, acknowledging indebtedness to the Swiss, and says that it is scarcely possible to find anything more decidedly predestinarian than Ursinus gives in his explanation of questions 17, 21, 27, 53, 54—"Election and Reprobation, both are the eternal counsels of God. The foundation is the free *beneplacitum* of God, so also in regard to Reprobation. * * * On Predestination I betake myself to the writings of Beza and Martyr" (p. 121). Henry Alting, professor at Heidelberg and Gröningen, who delivered public lectures on the Catechism, explains the answer to question 37 as meaning "that Christ suffered and died for the elect only and for believers," and declares that the explanation that favors the doctrine of the universality of redemption is "the dogma of the erroneous innovators," meaning thereby the Arminians, who, after the Catechism had been officially endorsed in Holland for more than a generation as a Calvinistic Catechism, had sought to give it a new meaning.* And Petrus de Witte, in his *Exposition of the Heidelberg Catechism*,† which was approved by the Classis of Hoorn, and passed through more than sixty editions, explains "all mankind" in Question 37, as meaning not *omnes universaliter*, but "all sorts of people, tongues," etc., and condemns the explanation of the Remonstrants as Socinian and Pelagian. Question 54 he explains in accordance with the

* Pp. 206-7. Alting delivered his *Lectures* on the Catechism after his return from the Synod of Dort. His object was to refute the interpretations of the Remonstrants, which had been hitherto almost unknown in the Palatinate. See Lewald's *Catechetischer Unterricht*, *Preface*, p. x.

† An English translation of this work was published at Amsterdam in 1654 for the English Reformed Congregation in that city. In Bastingius's *Explanation and Commentary*, English translation, fifth edition, London, 1595, Question 54 is explained in the usual Calvinistic way.

Double Predestination. Many other questions are also explained by him in the Calvinistic sense. Indeed we are assured by the most competent scholars that every one of the old orthodox expositors has explained the answer to Question 37 in a Calvinistic sense.* But half a century ago Dr. Heppe "discovered" that the Heidelberg Catechism is "Melanchthonian." For a while he had followers, but at this time he is not known to have a single endorser of his view among the *scholars* of Germany. But his "discovery" has found an echo in the sympathetic bosom of Dr. Rupp, of the Reformed Seminary in Lancaster, Pa., who, as touching the Heidelberg Catechism, has undertaken to write history by ignoring the facts of history, and has sought to interpret said Catechism just as "the erroneous innovators" did three centuries ago. His logic seems to be as follows:

I am not Calvinistic.

I have subscribed the H. C.

Therefore the H. C. is not Calvinistic.

If there be any fallacy in the above syllogism, the acute Doctor will be quick to detect it. But in order to get Calvinism out of his H. C. he will have to divorce it from its authors, from its history, from its old orthodox expositors, from the endorsement of many Calvinistic synods, yea, from itself.

*Naturam expelles furca, tamen usque recurret,
Et mala perrumpet furtim fastidia victrix.*

Dr. Rupp's argument—he has not attempted to make a historical demonstration—can convince only those in whom, as in himself, the wish is father to the conclusion. The facts remain: The ecclesiastical conditions under which the Catechism was written were Calvinistic; its authors were Calvinistic; its *usus loquendi* is Calvinistic; its most ardent defenders have been Calvinistic; its ablest expounders have pronounced

* See the most convincing proof of this in Koecher's *Katechetische Geschichte*, pp. 259 *et seqq.* It is a well known fact that the Heidelberg Catechism was at once attacked by Lutherans and by Catholics, and later by Arminians, as *Calvinistic*. Frederick III requested Bullinger to defend the Heidelberg Catechism, and he complied with the request. Koecher, pp. 320 *et seqq.* and p. 343.

it Calvinistic; the most Calvinistic synods have endorsed it as Calvinistic. These facts cannot be overthrown by a few sporadic opinions, and by the fervid declamations of men who have determined beforehand to reject the conclusions to which the facts inevitably lead.

But Dr. Rupp is strong in imputation (p. 540 of the *Reformed Church Review* for October 1902)—the last resort of those who fail of facts and fail in arguments. *Palmam ferat qui meruit*. But instead of a *quid pro quo*, we submit the following page of facts and arguments from the learned Sudhoff: "The anti-Melanchthonian doctrine of the perseverance of the saints that is peculiar to the Heidelberg Catechism, brings us irresistibly to the *doctrine of Predestination*. This is not indeed expressly developed in the Catechism, but it is a mistake to use this circumstance as a proof that the Palatinate doctrine differed by its anti-predestinarian character from the foreign Reformed. The Palatinate Catechism with its doctrine of sin and grace, of the certainty of salvation, the inamissibleness of Regeneration and of the perseverance of the saints, has Predestination as its necessary and incontestable premise. The Geneva Catechism did not develop the doctrine of Predestination any more than did the Heidelberg, and yet surely no one will be inclined to rank it with the anti-predestinarian witnesses, or with Melanchthonianism. Also, in a hand-book intended for popular purposes abstract theological explanations are not to be expected. On the contrary, without exception, when the Heidelberg Catechism was explained fully and theologically, the expounders, from Ursinus on, joined a thoroughgoing statement of the doctrine of Predestination to question 54. It is in accordance with a fundamental principle among the Heidelberg theologians that in the letter of Ursinus to Jacob Monau on Predestination, the following stands on the margin: *Referatur ad locum de predestinatione Qu. 54*. All foreign and genuinely predestinarian Reformed find their spirit and their doctrine in the Heidelberg Catechism, as is proved by the indisputable facts, that they introduced it as an orthodox hand-book, that the Calvinistic Hollanders unfurled it as a banner for the Calvinistic doctrine,

and that the Dordrecht synod proclaimed it an out-and-out Reformed and orthodox hand-book. Yet it has been asserted that Predestination is not in the Catechism, for the reason that it could not have arisen under the circumstances from which the Catechism arose, and that its authors had never *thought of falling away (!!) to Calvinism*. This very confident affirmation is absolutely false. The circumstances from which the Palatinate Catechism sprang were most distinctly characterized by that which was usual with the Reformed, and were in full doctrinal harmony with the Reformed of other countries. Peter Martyr and Zanchius were undoubtedly Predestinarians. The former was to have Reformized the Palatinate, but sent his like-minded pupil to do it. The latter was driven out of Strassburg largely on account of Predestinarianism. And how his later colleagues Boquin Tremellius, Olevianus and Diller agreed with him and with his doctrinal position we will hereafter discover in the *Opinion* which they presented, August 25th, 1561, in support of the persecuted Calvinist. That teaches Predestinarianism unqualifiedly. Finally as regards the authors of the Catechism, it has occurred to no one in earnest to regard Olevianus, the pupil of Calvin, as anti-predestinarian, as not Calvinistic. But Ursinus, who through the Zurichers, especially through Martyr, received his complete Reformed training, and through his influence found his position in Heidelberg, showed himself in all his writings as a distinct supporter of the predestinarian doctrine.* We place Sudhoff's array of indisputable facts over against the *naivete* of Dr. Rupp, whose "partisan chicanery and special pleading"—if it be not a sin against the *suaviter in modo* to use his own language—have betrayed him into many fallacies of logic, and have almost completely closed his eyes to the meaning of history. That in his judgment of the Heidelberg Catechism Dr. Rupp should conceive himself to be right, and all the old orthodox expounders of the Catechism from Ursinus on, to be wrong, is truly pathetic, and calls for commiseration. The question between him and us, or rather between him and the learned men

* *Olevianus und Ursinus*, pp. 119-121.

of his own Church, is not one of "pretensions to superior learning"—though such pretensions (if made) could be easily established in favor of the latter—but one of facts, and of the fair interpretation of the facts. The learned men of the Reformed Church have given the facts. Dr. Rupp has in part ignored the facts, in part explained them away, and in part evaded their significance. His declaration "that the authors of the Catechism were themselves not deeply impressed with the doctrine of Calvinistic predestination," is disproved absolutely by their writings, which, we are prepared to show, state the Double Predestination as sharply and as antithetically as it is stated in Calvin's *Institutes*. We cannot forbear to ask: Has Dr. Rupp read those writings where they discuss the subject of Predestination? And after what has been said in the first two installments of this essay it is perfectly ridiculous for Dr. Rupp to contend still that Justification occupies the same place in the Reformed system that it occupies in the Lutheran system, or that Predestination has ever occupied the same place in the Lutheran system that it has occupied and still occupies in the Reformed system, and that the Lutheran doctrine of the Lord's Supper is alone, or even *chiefly*, responsible for the schism between the two Reformation Theologies. The cause of the schism must be found in the difference of conception as touching the cause, the extent, the purpose of redemption, and the method of applying the same; or, more concretely, in the difference in position and significance which the two Reformation Theologies assign to Justification and Predestination. That Dr. Rupp may be convinced of this we beg him to study the *origines* of the two theologies in question, and to consult the scholars of his own Church on this subject, and especially on the history and interpretation of the Heidelberg Catechism.

3. *Other Calvinistic Confessions.**

The number of Calvinistic confessions is so great that we

* Shedd, *Hist. Doctrine*, II, pp. 458-491. Müller's *Bekenntnisschriften der. Ref. Kirche*.

cannot particularize about them. They all bear the impress of that powerful hand that systematized the theology of the Reformed churches, though the impress is not equally heavy on each of these confessions. The Gallic Confession of 1559, the Scotch of 1560, the Belgic of 1561, the Anglican of 1562, the Dordrecht Canons of 1619, the Westminster Confession of 1647, are the most important of these confessions, and have exerted the widest influence. By unanimous consent they all contain the Calvinistic doctrine of Predestination* (though they do not all express it with the same rigor), and the Calvinistic doctrine of the Lord's Supper, and gave rise to the scholastic Reformed theology as over against the scholastic Lutheran theology. One has only to read these confessions to see that by their order, and by their whole *modus loquendi*, they are

* Some Anglican Theologians have tried to show that Article XVII of the Anglican Confession is not *Calvinistic*, just as some have tried to show that the XXXIX Articles are not *Protestant*, but *Catholic*. The effort in the one direction has proved as futile as in the other. Beyond question the Anglican Confession as a whole was intended to be and is *Protestant*. That its XVII Article is and was intended to be *Calvinistic* is placed beyond question by the following facts: The compilers and revisers of the Articles were Calvinists; they had the courage of their convictions; they expressed their beliefs without concealment or compromise; they were in close communication with the Swiss theologians; they submitted their drafts to the foreign Calvinistic divines residing at the Universities and to Knox; the oldest commentators on the Articles, expounded Article XVII in a strong Calvinistic sense (see Rogers's *The Catholic Doctrine of the Church of England*, 1586); the Article not only expresses the sentiments of Calvin, but the expressions in the original are identical with the expressions of Calvin's *Institutes*. Especially do we note the *per Christum* and the *in Christo*; so that all the Article teaches is taught in Calvin, though the Article does not teach Calvinism in its extreme form. Archbishop Laurence's Bampton Lectures, 1804, which show in their author more dislike for Calvinism than knowledge of the subject, must be pronounced a failure as regards their main contention. Dr. John Hunt, Vicar of Otford in Kent, is quite right when he says: "It may now be admitted by all that the compilers of the Articles of religion were Calvinists in doctrine and strongly Protestant, that they gave expression to their beliefs without any effort at concealment or compromise." He regards this as one of the questions settled by the controversies of the nineteenth century. *Religious Thought in England in the Nineteenth Century*. London, 1896, p. 372.

Calvinistic, and that they are the products of the application of the Calvinistic fundamental principle. If any, or some, or many of the more recent subscribers of these confessions have understood them in a non-Calvinistic sense, they have done this in the face of the history of these confessions, and in contradiction of the early expounders of the same, and in antagonism to the theology that sprang out of them.

But besides these Confessions that bear a fundamental relation to certain national churches, there are some confessions of a more local and restricted relation, that exhibit the same decidedly Calvinistic character and quality; as, among others, the Hungarian of 1562, which has a chapter on "the eternal preaching of the Gospel for begetting faith in the Elect, and for hardening the Reprobate;" the Debreczin Confession of 1562 which has an article under the title: "Of the Predestination of the elect unto life, and of the reprobate to eternal destruction;" the Bremen Confession of 1595, to which all Bremen ministers were pledged until 1784,* and which contains a large chapter entitled: "Of the eternal Predestination of the Elect and of the Reprobate;" the Stafford Book of 1599, which treats the Double Predestination after the most approved Calvinistic style; the Bohemian Confession of 1609 which represents "the redemption of all the Elect" as the most important work of the Trinity; the Benthaim Confession of 1613, which has an article that declares that "God has elected and adopted us as sons according to the *beneplacitum* of his will and for the praise of the glory of his grace;" the Confession of Sigismund of 1614, which declares that the article of the Eternal Predestination to eternal life is the most comforting of all.

These minor confessions† of the Reformed churches were for the most part called out by local needs and conditions; but they did not supplant nor exclude the more fundamental and comprehensive Heidelberg Catechism and Second Helvetic Confession, one or both of which were almost invariably acknowl-

* Müller, *Ib d*, LIV.

† Found in Müller, *ut supra*.

edged along with the local creed, and both of which were the most widely accepted and approved of all the Reformed Creeds, and were the common bonds that held the Reformed churches in fraternal unity, until that unity culminated in and was consummated by the Canons of Dort in 1619; though some trifling differences, as those between the Supralapsarians and the Infra-lapsarians, and some diverse views of the relation of Christ to Election, still existed. "But these differences," says Dr. Karl Müller—"this must be emphasized over against much recent shuffling in regard to the state of the case—nevertheless sink into nothing as compared with the great unity in the anti-synergistic predestinarian faith, to which the Reformed theologians of all Europe (with only insignificant exceptions) then bound themselves. To the Canons was joined a rejection of errors. The desire of the Hessians (Cruciger) and the Bremene (Crocus) for an explanation against the harsh expressions of the other theologians was not granted, as it was feared that with the words the substance might be affected. At the 140th session, April 25th, 1619, the Canons with all the accessories were ratified. Then the Synod approved the Netherland confessions, the Belgic, and the Heidelberg Catechism. Thus the Church of Holland was saved, and by the aid of the foreign brethren it was fortified by a new bulwark."*

Equally clear is Heppe as to the complete Calvinizing of the entire Reformed Church. He says: "The Leipzig Colloquy was the last occasion that exhibited the peculiarity of the German Reformed doctrine of Predestination. Over against the mighty influence exerted by the distinguished and imposing church authorities represented by the Calvinistic theology, the German Reformed Church could not preserve its peculiarity. Moreover, the action of the Synod of Dort, in which nearly all the German State churches saw themselves united with the Reformed abroad into one denomination, worked upon Reformed territory just as the Form of Concord did upon Lutheran territory. Interest in cultivating what was peculiar to separate sec-

* Müller, *ut supra*, LXIV.

tions of the Church by means of former relations vanished before the interest of cultivating what was common to all the opponents of the Reformed Confession. German Reformed Dogmatics, therefore, at once embraced the infralapsarian mode of reasoning found in non-German theology. Yet there were always individual utterances that indicated that the former had its origin in the development of German Protestantism.”*

These conclusions of two most competent Reformed theologians, based on the widest possible induction of facts, stand as absolutely conclusive against the bald assertion, made not only without supporting facts, but in the face of the most patent facts, by Dr. Rupp, in the *Reformed Church Review* for January, 1902, and defended in the October number of the same periodical, that “the Calvinistic doctrine of Predestination was never accepted by the German Reformed Church, either in Europe or in America. Individual theologians held it, but not the Church itself.” But the fact is that the German Reformed theologians as a class held that doctrine, and the German Reformed Universities taught it, and the confessions adopted by the German Reformed Church, notably the Second Helvetic Confession, the French Confession and the *Corpus et Syntagma*, express it; and at Dort the official subscription to the Canons by the German Reformed theologians, without a single word of protest, formally committed the German Reformed Church to the Calvinistic doctrine of Predestination.

To be convinced of all this let any one read Schweizer’s *Centraldogmen*, and his *Glaubenslehre d. Ev. Reformirten Kirche*; Heppe’s *Dogmatik d. Ref. Kirche*, and his *Dogmatik d. Deutschen Protestantismus*, and Dr. Karl Müller’s *Bekenntnisschriften d. Ref. Kirche*, and let him recall the fact that members of the Reformed Church in any country were received without question in any Reformed Church of any country by letters of transfer; that in every colloquy of the German Reformed with Lutherans, the former committed the German Reformed Church to the Calvinistic doctrine of Predestination, and that writers on

* *Dogmatik d. Deutschen Protestantismus*, II, p. 75.

Symbolics class the German Reformed confessions and the confessions that proceeded from Calvin and his immediate disciples, together as belonging to one and the same family, and describe them as bearing one and the same generic quality—proceeding as we have suggested, the student of dogmatics and of symbolics will have the demonstration that the German Reformed Church in Europe did accept the Calvinistic doctrine of Predestination, though it must be conceded that upon the whole its type of Calvinism was milder than was that of France, Holland and some other countries, just as the type of Lutheranism in some countries, and even in some Lutheran bodies of the same country, has been and is milder than that in other countries and in other bodies in the same country. It is not assumed that to be a Calvinist one must necessarily endorse the *Consensus Genevensis*, or subscribe the Westminster Confession, any more than it is assumed that to be a Lutheran one must endorse Luther's *De Servo Arbitrio*, or subscribe the Form of Concord. And as for the German Reformed in America, suffice it to say that sometimes they were called "German Presbyterians," sometimes "Dutch Calvinists," that they organized themselves according to Holland models, were supported by "the Holland Stipend," and for nearly half a century conducted themselves subject to orders from Holland, and at the request of the Holland deputies adopted the Heidelberg Catechism and the Canons of Dort, as the following shows: "Article III. The President stated that a writing must be drawn up in regard to the following instruction given to the Rev. Michael Schlatter by the Venerable Christian Synods of South and North Holland to this effect: 'That the members of the Reverend Cœtus should sign the Heidelberg Catechism and the Canons of the National Synod of Dort of 1618 and 1619, declaring that they with heart and soul were devoted to the same, and will hold to them unchanged.' The Reverend Cœtus considered it right and necessary to do this, and thereupon the following was submitted: We the undersigned ministers in actual service in the Reformed congregations in Pennsylvania, having appeared at the appointed cœtus in Philadelphia, September

28, 1748, together with the accompanying elders from our congregations, do hereby affirm that we are devoted with heart and soul to the Heidelberg Catechism and the Canons of the National Synod of Dort of 1618 and 1619, and that we will hold them unchanged, as we do hereby."*

This formula was subscribed in 1748 by all the elders present, and by all the ministers present, except one, who subscribed with the Coetus in 1752; and the Coetus renewed its subscription 1755, 1765 and 1788.

These facts taken from official records must forever silence the deliverance of Dr. Rupp that the German Reformed Church in America never accepted the Calvinistic doctrine of Predestination; for if the Calvinistic doctrine of Predestination be not expressed in the Canons of Dort, then it is not expressed in any confession in the world, and if the acceptance of these Canons and of the Heidelberg Catechism "with heart and soul," by the ministers and elders of the German Reformed Coetus, did not make, mark, and define them, and consequently the churches represented by them, as Calvinistically Predestinarian, it is because said ministers and elders had neither heart nor soul. Hence, concluding from the facts given above it is quite too late in the day for Dr. Rupp to try to maintain that the German Reformed Church, neither in Europe nor in America, ever accepted the Calvinistic doctrine of Predestination. But in support of his thesis he has again both ignored and misapplied the facts of history and the witness of the documents. The consequence is that his thesis contributes nothing to the history of doctrine and of symbolics—except private opinion; and private opinion neither destroys facts nor creates truth. Dr. Rupp cannot read the Calvinistic doctrine of Predestination out of the history of the German Reformed Church, until he shall have first annihilated the history of that Church; and to contend that Justification by faith alone has the same place and the same significance in the German Reformed Church that it has in the Lutheran Church, is to ignore or to misconceive the

* Good's *Hist. Ref. Ch. in the U. S.*, pp. 353-4. See also *Presb. and Ref. Rev.*, 1897, p. 636.

facts contained in the foregoing pages, and to contradict the conclusions of the most learned and impartial theologians of both churches.

It is because of the significance of the doctrine of Justification by faith in the Lutheran Church, and its relation to all other doctrines of the Lutheran system, that we have called it, as she teaches it, the distinguishing doctrine of the Lutheran Church. And in this we know ourself to be in harmony with all sound Lutheran teaching.

THE CONCLUSION.

The reader who has followed us through this long essay is doubtless convinced that there are two Reformation Theologies, that is, two theologies that in their fundamental and distinguishing aspects date from the time of the Reformation. There is the Lutheran theology, which is determined by its own central principle of Justification by faith alone. There is the Reformed (Zwinglio-Calvinistic) theology which is determined by its central principle of Predestination.

In our exhibition of the fundamental principles of these theologies we have used only original materials. When it was thought desirable to confirm conclusions by learned opinion, we have invariably quoted Lutheran scholars on the side of the Lutheran theology, and Reformed scholars on the side of the Reformed theology. In this way we have sought to preserve impartiality of treatment. If we have sometimes criticized, it will be found that the criticisms are about as many and as distinct on the one side as on the other. Indeed it may be fairly concluded that were the fathers of the two Reformation theologies alive to-day, they would be the first to criticize many of the opinions which they have left on record. But their criticisms would not be likely to destroy the differences of the two theologies. The essential characteristics of each would remain.

Let us now particularize :

It has been sometimes said that the Lutheran theology is *Christocentric*. But such a characterization is not strictly correct, though it is but just to say that no theology makes so much of

Christ as does the Lutheran theology. For it is a fundamental and inalienable conception of this theology that it regards redemption as taking place *on account of Christ*; and the supreme aim of the preaching of the Gospel and of the administration of the sacraments is the presentation of Christ to man, who is the subject of salvation. The idea is that Christ is in the word and in the sacraments, and that he who receives the word and the sacraments by faith has salvation. But the Lutheran theology goes out from the discovered and recognized misery and helplessness of man. Hence rather is the Lutheran theology *anthropocentric*. Human sin and misery are facts and conditions that excite the compassion of God and of Christ, and lead to the preparation and to the offer of redemption in such a way that the final cause of redemption is *redemption*, that is, the deliverance of man from sin and misery. Such deliverance is accomplished through justification by faith alone, with the conception that he who is justified is consequently saved. Hence justification is identified with salvation, and is therefore held to be the eternal principle of Christianity, inasmuch as the whole redemptory economy concentrates itself upon this one divine act, the pardon of sin and the adoption to sonship. God, foreseeing, before the foundation of the world, the sin and misery of man, provided *eternal* redemption for us, or so loved the world as to give his only begotten Son that whosoever believeth in Him might not perish, but have everlasting life. Justification by faith, therefore, is the one great, grand idea, and this idea becomes a reality by virtue of the suffering and death of Christ, but only when the person and work of Christ are inwardly appropriated by a living faith, which is sought alone by the Holy Ghost through the so-called means of grace, which are the sole media by which we learn of God's gracious will of salvation. Hence the divine word is held to be the undeceptive revelation of God's will of salvation. In that word, according to the Lutheran theology, beginning with Luther, God sincerely offers salvation to all men, so that it is the fault of the will of man if the hearer of the Gospel be not saved. According to the Lutheran theology—the idea can be traced back

through Melancthon's *Loci* even to Luther's Preface to Romans—God predestinates believers to salvation, but does not predestinate any to destruction. In other words, the Double Predestination, which never was germane to the Lutheran fundamental principle, was not embodied in the Lutheran confessional theology, and was not developed and defended in the Lutheran *Dogmatic*. But the doctrine of Justification by faith, which from the beginning had fundamental and principiant place and significance remains at the center of all true Lutheran theology, and gives shape, coloring and significance to each and every doctrine of the Lutheran system. Or, to state the case more concretely, Justification by faith alone makes the Lutheran system what it is, in distinction from every other conception of the economy of redemption. Hence in proportion as other theologies push this doctrine of justification by faith alone toward the place that it has in the Lutheran system, and give it the significance that it has in the Lutheran system, do they thus approximate the Lutheran theology. But there can be no identification or coalescence of the two Reformation Theologies so long as each holds fast to its own determinative principle.

It has been said, and justly, we think, that the Calvinistic theology is *theocentric*. In this theology God is the one grand, sublime thought. Not only does salvation have its cause in God, more exactly in the *beneplacitum* of God, but the end of all the divine operations with reference to man's eternal destiny, not only in the election of a small number to eternal life, but in the reprobation of the vast majority to eternal death, is the glorification of God. The perception by God of sin and misery in man does not act as cause for the exercise of the divine compassion toward man, since God is not moved by anything outside of his own *beneplacitum*. Indeed, man fell into sin by the ordination of God, and sin furnished only the occasion for the most free exercise of the divine compassion, and for the exhibition of the most just judgment of God. Redemption is not *on account of Christ, but through Christ*, who is one in a series of appointed instrumentalities for the execution of the secret

decree of election. Men are not elected because they have faith, but that they may have faith. Christ did not embrace all men in the purpose and destination of his atonement, but only some of all classes. Hence the call of the Gospel does not come to all men on the same conditions and with the same end in view. To some it comes accompanied by the efficacious operation of the Holy Ghost, and hence is, and is designed to be, a savor of life unto life. To others it comes without any efficacious operation of the Holy Ghost, and is, and is designed to be, a savor of death unto death. In reality the call of the Gospel is exactly commensurate with election, of which it is the first symbol. Election, therefore, is the ruling idea. The call of the Gospel and the justification of the sinner are subordinate to election. They are instruments for carrying election into effect. And if we consider the so-called means of grace a little more accurately, they are indeed means for executing the decree of particularistic election, but they are not a veritable dealing of God in Christ with man, and in such a way that by the word and the sacraments God offers salvation to all alike, with the intention involved of saving all, or of placing all in the way of salvation. Especially are the sacraments regarded more as pledges and seals of grace than as instruments for the bestowment of grace. Logically, indeed they could have no other significance, when once it is understood that the particular subject of grace has been selected already by the eternal decree of the gracious predestination; and even the word is only a testification that one has been elected.

Such then, we may say, is the Lutheran, and such the Calvinistic theology. Each has its own regulating principle, and each is what its principle, logically applied, has made it. But by this it is not meant that it is possible to determine *a priori* the place and significance of every more or less peripheral doctrine in the system. But having the center we are bound to place and to construe every other doctrine in such a way as to harmonize with the central doctrine, and so as to contribute to the realization of that for which the principle stands, viz., the redemption of man. As the Lutheran theology finds the reali-

zation of its principle in the gratuitous pardon of sin *on account of Christ*, so in the Lutheran theology every subordinate doctrine must be made to assist in bringing the grace of God *for Christ's sake* into the purview and in applying that grace. As the Zwinglio-Calvinistic theology finds realization of its principle in the execution of the eternal decree, so every subordinate doctrine must be made to assist in executing that decree, for it is a fundamental principle of the Zwinglio-Calvinistic theology, that as God has elected some to salvation, so has he appointed all the means necessary for the attainment of their salvation.

Therefore, it is in the way indicated, that we can say that each theology is the product of its own central principle. The principles being different it must result that the theologies would be different. Hence it must follow naturally and necessarily that the two theologies, as already intimated can never coalesce into one. They will remain two so long as each adheres to its own central principle. But during the last hundred years the Zwinglio-Calvinistic theology has gradually lost much of its predestinarian rigor. Dr. Charles Hodge was a decided infralapsarian, and spoke only of the preterition of the wicked. His son, Dr. A. A. Hodge, gave remarkable prominence to *Christ* in his *Popular Lectures on Theological Themes*. Dr. Henry B. Smith declared that "the Reformed theology has got to *christologize* predestination and the decrees." Dr. Fairbairn, in his *Christ in Modern Theology*, has spoken of Christ almost as a Lutheran. The German Reformed generally profess to have christologized their theology; and the Revision of the Westminster Confession has placed a large body of active Christians in this country on the plane of a greatly modified Calvinism. But in this instance the Calvinistic system has not been abandoned. The Lutheran theology holds its principle intact, but there is a decided tendency also to christologize. The result is a mutual approximation, but by no means a coalescence. The Lutheran theology is still in principle the Lutheran theology, and the Zwinglio-Calvinistic theology is still in principle the Zwinglio-Calvinistic theology. But the adherents of each theology respect and assist each other as they did not do in former

centuries. Lutheran theologians no longer call the martyrs of the Reformed, "Martyrs of the devil," and the Reformed Theologians no longer class Lutherans with Jesuits, Socinians, Semi-Pelagians and Remonstrants. Nor would the theological world now tolerate the violence that characterized the controversies of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. The era of charity and good will has succeeded the era of hate and mutual exclusion. Each theology stands for a great principle, and each conserves a great body of truth, and each is stronger and more symmetrical by reason of the presence of the other. Each will best fulfill its mission by respecting itself, by learning from the other, by opening its heart to every new truth that shines out of God's word, and by adapting itself to the needs of the times as time goes and comes.

ARTICLE IV.

CHRIST AND THE OLD TESTAMENT.

BY JOHN J. YOUNG, D.D.

Biblical scholars have of late years devoted their labors almost exclusively to the Old Testament. Whilst this has placed portions of the same in an unsettled condition it has, nevertheless, brought out the vast importance of this old and venerable part of our Sacred Scriptures. A short time ago it appeared to some at least, that Professor F. Delitzsch, of the University of Berlin, Germany, had beyond dispute succeeded in placing Babel ahead of the Bible. But Professor H. V. Hilprecht, of the University of Pa., has again reversed the order. Both are eminent Assyriologists, and are basing their arguments on the discoveries made in their archeological researches. Whilst Professor Hilprecht is boldly holding and fearlessly defending the position he has taken, Professor Delitzsch has, since the appearance of the Emperor's letter, somewhat calmed down. In fact, of late he prefers to lecture upon the great difficulties and dangers connected with the excavations at Babylon, instead of the relation between Babel and the Bible.

Since some claim that only Assyriologists are capable of taking an active part in this lively and important discussion, and since we do not belong to that learned and greatly privileged class of scholars, we will, therefore, allow the Assyriologists to settle the now burning question between Babel and the Bible, and will turn our attention to something nearer at hand than the ruins of ancient Babylonia, namely, the four Gospels. We do this not because we have no faith in the archeological researches, but to find out what He, "in whom are hid all the treasures of wisdom and knowledge" (Col. 2:3), has to say about the Old Testament. Surely Christ's testimony upon this important subject should not be overlooked. Hence our subject:

CHRIST AND THE OLD TESTAMENT.

A reader of the Gospels will soon find out that Christ in His *conflicts* with men and spirits used the Old Testament. It was to Him both an offensive and defensive weapon, by means of which He invariably carried off the victory. When Satan approached Him in the wilderness to tempt Him, He not only defended Himself with the same, but He also defeated there-with the tempter. Every assault was met with and repulsed by a quotation from the well-known book Deuteronomy. Matthew tells us (22:36-39), that one day a certain lawyer approached the Lord with a view of tempting Him. "Master," said he, "which is the great commandment in the law?" He silenced him by saying: "Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy heart, and with all thy soul, and with all thy mind. This is the first and great commandment. The second is like unto it, Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself." The first is taken from the book of Deuteronomy and the second from Leviticus.

When we study the instruction the Lord imparted, either unto the people or His Apostles, we will find that the Old Testament was the foundation of his religious teaching. A careful study of that matchless discourse, known as the Sermon on the Mount, will be sufficient to convince any one of that fact. The instruction imparted to His disciples during the

forty days after His resurrection consisted almost entirely in explaining to them the law of Moses, the Prophets and the Psalms. These books were looked upon and used by Him as the only and absolute authority in matters of religion. In fact, from the beginning of His ministry to the very end was He using and explaining the Old Testament, especially those portions referring to Himself, and He invariably used those books as absolute authority—as the infallible Word of God.

His *manner of referring to*, or of describing the Old Testament, is also very instructive and of great importance. He speaks of it as “the word of God,” and “the Scriptures.” These, He declares, “cannot be broken” (Jno. 10 : 35). Again, He speaks of the “Commandments of God” in opposition to the traditions of men (Matt. 15 : 3). In another place we find Him dividing the Old Testament into “Moses,” “the prophets” and “the psalms” (Luke 24 : 44). These He expounds to His disciples as containing an infallible account of Himself; as setting forth His sufferings, death, resurrection and entrance into glory (Luke 24 : 25–27). “Moses,” said He to the fault-finding Jews, “wrote of me.” Again, “but if ye believe not his writings, how shall ye believe my words?” (Jno. 5 : 47). In turning to the 17th chapter of John we find the following statements referring to the Sacred Scriptures: “They have kept thy word” (v. 6), “I have given them thy word” (v. 14), “Sanctify them through the truth; thy word is truth” (v. 17). That Christ is in this remarkable chapter addressing His heavenly Father is a fact beyond dispute. Hence the expression, “Thy word” must also refer to the Father. We have, therefore, reason to believe that the words “Thy word,” point to the Old Testament. Here we have the Scriptures of the Old Testament described by Christ Himself as the word of God, the truth and the instrument of sanctification. The Saviour’s words: “Search the Scriptures; for in them ye think ye have eternal life; and they are they which testify of me,” are also of great importance upon this subject. By “Scriptures” He refers, beyond a doubt, to the Old Testament as possessed by the Jews. Hence through his description of the

Old Testament Christ not only endorses the Jewish Canon, but he also declares it to be God's Word.

When we turn to the EVENTS recorded in the Old Testament we will find that Christ looked upon them as real historical facts, and not as myths borrowed from the Babylonians, or other ancient nations. Even the creation of man, as recorded in Genesis, is spoken of by Him as a fact. "Have ye not read," said He, "that he which made them at the beginning made them male and female" (Matt. 19:4). According to these words God created originally a single pair, namely, one man and one woman, or a single individual of each sex. And just as He looked upon this as a fact and taught it as such, thus did He also look upon the marriage between two persons, one male and one female, or monogamy, as a divine institution. Upon this important subject of marriage between two persons only, Christ quoted Gen. 2:24, saying: "For this cause shall a man leave father and mother, and shall cleave unto his wife; and they twain shall be one flesh" (Matt. 19:5). Hence the marriage between two persons, and two only, is, according to Christ's interpretation of Genesis, a divine institution, which the Lord ordained in the very beginning. The murder of the righteous Abel by his brother Cain, as found recorded in the fourth chapter of Genesis, is also looked upon by Him as a historical fact, and not as a heathen fable. This is evident from His words found in Matt. 23:35. There he says: "That upon you," that is, Jerusalem, "may come all the righteous blood shed upon earth, from the blood of righteous Abel unto the blood of Zacharias son of Barachias, whom ye slew between the temple and the altar." Thus it is also with the deluge, the destruction of Sodom and the fate of Lot's wife. These are looked upon by Him and taught as historical facts and not as myths (Luke 17:26-32). According to the instruction imparted by Christ, Abel, Noah, Abraham, Lot and his wife, Isaac and Jacob, were not mythical characters, but real historical persons. Thus it is also with the great law giver, Moses. He recognizes him not only as a person who actually lived upon this earth, but also as a writer of a portion of the Sacred Scriptures. This is evident from his division of the Old Testament

into three parts, namely: Moses, Prophets and Psalms, (Luke 24:44). He, however, not only ascribes to Moses a portion of the Old Testament, but he also describes him as an actual writer. This is evident from His words: "For had ye believed Moses, ye would have believed me; for he wrote of me." Again he says: "But if ye believe not his writings, how shall ye believe my words?" (Jno. 5:46-47).

A study of the *references* to the Old Testament is also very instructive and exceedingly important upon this subject. That students may differ as to the number of books and verses referred to by Christ in the four Gospels, will be readily admitted by those who have carefully investigated the subject. Yet, notwithstanding the slight difference that may arise, all must, nevertheless, marvel at the Saviour's wonderful familiarity with the Old Testament. We believe we have found the following books referred to by Christ in the four Gospels: Genesis, Exodus, Leviticus, Numbers, Deuteronomy, Joshua, I Samuel, I and II Kings, II Chronicles, Nehemiah, Job, Psalms, Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, Isaiah, Jeremiah, Ezekiel, Daniel, Hosea, Joel, Jonah, Michael, Habakkuk, Zephaniah, Zechariah and Malachi. In Matthew we find about 106 references; in Mark, about 50; in Luke, about 54; and in John about 17. We find thus about 227 references; some of these are, of course, repetitions. Beginning with the largest number of references the books run as follows: Isaiah is referred to 43 times; Psalms, 36; Deuteronomy, 29; Daniel, 19; Exodus, 18; Zechariah, 13; Leviticus, 12; Genesis, 11; Jeremiah, 8; Malachi, 7; Ezekiel, 15; Hosea, 4; I Samuel, Proverbs and Michael, 3 each; II Chronicles, Job and Zephaniah, 2 each; Numbers, Joshua, I Kings, II Kings, Nehemiah, Ecclesiastes, Joel, Jona and Habakkuk, 1 each. From this it appears that the following books are not quoted or referred to by Christ in the four Gospels: Judges, Ruth, II Samuel, I Chronicle, Ezra, Esther, Song of Solomon, Lamentations, Amos, Obadiah, Nahum and Haggai.

As far as these twelve books are concerned we do not know why Christ did not refer to them in the four Gospels. Hence we must be careful as to our conclusions upon this subject. The books are largely historical, containing very little concern-

ing our Saviour and his work of redemption. They are valuable so far as history and genealogy are concerned. Some of them are referred to in the Gospels, but not by Christ Himself. One thing we must bear in mind, namely: in the four Gospels we do not possess all the teachings of our Saviour, but only a limited part of the same. For all we know every book of the Old Testament may have been alluded to by Him. This is highly probable when we remember that in the very few words handed down to us, no less than 27 out of the 39 books composing the Old Testament are referred to by Him.

Under this head we must call attention to another important fact. A careful study of the books cited by Christ will reveal, that among the books most frequently quoted by Him are the very books that have been most severely tested by the higher critics; whilst the few unmentioned books have received but little attention. This is something remarkable; a fact that should cause us to reflect. Why this difference? Is it because they contain more about Christ's person, natures, offices and work of redemption than the others? Whatever may be the reason one thing remains sure, namely; our Saviour's view and use of those books differ entirely from those of the higher critics. Look, for instance, at the first nine chapters of Genesis. No trace can be found in the Gospels where Christ treated these as containing myths and legends borrowed from earlier nations. He treats the contents of these chapters as historical facts and looks upon them as a divine revelation. These remarkable nine chapters, whose contents have puzzled so many, are referred to and quoted by Christ in the four Gospels no less than nine times. Among these references we find the creation of male and female, or of Adam and Eve; the institution of marriage between one male and one female; Paradise; the fall of man brought about by the liar and murderer from the beginning; the murder of righteous Abel; the great wickedness before the deluge; Noah; the Ark; the flood, etc. These are treated by Him as real and solemn facts and not as trivial and ridiculous myths. He makes no distinction, whatever, between these nine chapters and the others portion of the Old Testament.

Having thus briefly summed up Christ's testimony in regard to the Old Testament, the question now is, Is there any way to account for the great difference between Christ's use and treatment of the Old Testament, and the use and treatment it has received and is now receiving from those, who hold views apparently opposite to His? We reply: The efforts thus far put forth in this direction may be summed up under three different heads.

First. Looking upon Christ "as a child of His times," it is both natural and reasonable to suppose that He was mistaken concerning the supernatural authority of the Old Testament; especially of those portions looked upon by some as mythical.

Secondly. That Christ knew better, but adapted Himself to the views and knowledge of the people, who had been taught that those wonderful accounts were real historical facts and divine revelation. He, for some reason, did not wish to disturb their minds or shake their faith in the same. Hence He purposely left them in the dark concerning certain portions of their Scriptures. He may have thought that, if He tried to rectify their wrong views, He might turn the people entirely from Him and thus be unable to instruct them about the Kingdom of God.

Thirdly. That He was right and that all those, who declare those portions of the Old Testament, that do not agree with their investigations and conceptions, as mythical, are wrong.

Let us now turn our attention to these three different heads in order to find out, as far as we are able, which one gives the best and truest solution of the great difference existing between Christ and some of our modern interpreters of the Old Testament.

As to the *first*. That Christ was "a child of His times" and as such was liable to make mistakes, we would reply: It is evident that Christ was born a child and that He grew up in time; for He was born of the Virgin Mary and was reared at Nazareth. As a child He was capable of receiving impressions like other children, and doubtless did. Yet, according to the only reliable account we have of His childhood, namely, that in

the four Gospels, He nevertheless differed somewhat from the children of His times. We are told, for instance, that "the child grew, and waxed strong in Spirit : and that the grace of God was upon him" (Luke 2 : 40). So far as His wisdom from childhood up is concerned He was far from being "a child of His times." This is evident from the circumstances connected with His visit to Jerusalem at the age of twelve. The intelligence, manifested in His questions and answers, was of such a nature as to cause even the doctors in whose midst He was sitting to be astonished. For all we know there may have been present such celebrated scholars and teachers as Hillel, Simeon and Gamaliel. The astonishment He then and there produced upon those present shows plainly that the wisdom He possessed at the age of twelve far surpassed that of the exceptionally bright youths of His age; if not in some respects that of learned doctors. Since after that memorable event He kept on increasing in wisdom, it is evident that He had not yet attained perfection, but continued to increase in wisdom just as He did in stature and in favor with God and man. And the most remarkable thing about this is, that He increased in wisdom concerning divine things and the Sacred Scriptures without enjoying the instructions of the theological schools then in existence. This is evident from the words: "And the Jews marvelled, saying, How knoweth this man letters," meaning doubtless the Sacred Scriptures, "having never learned" (John 7 : 15). Hence He was also in this respect no more a child of the theological schools of His people, than "a child of His times." Now, since He kept on increasing in wisdom He must have been at the age of thirty, when He was about to enter His prophetic office, an exceptionally wise man, especially as far as divine things and the Sacred Scriptures are concerned.

Though thus in an extraordinary way well qualified with the power of discerning what is true and right, He, nevertheless, did not enter his public ministry till He had been anointed with the Holy Ghost. We are told that at His baptism the Spirit of God descended like a dove, and lighted upon Him; whilst a voice from heaven said: "This is my beloved Son, in whom

I am well pleased" (Matt. 3 : 16 and 17). Since Christ is God's "beloved Son" it is reasonable to suppose that He did not receive the Holy Spirit in the same limited way as great and wise men before Him, but without measure and limitation ; so that there rested upon him, according to the prophecy of Isaiah 11 : 2, the spirit of wisdom, understanding, counsel, might and knowledge. Hence there must have been hid in Him now "all the treasures of wisdom and knowledge" (Col. 2 : 3). Entering his prophetic office thus endowed it is somewhat difficult to understand how some men can even suppose that he was mistaken concerning the supernatural authority of the Old Testament, including those portions looked upon by some as mythical ! Such a supposition not only greatly invalidates His prophetic office and throws suspicion upon the infallibility of His teachings, but it also seems unreasonable and unscriptural. Though some of these men may seek shelter under what is known as the "*Kenosis*"—a doctrine which seeks to determine the character of Christ's humiliation, based upon Phil. 2 : 7—yet any theory of the *Kenosis*, that will invalidate Christ's prophetic office and throw suspicion upon the infallibility of his entire teaching, seems to us unscriptural. Hence such a theory of the *Kenosis* should receive no more recognition than the theory that the end justifies the means.

It must be confessed, however, that Christ's own words : "But of that day and that hour knoweth no man, no, not the angels in heaven, neither the Son, but the Father" (Mark 13 : 32), seem to set a limit to His knowledge in his state of humiliation. So far as the apparent limitation of Christ's knowledge, found here, is concerned, we must not forget that this apparent limitation refers to a precise time of a future event, and not to past events recorded in the Old Testament, nor to the supernatural authority of the same. A careful study of God's Word, as to the precise time of future events, will show us, as Dr. C. F. Schaeffer has well said, that, "Whilst God has been pleased to reveal future events, He has always absolutely withheld all precise statements respecting the times of their occurrence" (*Luth. Com.*, vol. ii, p. 217). Without entering upon the criticisms of the learned scholars upon this

verse, we can safely infer, that Christ in His state of humiliation either refrained for the time from the use of His knowledge concerning "That day and hour;" or that he refused such a revelation to His disciples. Such a refusal we find, for instance, just before His ascension; at which time He had, according to our theologians, passed from the state of humiliation to that of exaltation. And the reason why, even in His state of exaltation, He refused to give unto them the precise time of a future event, was not for want of knowledge on His part, but because it was not for them to "know the times and seasons, which the Father hath put in his own power," (Acts 1 : 7). Whilst such an inference is perfectly warranted it is somewhat unwarranted to assume from these words of our Saviour that the knowledge He exercised in His state of humiliation was so imperfect that he was entirely mistaken concerning the supernatural authority of the Old Testament, especially those parts considered by some as mythical. How could He, who was full of grace and truth; who described Himself as "the truth," and who declared before Pontius Pilate that the end and purpose of His incarnation was "to bear witness unto the truth," be mistaken as to the witness he did bear concerning the Old Testament, which He declared to be God's Word and the truth? (John 17 : 1). This unwarranted assumption, instead of leading us out of difficulties and darkness, brings us to unsurmountable difficulties and impenetrable darkness. Hence there is nothing left except to give it up as unsafe and turn to Him, who is the true Way and Light of the world.

As to the *second*, that He knew better, but adapted Himself to the erroneous views of the people, leaving them purposely in darkness, in order that He might accomplish His end, we would answer: There is much worldly wisdom in this, but since Christ, as we have already seen, did not get His wisdom from the world, but from above, such an assumption is hardly fair. The wisdom from above is, according to the Bible (James 3 : 17), "first pure." That Christ did accommodate Himself to the intellectual condition of those whom He instructed is reasonable to suppose. In fact we believe that the following verse allows such a supposition: "I have yet many things to say unto you,

but ye cannot bear them now" (John 16 : 12). The accommodation spoken of here does, however, not refer to any erroneous views concerning things taught in the Old Testament, but to the weakness of their minds. They were not yet ready for the higher, deeper and fuller things He had in store for them. Nowhere do we find that Christ left people in darkness and error, or made His teachings to harmonize with their darkness and error, in order that He might win them. This would class Him among those who hold that the end justifies the means. We cannot see how He, who, according to His own words, came into the world "to bear witness unto the Truth," and whose aim was to make people free from error and sin through the Truth, and thus prepare and bring them into the Kingdom of Truth, could be guilty of any thing like that. In fact His dealings with the woman of Samaria at Jacob's well plainly show that such an assumption is entirely groundless. A careful study of that event will clearly demonstrate that He did not allow those whom He sought to instruct to remain in darkness and error in regard to their religious views, but that He unhesitatingly condemned the same. In plain words did He say to that woman: "Ye worship, ye know not what." By which He undoubtedly meant: Your worship is purely an invention of man. This proves that He did disturb people's minds; that He did shake their faith in things pertaining to religion having no divine authority, but were mere inventions of men. Hence, since it is both unreasonable and unscriptural to assume that He, who did not sin and in whose mouth was found no guile (I Peter 2 : 22), could be guilty of such a deception, we must, therefore, reject the second supposition.

As to the *third*, we reply: Whilst we should always entertain the highest regard for indefatigable scholars, and encourage independent research in this as well as other spheres, we must not forget, that researches, upon which so much stress is being laid by men constantly on the alert for something new or striking, are not yet completed, but simply begun. It is, therefore, a great mistake to draw conclusions against the sacred Scriptures of the Old Testament at this stage of the investigations that are

now being carried on. The great disagreement between Professors Delitzsch and Hilprecht proves this clearly. The impatience manifested by some and their hasty conclusions against a portion of the Old Testament, have not shaken the Church's faith in the same, but have simply revealed the attitude of those writers towards the Word of God.

That Christ used the Old Testament as a book containing solemn facts and truths instead of ridiculous fictions; as a book of supernatural and final authority, and as a book that contained the revealed will of God, is a fact that cannot be denied. We have every reason to believe that He was right; that the witness he did bear to the Old Testament was true and that there was no guile in His mouth. Hence, we believe that those who disagree with Him on this important subject are mistaken, regardless of their sincerity and scholarship.

ARTICLE V.

HARNACK'S "ESSENCE OF CHRISTIANITY."

BY ADAM STUMP, D.D.

The popular saying that to all questions there are two sides contains a dangerous falsehood. It should mean only that each question has its espousers and its opponents; that it divides public opinion into two parts. But what nowadays it is made to mean is, that there are two sides to truth, each of which is to be treated with equal leniency and charity. This is not so. The only sides of any question are not two true ones, but a true and a false. Between these there can be no neutral ground—no middle way—on which a rational being may stand. Finally he must be for or against. Nor where indifference were a crime, should he make any apologies for his conscientious convictions. Only let him remember his responsibility to God.

Some of us had thought that the person of Christ and the nature of Christianity, as well as the origin and early history of both, were settled subjects. Again have these things become

mooted questions in the learned world. It is the old test-problem, "What think ye of the Christ?" In a widely-read book we have another of many modern answers to it. As it seems to satisfy so many and is intended to offer grounds of conciliation to all, let us without boast of scholarship (for none is needed) give it such a patient hearing as we may. The English reader who will not peruse the at least temporarily famous "Wesen des Christentums," may find an introduction to the present article in Dr. Wenner's excellent resume of it in the LUTHERAN QUARTERLY of October, 1901. He will also find the translation by T. B. Saunders under the title "What is Christianity" a fair substitute for the original. In the process of transference from the German there is some loss, but as a whole the English dress is not misleading. We could wish that all our good authors in the Fatherland might be equally well translated. Especially could we desire that the German answers to these insidious lectures might be so given to us in our American tongue. Their harmfulness would thus be arrested. For we cannot share the opinion that this work is in the interest of Christian truth. The six hundred enthusiasts who applauded the eloquent professor, while he was delivering these lectures, and the busy issues of the press have been scattering this new thistle-seed over the earth. Already in the United States we hear echoes from the lecture-room at Berlin. What the harvest will be remains to be seen. But it is the purpose of this paper to show that Harnack's Christianity is not that of the New Testament and that Harnack's Christ is not the Christ of the Gospels. Yet we have not here to do with a neology or with a new evangel, but only with *Arianus redivivus*. An old sea-monster has again lifted up his head out of the ooze of long-simmering heresies. The history of the Church proves that her most dangerous enemies have been, not those who have attacked her without, but those who have betrayed her from within. Sure of her firm foundations, she always could and still can *smile* in disdain upon the feeble onslaughts of her foes, but she does well to tremble when her own sons are ready to throw out the keys of the citadel. Both the factitious, unproved

theory of scientific evolution and the supercilious so-called higher criticism offer their services to the Christian Church, but, as the old proverb says, one must fear the Greeks even when they are bringing gifts (*Timeo Danaos et dona ferentes*). The servants of Christ are upon no doubtful defense; they need no allies. The sacred ark may be trembling, when it is being conveyed by human hands; it is, however, not falling. There is no necessity that any modern Azzaites should support it with their hands. One hesitates a great while before being ready to criticise the work of a man who professes to be on the same side, and who claims to have a good motive. We will not question the plea of Dr. Harnack that he meant to throw oil upon the troubled waters of religious controversy. He proclaims himself the advocate of knowledge and peace. "*Der Erkenntniss und dem Frieden will ich dienen und nicht dem Streit*" (Intr. 1st ed.). But the fact that he mentions knowledge first is not accidental, for throughout the entire work he consistently gives it the first place. The book is "scientific" before it is irenic. Yet he acknowledges the claims of peace and thus far deserves credit for a noble motive. However, we can pay too high a price even for such a beautiful blessing. Christ refused to quiet the warring elements of his times, when the cost was too enormous, and instead deliberately offered the world fire and a sword. But if this scholar and orator, this gifted and magnetic professor, holding an exalted position in the Church, was sincere in his purpose, he perpetrated a monstrous failure. He succeeded only in pleasing the vanity of the enemies and in hurting the feelings of the friends of Christianity. He drew the battle into his own camp. The antagonists might securely rest on their arms while the protagonists are destroying one another. But peace with infidelity becomes infidelity to the faith.

We shall not discuss Harnack's entire book, but only his presentation of Christ and the Gospel. What he has to say (after lecture 10th) of Greek and Roman Catholicism, as well as of Protestantism, does not much concern us. He there is in his own peculiar realm, that of pure history, and in that he

may enjoy his unquestioned supremacy. Perhaps as a patristic historian but few in the world can cope with him. But just at this point arises our first objection. He is a specialist who did not remain in his native element. He did not realize as he passed over the boundary, in the language of the ancient poet, Ion: "We are but like a fish upon dry land" (Plutarch's L. III, 143). Nowadays it seems enough to be able to say of a man, "Ah, but he is a *savant* in his branch!" As though that fact gave him the right to stride into another scholar's specialty and arrogantly claim authority there! Yet this is exactly what Harnack, though not he alone, does. Such an attempt is preposterous. Without being an exegete, logician, or theologian, he imperiously sets out to say how little we have understood it and what Christianity really is. This only those who have experienced its power can tell us. Solomon was the wisest man of his day and John Baptist was the greatest prophet of all times, but he that is least in the kingdom of God is greater than either. The Father has not revealed his mysteries to the wise and prudent men of science, but, to the babes of faith and grace.

Harnack's disposition does not win favor with the unbiased reader. He is supercilious toward his critics, which always is the case with monocular specialism. Like a jeweler hunting for a flaw in a watch, it never fails to shut its eye to that which it does not want to see. In his preface to the fifth edition, he speaks thus of the writings of his opponents: "I read them and laid them aside. Alas I could not learn anything from them." The Roman See could not speak with a sublimer conceit. But to those who care not whether the pope's name be Pius or Harnack, such language prepares the mind to contest every inch of the argument.

If it were our aim to enter upon a critique of the entire book, there are many things of excellence at which we would linger. The author's style is admirable. He usually excels in a perspicacity in which so many German writers are deficient. There are nerves in his sentences. His language has a force, movement, and aptness which are delightful. In thought he is like a giant

who uses the mountains as stepping-stones in his progress over the earth. However, he loses sight of the fruitful valleys between his feet, and here is a weakness. It is not barren peaks, however sublime, that feeds men. When Harnack says, "Other religions no longer stir the depths of our hearts," thus giving Christianity the supreme place, we feel sorry that we cannot always walk with him. "Die anderen bewegen uns in Tiefsten nicht mehr" (p. 4). When he tells us (p. 5) that Christianity is aiming at only this high simple point: "Eternal Life in the midst of time," we cannot demur. We can only wait to hear what definition and account of the method he will give. We are excusable for being a little suspicious, for does not history itself prove that heresy has often employed the language of orthodoxy? Toward the end of the first lecture he confesses that "In history we are not able to pass absolute judgments." We are glad for this mark of humility. It does not appear on every page. But originality does, and we rejoice in its lustre. Here is a man who might say with Edersheim: "But I wished to avoid cumbering my pages with an array of authorities, which too often give a mere appearance of learning" (Preface to Temple). But while we do not miss Harnack's extra-canonical documents, we do miss the proofs of the most important of his assertions. For a professedly humble man he often speaks too oracularly.

The account of the idea of the Messiah which prevailed among the Jews just before and at the coming of Christ, the relation of the process of how the Greek philosophy in regard to the Logos and the person of Christ became equivalent, as also the statement of the sociological phase of gospel teaching, are masterly specimens of literature. But just because he says so much that is good, for that very reason is his hidden heresy dangerous. Where Harnack is the devil's bait, we may expect the hook to be attractively covered. For this we may well feel profoundly sorry. What a knightly champion for the truth he could be! But he is found wanting in his conceptions concerning the contents of the Gospels and the Person of Christ. This we will now endeavor to show.

He professes above all things to be a historian. Yet he often

uses the language of a theologian, and toward the end even turns prophet with a tinge of pessimism. But the critic never fails to be uppermost. We insist that a historian must have a free mind; he must not reason *a priori*; must have no preconception or governing theory; he must depend upon induction alone to establish his argument. No one will dispute these requirements. But on this point Harnack fails us. He assumes that miracles are an infraction of the coherence or continuity of nature, and consequently are an impossibility ("Als Durchbrechung des Naturzusammenhangs, keine Wundergeben kann," p. 17). It follows, of course, that he does not allow the miraculous conception and incarnation of Christ. Yet he does not deny that wonders happened. "That the earth in its course ever stood still, that a she-ass spoke, that a sea-storm was stilled by a word, we do not believe and will not again believe; but that the lame walked, the blind saw and the deaf heard, we will not abruptly dismiss as an illusion" (p. 18). Thus by one summary stroke Jesus, Apollonius of Tyana, Mrs. Eddy, and the notorious Dr. Dowie, Elijah III, of Chicago, are placed on the same level, and Dr. Harnack subscribes himself a disciple of Dr. Paulus and Prof. Haeckel, the lowest of the rationalists. Consistent with his predilection is the company he chooses for his journey. The few citations in which he indulges are not usually taken from authors whom the Church delights to quote, but from the writings of such men as John Stuart Mill, Thomas Carlyle, the poet Goethe, Prof. Wellhausen and John Frederick Strauss. With a sigh one asks, "What have these men done for Christianity?"

We cannot here enter upon a discussion of the subject of miracles. But every reader knows what an important part of the gospel-story such occurrences are—not an accidental, but an integral part—so that the New Testament rises or falls with them. Yet this would-be defender of Christianity suavely declares (Saunders's translation, 26), "As an interruption of the order of nature, there can be no such things as miracles." He ascribes them to the realm of phantasie and metaphor. Yet he inconsistently enough says that the decisive question of the Gospel is, "Whether we are helplessly held by an inexorable

necessity, or whether there is a God, who sits in the heavens, and whose power to compel nature we may move by prayer and may experience" (p. 19). Since God is thus confessedly above nature, why should He not be able for sufficient reasons to work miracles in time and space? If there is that which is supernatural, why should it not manifest itself? Harnack recognizes the principle, but denies the phenomenon, except so far as psychic or other occult forces may explain it. In other words, he makes reason alone the arbiter of the case, by denying supernatural activity to God.

However, it is readily acknowledged that these wonders had only a relative value in the mission of Christ. They but legitimate higher things. In this light it is not as remarkable as Harnack thinks it is, that "Jesus himself did not lay the final stress (*das entscheidende Gewicht*) upon his miraculous deeds" (p. 19), which his disciples assigned to them. However, there is one authentic tradition which greatly weakens the above observation. Though the effect and need of miracles primarily were for the pupils and not for the Master, nevertheless the latter, as his message to his anxious forerunner indicates, did not ignore them. "Go your way and tell John the things which ye do hear and see; the blind receive their sight, and the lame walk, the lepers are cleansed, and the deaf hear, *and the dead are raised up*, and the poor have good tidings preached to them" (Matt. 11 : 4-5). Though Harnack says there is nothing more edifying than the Lord's answer to John's touching question, he twice out of three times garbles it by omitting the most critical clause—"and the dead are raised up!!" Why? The non-sequiturs of this devotee of the modern scientific spirit are similarly astonishing. In one bold statement he sometimes draws unwarranted inferences which it would take a whole article to answer and a whole book to render even plausible. In this respect it is as difficult to reply to him as it was for Gladstone to argue with Ingersoll, who, the great statesman said, hurled questions and assertions as fast as a machine-gun fires balls. For instance, Harnack says (p. 20): "Paul also is silent, so that we may be sure that the oldest tradition knew nothing of the stories of the birth of Jesus." How, by one sweep of the

hand, Luke, the careful and conscientious biographer, but above all, the contemporary of Mary, is thus brushed aside! Again how the unsubstantial, bloodless argument from "silence," which never yet did and never will prove anything, is here made to do service as if it possessed any positive force. A man who is driven to such resources must be conscious of having a weak cause and still weaker weapons. But these pretensions to know more and to understand better than the writers of the Bible is symptomatic of the present-day disease of higher criticism.

How can a man consistently demand that others should be scientific and then assume that the incarnation is an impossibility and that the record of it is a myth? When two of the synoptists write the memoirs of the most divine life that earth ever saw or can see, they begin not with inspired Man, but with the Babe, "conceived by the Holy Ghost, born of the Virgin Mary." And the whole fourfold Gospel, by the synoptists and John, is in woven harmony with this miraculous birth, the supernatural character of Christ, His claim of pre-existence, and peculiar sonship, His divine teaching, His miracles of love and power, His crucifixion, His resurrection and ascension, and the supernatural power of Christianity. But Harnack wishes to revise the Apostles' Creed! However, if that birth-record is not true, then nothing else in these gospels is reliable; the fact is, then we have no Gospel at all.

Strangely enough our author rejects the Johannine authorship and historical value of the fourth gospel. Yet it contains no birth-legend! But he always waves aside everything that does not coincide with his preconceptions.

Every reader of the four evangelists knows how much Jesus spoke of himself as the Son of God and that the Jews did not so much find fault with his theology and his ethical teachings, as with his high personal claims. But in Harnack's book all this is denied. "The Gospel as Jesus proclaimed it, has to do with the Father only, and not with the Son." How many passages contradict that statement! Yet we are asked to believe the learned lecturer! But though Harnack acknowledges that Jesus claimed divine Sonship in a special sense for himself

alone, his explanation of the manner in which He was the Son of God is that of rationalism. "His consciousness of being the Son of God is nothing else than the practical consequence of his knowledge of God as the Father and his Father. Rightly understood the knowledge of God is the whole content of the name of Son" (p. 81). Here we have a specimen of a school of thought which would have a Christ without a Christology; a gospel, without a doctrine of the Gospel—except that of the higher critic. Thus this professed admirer of Jesus Christ brings his own ideas into the New Testament and explains away most of what the Redeemer of men said concerning himself. No candid seeker of truth ever found such a blurred photogravure of this wonderful man in the Bible. Jesus of Nazareth we know, but Harnack's Jesus is found only on the pages of "*Das Wesen des Christenthums*" and in kindred literature. For if the name of Son of God means no more than the highest knowledge of God, then He has not yet appeared who can say with full meaning, "I and the Father are one," and "He that hath seen me hath seen the Father." Then we may have had among us the most perfect man, but not "God manifest in the flesh," or "the brightness of his glory and the express image of his person." Then Paul was mistaken; and yet Harnack^{*} distinctly says that the great apostle "was the one who understood the Master."

Though thrice a voice spoke from heaven telling Christ and us who he was, and his miracles were divine credentials to himself as well as to men, on the question of how he became convinced of his divine mission, our author takes refuge in the mysterious desert of agnosticism—the asylum of cowardice. As to the psychological process by which he came to such a consciousness any believer may well inquire, for that is an unfathomable problem—on the supposition that He was a mere man, reaching the bottom of the abyss with its effrontery. But on the theory that He was a divine being, the fact of his messiahship becomes a part of the simple alphabet of the babes and sucklings of intuitive trust. This facile agnosticism is a modern species of that neurotic cleverness, which passes for

superior erudition. It will not enter a fort which it must defend, but rushes among the sand dunes of Sahara, where the storms which criticism has stirred up obscure the sun with dust-clouds, and cries from out the gloom, "I can not know," and afterwards acts as though it had won a battle. There certainly are things which can not be understood, both because we have not the faculties to grasp them nor the means to get possession of them. But that which has been revealed may also be known—indeed it is our duty to know, and not humility, but perversity, to refuse to know.

If anything in the life of Christ was objective one would think the descent of the dove and the heavenly voice at the Jordan were so. But Harnack says (p. 88): "In an inner event which Jesus experienced at his baptism the oldest tradition saw the foundation of his messianic consciousness." Now Jesus himself never told us one word of that inner experience. Yet our author says it was the oldest tradition. But John Baptist has informed us that he saw, not indeed the subjective, but the objective dove descending upon Him. Who knows best?

But Harnack makes a total wreck of his proud ship when he allows the gales of rationalism to drive it against the rocky tomb of Christ. A sailor may be both bold and rash, without being brave. The learned professor, if he really meant to serve Christianity, had more profitably taken up the time of his students with a course of dissertations on the voyages of Ulysses or Aeneas, or Paul, than to undermine their faith in the reality of its palladium. If the body of Mary's son is a part of Judean dust and still sleeps its long sleep under Syrian skies, then our dear religion may at this moment be the most dynamic in the world, but it can not remain so forever. A dead Jesus can not, and should not, be the accepted Saviour of men.

In the beginning of the "Wesen" Harnack truly says: "It is not a question of a doctrine being handed down by uniform repetition or arbitrarily distorted; it is a question of a life, again and again kindled afresh, and now burning with a flame of its own" (p. 7). Yes, but how can a lively hope be based upon a closed grave? If Jesus Christ has no higher immortality than

the truth He taught and the impress of Himself that He has made upon the human race and which will continue as the race exists, then He is but another Plato with indeed an ideal, yet one which will in time be superseded by a still higher one. Harnack makes a factitious distinction between what he calls the Easter message and the Easter faith, and declares that the New Testament itself distinguishes between them (p. 101). His assertion is false, and by it he places himself on a level with those errorists at Corinth who, considering themselves more illuminated and more spiritual than Paul, denied the resurrection of the dead, averring no doubt that the new birth was it, and hence that it was already past (I Cor. 15 : 12 ; II Tim. 2 : 18). Such splitting of cherry-stones may be both astute and entertaining, but we are not now nor at any other time concerned about the imaginary difference between an Easter message and an Easter faith, but about *the Easter fact*. We want history. Our professor, true to the atmosphere of his chair, early declares that "the chief features of the Gospel are to be corrected by reference to history" (die Grundzüge des Evangeliums, controllier an der Geschichte, p. 10). But just here history corrects her own teacher ! He acknowledges that Paul and the early Christians built up the Church on the conviction of the Risen Christ. Thanks for the concession. On what else could they possibly have built it ? What other foundation have we to-day ? Yet Harnack insidiously leaves us under the impression that the first martyrs were mistaken. With a supercilious wave of the hand and a contemptuous shrug of the shoulders, he pretends to ignore the capstone miracle of the ages, the keystone in which nature and the supernatural meet, the climax of the most wonderful history that ever was lived among men. If on this vital point the testimony of the synoptists (to say nothing of John and Paul) is not taken, then all of Christianity is myth and fiction. Then it has no substance (Wesen) to describe or to defend. "Give me a place on which to stand," demanded ancient philosophy (δός μοι στῆναι). This solid fact Christianity furnished alone in the resurrection of Christ, and not in the sermon on the Mount. From the law of parsimony we reject Har-

nack's purely ethical argument. The cause must be adequate to the effect, but even the exalted ethics of Christ could not account for the wonderful phenomenon of the religion which bears His name. Nothing but the resurrection of Jesus could account even for the conversion of Paul. But likely our author does not believe that Paul was converted. Of regeneration and other spiritual entities he at least has nothing to say. He lived and moved in legalism. As we walk with him through these pages, we feel that we are promenading in brilliant company along the periphery of his subject, but that we are far, very far, from the center. We have noticed that a shallow lake seems to be very deep when it is murky, and for the same reason great scholarship often appears much profounder than it is.

But we must bring these cursory notes to an end. It is not to be supposed that one could in a magazine article fully answer such a treatise as this "Wesen" is. But as it has made a deep impression in many circles, and waves of it are beginning to be felt in various corners, and as the writer has given it a thorough examination (reading all of it thrice and much of it oftener), with the feeling of a man who expected bread and received a stone, he would briefly recapitulate his objections to it.

1. It is of a piece with the present higher criticism, which from a variety of motives is just now in all ways trying to get the public ear. This already is condemnation enough. Recall what this same method has tried to do with Homer and Shakespeare, Moses and Isaiah. It is destructive of everything, constructive of nothing, and is based upon the evolution theory of the universe which itself never as much as today was so greatly in need of proof.

2. Harnack seeks to establish Christianity in the esteem of men by compromise with its critics. Such an irenicon is to be rejected. It will please the skeptic without winning him. Any signs of surrender will be hailed with delight by those whose opposition is not worthy of any respect. Harnack professes to give up only the husk. But he must be color-blind; for he throws away much of the kernel. But we are weary of this

shell-and-kernel argument. It over-vaults itself and proves too much. Has there ever been a nut without a shell? If the Judiac envelope were all we needed to surrender to unbelief, we could acquiesce. We could throw away the swaddling clothes if we could keep the Babe of Bethlehem. But here is the rub; Harnack has delivered it to the wolves.

3. He is false to the inductive method which he claims to follow. Of science falsely so-called there is much in the world. Let us have induction. Let its principles by all means be applied to the Bible. But every page of "*Das Wesen*" shows that its author deduced his ruling ideas from his own consciousness. As the stream can not rise higher than its source, we have in consequence an abortive Harnackian Christianity, but not that of the New Testament.

4. His spirit is cynical toward the conservatives who will not yield the old positions. It is very noticeable that the only disposition which rationalistic criticism approves is that of abject sycophancy. We are meekly to allow ourselves to be robbed without protest. All defense and especially all attack is considered bad form. We are to remain cool as ice and hard as adamant, while the ark is being carried out of Jerusalem. The critics want a monopoly in sarcasm and dissection. Such articles as the present one are the ebullition of ignorance—unscientific vaporings, because not the incense of adulation. But if a good spirit means submission to intellectual tyranny, an old guardsman does not understand the terms, and certainly he has not been won by the spirit of this book.

5. That he arbitrarily starts out with the assumption that there is nothing supernatural in the life, character, or teachings of Jesus. For this reason he seldom calls him Christ. For the same reason he slights St. John's testimony, ignores the genealogy, the miracles, and the resurrection. To interpret a history which is itself a miracle he scouts at the idea of the possibility of miracles. Is such a historian reliable? The Scriptures are a fabric composed of a divine warp and a human woof. The first and principal one, which connects earth with heaven through the incarnation and ascension of Christ, this

ruthless dissector cuts in two with his critic's knife. What now becomes of the frail web! On what shall it rest?

6. That the testimony of Jesus concerning Himself is to be understood, not on historico-grammatical grounds, according to the plain meaning of language, but in a far-fetched gnosiological sense. In this respect we have Channing again, only the hypothesis is gray with age. It runs thus: Jesus is the best man that ever lived, he taught the truth about everything, except about himself! "It is not as a mere factor," says Harnack, "that he is connected with the Gospel; he was its personal realization and its strength." This is coming near the truth, which is that Christ himself *is* the Gospel. But this is not so to one who accepts only His testimony concerning his Father and not that concerning himself.

7. That Harnack but rejects the Christology of orthodoxy to spin out one of his own. This is an old experiment. He will hear nothing of any doctrine, except that which he himself dictates. Thus in spite of himself the historian has turned theologian (*sutor supra crepidam judicavit*) and on this, to him, strange road we refuse to follow him. Between the *forma doctrinae* of Paul (Rom. 6 : 17) and that of Harnack, we choose to adhere to the former.

8. By holding the moral doctrines, and not the person of Christ, to be the essence of Christianity, Harnack annuls the gospel of salvation by grace on the merits of His perfect life and sacrificial death, vicarious death, and thus establishes the old legalism of salvation by works instead of by faith. He would reenact the law, which man always found it impossible to fulfill and replace upon our backs the burden which never failed to break us down. Surely Judaism and Paganism, as well also Catholicism, owe him thanks for rehabilitating their dead creed. Christ then is only another Moses and the Gospel but a newer, though a better, Deuteronomy.

SHALL WOMEN PREACH?

BY MARGARET R. SEEBACH, A.M.

In the LUTHERAN QUARTERLY for July appears an article entitled *Shall Women Preach in the Congregation? An Exegetical Treatise*, by Professor J. L. Neve, D.D. He states, and undertakes to prove, that Paul's words on the subject establish "a rule not for one congregation only, but for all the assemblies of the saints," and for all times. On the exegetical side of this article Dr. Neve is no doubt orthodox; but his deductions are not all acceptable, and the article as a whole appears to lack the balance of the practical.

He condemns as worthy only of "a champion of modern theology"—which seems to mean one who does *not* consider "that the Holy Scripture is a source and rule for all faith and practice"—a consideration of the teachings of the apostles as in any way modified by the times in which they lived. It is truly unfortunate that the apostles had to live in a particular period of history, and that they refer so often to the customs and peculiarities of their own times. It is somewhat more lamentable that modern ideas are so degenerate. For instance, it would be hard to-day to convince a woman who wanted to preach that the chief objection to her doing so is that "Adam was first formed, then Eve." No! if we are going to keep the "new woman" from preaching, it will be by other arguments than this "ground rule of creation."

Dr. Neve goes even farther than this. He says that if we do not take Paul's dictum on this subject as "true and binding to-day," just as when it was written, "then we are on dangerous ground; then we cannot with Peter say that we have a 'sure word of prophecy.' If we have the right to interpret thus, and so get rid of something that does not suit the taste of our age, what then can we answer if, for instance, a champion of 'free love' attacks the institution of marriage, saying that such requirements of the Bible do not hold for our day?"

It surely seems rather extreme to say that if we do not retain

all the apostolic recommendations in matters of church government, we have no sure basis for moral duties. Even if the questions were of like quality, the roots of inspiration run back far deeper than the epistles of Paul. The commentator is unfortunate in his choice of a parallel. To-day it is not on Paul's views that we rest our theory of marriage, but on the Ten Commandments and the teachings of Christ. Would Dr. Neve refer the ground of Christian marriage to I Cor. 7 : 32-34, or 37-38? Or did Paul write other things beside these "for the present necessity?"

While the historical view is not the only one to take, it is certainly very illuminating in this particular instance. At least, it can do no harm to remember that in Greece, at the time when Paul wrote, lack of education was the mark of a virtuous woman. The only women who would be mentally fitted to teach the Church anything would be morally unfitted. Though they were penitent and cleansed, yet their very brilliancy of intellect would always remind their hearers of what they had been; and their teaching would not be to edification. Probably, however, Paul refers less to preaching as we know it than to the "glossolalia," which he elsewhere discredits as a source of disorder, and which in the case of women was as prone to run into hysterics as the more modern revival methods. The word *λαλεῖν*, which Dr. Neve tries to interpret "preach," makes this more than reasonable.

But if we admit that the particular conditions of the Church are altered, must we say that Paul would have given different counsel to-day? Are there reasons of practical expediency which justify the position of our Church in not accepting women as preachers? Do the education of women and their altered social standing make it unjust to deny them this privilege? There has been much discussion of this question during the last few years, when the papers have been full of notices of pulpits "supplied in the pastor's absence by his wife." An able and spirited plea has come before our own Church in the form of a story from the pen of one who would be herself richly qualified for such service. Meantime our Lutheran women are doing all but preaching, and often, in connection with their missionary

work, addressing audiences larger than many a pastor has before him on Sunday. In these we glory, and even apply to them the words of the conservative Paul in saying "Help those women!" Why, then, do we withhold from them the crowning privilege? Why not educate and ordain them as pastors?

Some may reply that it is on account of prejudice, which must be overcome gradually by individual successes. The woman who supplies her husband's pulpit steps inperceptibly, they may say, into work for which she is fitted and opens a door to her sisters. Of all the proposed methods, this seems to us the worst. It is not entering into the fold by the door, but climbing up another way. If an unordained layman of one sex may do this, why not of the other? Yet who would want to see the significance of ordination and the value of ministerial education thus set aside, and our pulpits supplied by anyone who knows enough to talk for thirty minutes on religious subjects? When we define the place of a woman in the Church, let us never forget that she is a *layman*—pastor's wife or not. It is no more proper and lawful for her to occupy a pulpit on the Sabbath day as a preacher and spiritual guide than to solemnize marriage or baptism. This is said with no intention to exalt the priesthood of the ordained. The universal priesthood of believers is so great and real an honor that no one need envy the ordained minister as nearer to God or more blest by Him. We have self-government in this country, and every citizen can feel himself the equal of a king. Yet all are not magistrates, and it goes ill when those who are not attempt to take the law into their own hands.

Whatever, then, any other laymen may do in the Church, let us grant, if we will, to women. Let them teach in the schools of the Church, let them pray in prayer-meetings, let them conduct mid-week services where it is customary for laymen to do these things. But keep the Sabbath ministrations for those who have received training for this very thing, and whose life-work it is.

Then why not educate women for this work? is the next question we have to meet. The answer is manifold, but it all amounts to this: Because it would involve, on the part of

women, the celibacy of the clergy. Without going into details, it is just as impossible for a woman to combine home duties with the work of a pastor and preacher as with any other business or profession. Were it possible for her to leave her household in the hands of others so as to give her time for a work which is supposed to occupy the whole time of a man who adopts it, she would lose in moral influence by such indifference to home and children. Even if she had no one but her husband to consider, his own profession would be an obstacle. Should she receive a call from another charge, would he be expected to leave his medical practice, his store, his factory, and follow her? Or if he were a preacher, would it frequently happen that they could get adjoining charges? Evidently, marriage would mean, for a woman, retirement from the active ministry.

Some one objects that there are many unmarried women who could do this work. It must be remembered, however, that in order to gain the best results, education for such a sphere should begin at an age considerably earlier than that at which most women can be considered confirmed spinsters. Would it not be necessary, especially in the case of beneficiaries, to exact from those who entered on such a course a promise not to marry for an almost prohibitive number of years? The Deaconess is not a case in point. Her training is not so protracted nor so costly, nor is her specialty useless after marriage, as much of the technical theological training would be to a woman.

But even if we can conceive of a moral, healthful, helpful woman permanently without family ties or the desire for them, there is another and a fundamental reason why women should not be taught and ordained as preachers. The quality of a woman's mind is different from that of a man. This does not mean necessarily that it is inferior. It simply means that things do not appeal to her from the same side, do not appear to her in the same light, as to man. We are not to be startled any more by the saying that reason is the province of the masculine mind, intuition of the feminine. Yet this means that a woman ordinarily cannot convince a man of a thing by argument. In logical presentation of truth, she is usually a failure. Thus arises a serious question: Can a woman's preaching win and

hold men in the Church? And when we consider that the great lack of the Church in all ages has been such a virile and logical interpretation of truth as will appeal to *men*, and hold their allegiance, this question assumes large proportions. The Church *has* the women—has always had them; she needs the men!

Personally, it seems to us that even a limited participation in public speech is a dangerous intoxicant for a woman who has any taste at all for it. A woman can sell her mental and spiritual powers in just as meretricious a desire for admiration and influence as her bodily graces. The aesthetic sense, ever the serpent tempter of woman, would too often gain the ascendancy, and we should have lectures on philosophy, art, literature, but not sermons. The mere topics of most of the reported "sermons by a woman" are significant examples of this. Woman in public life is too new to be trusted with this most subtle of temptations. Her intentions are good, but she does not realize what a powerful stimulant success of this kind would prove to spiritual dilettantism. Then the balance would swing to the opposite extreme, and we should have women preaching reactionary dogmas to an extent that would amount to intolerance. Logic would save a man from this, while feeling would drive a woman into it. The very sensationalism of doing a thing so new would be a positive spiritual injury to a sensitive mind. As long as we see in the newspapers such startling headlines as "A Woman Preacher," "Filled Her Husband's Pulpit," and the like, let us stand by St. Paul. The time is not ripe.

ARTICLE VII.

CURRENT THEOLOGICAL THOUGHT.

I.

ENGLISH AND AMERICAN.

BY REV. M. COOVER, A.M.

The pursuit of Biblical scholarship has for several decades been predominantly along the lines of historical study. Not infrequently the great objective facts of religion have been minimized, or veiled as to their importance by considerations of their historic evolution, or the philosophy of their bearings. The supernaturalness of Christ's character and works has suffered at the hands of scholars who have found the Nazarine a man merely of superior ethical worth, a man whose ethical keenness and love of righteousness place him on an equality with God. Jesus' superior penetration into divine verities, and his susceptibility to acute moral discernment, are made the measure of his divinity. The quality of such a character constituting a Savior consists in mere ethical influence over men. God simply offers Christ for an example of most beautiful and unlimited devotion to truth. The death of Christ is but the common end of uncompromising truth in conflict with an ignorant and prejudiced world. Professor Denney summons us to view the objective fact and absolute necessity of the death of Christ as a predetermined and vicariously chosen means of deliverance from sin.*

Christ's death was not an experience simply inevitable; it was indispensable for man's salvation.

Dr. Denney does not present a philosophical or ethical treatment of his theme, but arrays with logical power and efficacy the New Testament texts with logical developments of

* *The Death of Christ: Its place and Interpretation in the New Testament.* By James Denney, D.D., Professor of New Testament Language, Literature, and Theology, United Free Church College, Glasgow. 8vo. Pp. xix, 334. New York: A. C. Armstrong & Son. Price \$1.50.

most applicable cogency. The book is not designed for novel treatment of soteriology. It but places timely stress upon the essentialness of death as plainly taught in New Testament Theology, upon death as a covering for sin by plain exegesis. Professor Denney does not, however, always keep clearly before the mind the forensic character of justification. Too frequently the exegesis in its application to the believer borders on a transfer of moral righteousness, an immediate infusion of sanctified life, to the believer in Christ's atoning death. What Christ was and all that he was is essential for an adequate understanding of what he did; but what he did for us does not infuse in us all that he was. But the treatment is a comprehensive and valuable summary of the New Testament teaching of redemption through the death of Christ, and of the essentialness of his vicarious sacrifice for sin. It is a healthy corrective of the view of Jesus' death as a heroic example, and of the virtue of his death as consisting solely in its ethical value.

After the swing of historical criticism recedes from its ultra-stretch and gains a normal arc the truths of the old and essential facts of the redemptive process will be found the same imperative and indispensable necessities; but with the old verities will be found something additional, not in conflict, but as a recognized concomitant, with the old. Dr. Denney stops with the old and true, that Jesus was born to die. But that is not all of redemption.

There is not only a trinity of persons in the essence of the godhead, but as well a trinity of agents working out the plan of human salvation. Christ lays aside flesh and blood that as Spirit, his *alter ego*, he may return for his work in the spiritual dispensation of grace. Christ bore the sins of the world on to the cross.

Jesus in his physical death died under the burden of the world's weight of sin and wrong. But he did not descend into Hades to suffer the pangs of remorse, or of an evil conscience, or to experience the character of the impenitent and obdurate criminal. In Hades Jesus was victor. Jesus must needs suffer to enter into his glory.

The spiritual principle of the atonement must follow his death to make salvation completely adaptable to man. The grace of God revealed in Jesus Christ is in operation, but is not an operation. It is an attitude, not an energy. Grace is a disposition of the will or heart of God toward the sinner, and is an energy only when acting in an agent. The Holy Spirit is now the agent. The full work of salvation is trinitarian in its operation. Jesus in going away gives opportunity for his indwelling in believers (John 14 : 23).

Through penitence the sinner enters into God's hatred against sin, and through his faith justification, acquittal from sin, is accorded to him. This very faith in Christ by which he is accorded the righteousness of God is the first act of the Holy Spirit in the sinner. Faith is the gift of God borne into the will and heart of the sinner making him a believer. Prevenient grace becomes effective through the third actor of the divine trinity. God creates for the purposes of love ; Jesus reveals and suffers for the purposes of love ; the Holy Spirit energises this love in man. The third person of the trinity is the executive agent of spiritual salvation in the believer.

Justification is an acquittal from sin. It is a forsenic declaration. It effects a status, not a transfer of the righteousness of God by which the sinner attains immediate moral perfection. Justification is a declaration of exculpation, but following this is a transfer of moral energy which begins the work of righteousness in the believer.

Justification is not an infusion of moral quality, but is conditional on moral incipency, and that incipency of righteousness is faith. Faith is an ethical quality and comes by the Holy Spirit. God justifies when the sinner believes, and to repent and believe embraces hatred of sin and appreciation of God's righteousness as revealed in the justice of God in punishing sin, and in the righteousness of Jesus bearing sin to his death on the cross. The act of faith is of divine origin ; its exercise by the sinner is a moral exercise including ethical appreciation of Christ's work, and a denouncement of sin the penalty of which Jesus bore away. Doctrinal development has been wont to stop too soon in the unfolding of the plan of human redemption.

The agent of the application, the Holy Spirit, has been too much slighted. The vagaries of spiritual manifestations and activities now in vogue in some schools are symptoms of struggle toward the light of truth. The third article of the Apostles' Creed yet lacks adequate development. Denominational confessions are now inserting an article on the Holy Spirit to give expression to the essential feature of the historic development of the Christian religion, which so long failed to secure proper countenance. The spiritual principle of the atonement finds expression in the action of a complete trinity of the manifestations of the grace of God. The philosophy of religion cannot rest in a dualism. The efforts of Neo-Hegelianism through its recent English and American disciples grope after an adequate expression of the spiritual principle of life. The light will come and the goal of expression and comprehension will at length be reached by continued struggles in search of truth, by the elimination of the manifestly false and the development of the true. Systematic Theology will share in the fruits which must mature when the blind efforts gradually merge into the illumination of the Spirit. The plaintive dissatisfied appeal of philosophy crying in the night may well hear a response from Biblical truth, and find its light in the permeative energy of the Holy Ghost operating in the life of man.

The historical criticism of the Christian religion which now minimizes the supernatural in Christ, and lays so much stress on the ethical principles of faith and life as sufficient means to effect salvation is awakening in the keenly susceptible and spiritually discerning opponents of a merely ethical Christ the consciousness of an essential divine trinity in the movement of the developed plan of redemption. The sometime prevalent view of salvation which deemed the manifestation of grace complete by the work of Christ on earth, which stopped in its divine display with the death and resurrection of Jesus, ends in a duality, and in a sometime overdrawn lesson of objective vicarious death, and like the Roman Church makes the sign of the cross over everything, the emblem of a dead Christ.

The work of redemption is not a divine dualism; and the new formation of a theological system after its first natura

errors and eccentricities, will not rescind the old, but add to it trinitarian completeness. No less importance must be ascribed to the vicarious work of Christ, nor to the indispensableness of his death as a necessary covering for sin. But of consecutive importance is the dispensation of the Holy Spirit. The communion of the Holy Ghost has been so much classed with mysticism as to suffer from lack of adequate recognition and doctrinal treatment. It is mystical, but yet a fact. It is no more mystical than the Creator's relation to material things, or the union of the human and divine in the person of Jesus Christ.

The Holy Spirit is God in his executive will; and the Spirit's indwelling in man is not a confusion of natures, but a concurrence of the will. The mental struggle to give proper emphasis to man's ethical relation to God has rudely and wrongly set aside the objective facts of the incarnation. But when the truer ethical relation has been more correctly conceived and more adequately stated in its dogmatic position in the development of doctrine, it will be seen as dependent upon, and rightly complementary to, the Church's historic teaching of the incarnation and atonement. The higher ethical conception will see the invalidity of the Ritschlian idea that the scripture teaching may not be true as to objective fact, yet true in the effects wrought in the believer. Such value judgments as deny to biblical events historical truth, and give worth only to moral influences resultant upon reliance on imperfectly conceived facts or events which never had objective reality, lose their ground of validity and can furnish no adequate certitude to the Christian consciousness.

The ultimate ground of certitude is not the believer's own religious consciousness, nor can it be a product of influences resulting from mere facts of invention. The power which saves and then certifies to the religious consciousness the validity of its work must be something more and above that consciousness itself.

If the history of what Christ has done be not a true history, and yet the influences of belief in it beget saved character, then moral character sustains an abnormal relation to truth, or rather

sustains no right relation to objective fact. That the falsity of a fact should be an adequate cause creating sufficient ground for religious certitude is an unethical conception. If knowledge have its ground in ignorance, and righteousness its ultimate origin in sin, then may fiction suffice for Christian certitude. At this stage of the denial of the objective truth in respect of biblical history Dr. Denney's book brings healthy emphasis to correct a prodigal theology.

The naturalistic conception of Christ's personality and works so prevalent in German theology as a result of historical study bears adversely and destructively upon Reformation theology and Lutheran doctrine. The denial of the supernatural or an ethicalizing of its import which empties it of true significance, must soon be seen as a spoliation of the ground of the Lutheran system.

The advocates of a merely ethical soteriology who eliminate the supernatural from the conduct of grace and from the action of the establishment of salvation still claim faith, an adequately justifying faith in Jesus Christ. But what constitutes justifying faith? What kind of faith is that by which justification is secured for the believer? Does faith in Jesus as the sublime ethical teacher, as the fullest embodiment of spiritual manhood, secure justification? Does belief in Jesus as the divine example of devotion to truth, as the incarnation of uncompromizing loyalty to moral principles even unto death, constitute a saving faith? Does faith in Christ as the superior man, the unfathomable man, who became one with God in moral will and purpose, who in a beautifully heroic life maintained and proved the world's confidence in the reality of righteousness, does such a faith in the sublimely good become a means of exculpation for the sinner? Abraham, by faith, when he was called, went out not knowing whither he went. Is this the faith by reason of which God declared him righteous? Sublime trust in God's providential guidance though beautiful and replete with ethical quality is not the measure of justifying faith. God made Abraham the promise of an heir and of an inheritance through his seed. But

Abraham was an hundred years old, and Sarah was barren and past the years of possible parturition. Procreative powers were dead, yet Abraham considered not the age of Sarah, nor staggered at the promise, believing that God was able to perform that which he had promised. Abraham believed in a promise which involved in its fulfilment the action of the supernatural. It was thus that he attained the righteousness which is of faith. It was faith in the supernatural that constituted it a justifying faith. It was life from the dead, says St. Paul, and belief in such a possibility, that furnished the means by which came the righteousness which was imputed to Abraham. The resurrection of Jesus Christ, the predominately supernatural event concluding the mediatorial mission of Christ constitutes for Paul, in respect of life from the deadness of Sarah's womb, not an analogy merely, but a syllogism.

It is faith alone in the supernatural Christ that constitutes a justifying faith. Whatever ethical qualities faith may possess, or however ethically constituted be the Christ in whom such faith be reposed, apart from belief in the supernatural element in Christ's personality and work, there can arise no imputed righteousness which is by faith. Justifying faith is faith in the supernatural.

The great Lutheran teaching based on God's word is despoiled utterly of its content by any theological structure which eliminates the supernatural from the Christian religion. The German *coryphaei* of advanced New Testament criticism who abandon the supernatural, or veil its significance under ascribed ethical qualities sublimely embodied in Jesus, must soon carry their system to its logical conclusion, a conclusion which demolishes the grounds of the true Lutheran system; for if this foundation be destroyed, whence can come the righteousness which is of faith?

II.

GERMAN.

BY PROFESSOR S. GRING HEFELBOWER, A.M.

It may seem strange to American readers that the Babel-Bibel controversy, that started more than one and one half years ago in the theological world of Germany, has lasted so long. But this is accounted for by the sensational method of Delitzsch's presentation (as over against the strictly scientific), by the fact that Emperor William countenanced both the lectures with his presence and caused the first to be repeated in the palace and was active in securing patronage for the second, and by the importance of the subject treated, namely, Isreal's dependence on Babylon for much of her primitive religious history and so many of her religious conceptions. Then, too, it is probably true, as Kittel and others have remarked, that the same address would not have stirred up such an excitement either in England or America, because the liberal and anti-christian press is much larger and much more active in Germany than in those countries. It was but natural that the published lectures should call forth a flood of literature both from the conservative and liberal theologians and from the assyriologists. One reply often prepared the way for another, and then Delitzsch's second address came; and thus the discussion was sustained. However, the course of events during the last six months seems to indicate that the discussion has about run its course, and those who are always looking for something new in theological controversy, and the anti-christian press, must seek some other focus point. This apparent pause in discussion led Prof. Kittel of Leipzig (a very conservative higher critic, when measured by modern German standards) to give, in recent numbers of the *Neue kirchliche Zeitschrift*, a history of the controversy, noting only the most important publications.

Though the subject has been touched repeatedly in the QUARTERLY, it is now for the first time possible to give a continuous account of the debate; and since it has been such an important event in theological circles in Germany, we feel justified in giving a very full report.

On the thirteenth of January, 1902, Prof. Delitzsch delivered a lecture on "*Babel und Bibel*" in Berlin before the German Oriental Society and in the presence of the Emperor, who caused it to be repeated in the palace three weeks later. At once it became a chief theme for newspaper articles and of gossip in high official circles of the Empire, many members of which are outspoken unbelievers. The address was delivered under the auspices of the Society and was intended to increase public interest in the service that the Germans were rendering science in this particular field. And it was but natural that the public press, ignorant of and, in many instances, hostile to true Christianity, should take this lecture as a theme for comments, in which they glorified the achievements of German scientists, and prophesied great changes in church and schools; even Delitzsch himself did not hesitate to hint plainly that "the new light" would soon shine from pulpit and teachers' desk. Of course the more conservative German scholars replied with great energy.

During February, March and April, of 1902, the discussion was limited almost exclusively to church papers and similar religious journals. But about March Koenig of Bonn (generally counted among the very conservative critics and as an orthodox Lutheran) published a booklet under the suggestive title of *Bible und Babel, A Study in the History of Civilization*. In the discussion that followed, Koenig was compelled to retract some of his statements, but he successfully exposed most of Delitzsch's exaggerations and false statements.

Then about the Middle of the Summer of 1902, Barth and Oettli published addresses that they had delivered, in which they attack *Babel und Bibel*. Barth, ausserordentlicher Prof. of Semitic philology in Berlin, speaking before Jewish hearers on *Babel und isrealitisches Religionswesen*, seems to go even farther than the conservative Koenig in denying intimate relations between Israel and Babylonia. "Assyriologists have repeatedly claimed that there was a likeness of religious institutions between the Israelites and Babylonians, but this likeness has disappeared under more careful examinations; and they have also

repeatedly asserted, in speaking of the parallel accounts of events in the earliest Semitic history, the borrowing from the Babylonian accounts by the Jews, as if there never had been a primitive Semitic period, or as if the Babylonians were the only remaining witnesses of that first Semitic culture." On the basis of such fundamental principles the Sabbath, Jahve, creation and the flood are discussed. From this it is easy to see what his attitude to the assertions of Delitzsch must be.

Oettli, Prof. of theol. in Greifswald (conservative according to German standards), in *Der Kampf um Babel und Bibel*, sees a much greater dependence of Israel on Babylonia for the material of her accounts of creation etc. He claims that traditions from many peoples, in entering into the religious literature of Israel, went through the critical spirit of prophecy. It would be interesting to know how Oettli conceives of Israel's religious knowledge before the prophets.

Fritz Hommel, the assyriologist of Munich University, attacks Delitzsch in *Die altorientalischen Denkmäler und das Alte Testament*. In the opening pages he criticizes modern higher critics of the Pentateuch most severely; however, he admits that unity and the Mosaic authorship are not to be affirmed unconditionally.

Almost the same time, in the Fall of 1902, Budde published *Das Alte Testament und die Ausgrabungen*, and Kittel *Die babylonischen Ausgrabungen und die biblische Urgeschichte*. Budde condemns Delitzsch of setting up his hypotheses on the basis of Winckler's and Hommel's work, and then goes on to a criticism of Winckler's new edition of Schraeder's *Die Keilinschriften und das Alte Testament*. Budde agrees with Kittel in saying that we are now in the midst of an age of Babylonism—a time when specialists trace almost everything back to that ancient civilization of Mesopotamia, of which we know so little, and which, for this very reason, admits of such wild speculation. Though Budde criticizes this tendency very severely in many respects, he believes that it is clear that the account of the deluge was incorporated into the religious history of Israel from Babylon as late as 700 B. C. Kittel, though

he agrees with Delitzsch in some things, is very severe in his criticism of many most important declarations of Delitzsch. However, he leaves the impression, that in many respects he is not as conservative as he is generally reported to be.

About one month after the publication of these two pamphlets, *Im Kampf um Babel und Bibel* appeared from the pen of Jeremias. He attacks Delitzsch, criticizes Koenig in some things, some of which were rather remote from the theme suggested by the title, and defends Winckler, in this going even so far in finding mythological names in the Old Testament as to assert that David and Solomon were possibly only heroes of legend.

This closes the first stage in the controversy.

Delitzsch spent a part of last year in Babylonia, and soon after his return, on January the twelfth, 1903, he delivered his second lecture on *Babel und Bibel*, again in the presence of the Emperor and Empress and highest dignitaries of state and Church, as was advertised in the newspapers and also in the published addresses. In beginning this address, he said that he owed it to the German Oriental Society and to himself because of the attacks that had been made on his first lecture. And then, after devoting a few minutes to the refutation of attacks that had been made, he went into a lengthy discussion of revelation and its relation to bible history; in fact the entire lecture, as reported and published later, seems to have been got up with this in view.

The presence of the Emperor and the high officials of Church and state was at once interpreted as an expression of their tacit approval, for the general character of any address that Delitzsch might deliver could be inferred easily from what he had said the year before. The press took up the matter and published the content of the lecture far and wide, and, according to the attitude of the journal in religious matters, approved or condemned editorially. One anti-church, and perhaps anti-christian, journal went even so far as to compare him with Luther; just as he stood defiantly before empire and Emperor at Worms, the liberator of his people from papal slavery, so Delitzsch appeared

before the Emperor and empire, the liberator of his fellow countrymen from slavery to the bible. Of all the high officials present, the only one that uttered a public protest was Court-preacher Dryander. For six weeks, or until February the twentieth, the Emperor, the official head of the Prussian Church, remained silent, and wrote his now famous letter of protest against Delitzsch's position to Admiral Hollman (see p. 440) only after persistent, and, in some instances, almost threatening, criticism made it necessary for him to speak. However, the letter, though it seemed to satisfy opposition to a great extent, and compelled Delitzsch and the Emperor's friend, Harnack, to make some awkward explanations, is in many respects most unsatisfactory, and Kittel regards it as an "unparalleled advertisement" of Delitzsch's lecture.

Kittel also sees in the great injury that has been done the Church by the silence of those in high places, a great weakness of the state Church, and many others heartily agree with him. Some claim that this shows conclusively that the time for the dissolution of Church and state is at hand.

The Hilprecht incident, referred to in the last *QUARTERLY* (p. 342), occurred at the time Delitzsch delivered his second lecture.

At first the storm of criticism, which followed immediately, was based exclusively on newspaper reports, for Delitzsch did not publish his address until after the middle of February, and then not as it was delivered, but toned down, probably censored by some higher official or officials in Church or state. However, during the latter part of January he published annotations to his first lecture, in which he replied, sometimes rather sharply, to his chief critics. But even this was toned down in several instances in the later editions.

The conservative religious journals (and there are not very many others in Germany) were prompt in expressing their criticisms, and the anti-christian press made capital out of the fact that Delitzsch had spoken before high church officials and received no official rebuke for so long a time. The general

consensus of opinion is that great injury has been done to the Church by those in high places.

There were also a number of pamphlets published in reply, and many who had criticized the first lecture simply issued new editions of their booklets; Koenig, 8th. and 9th. ed; Oettli, 4th. ed; Kittel, 4th. ed; Jeremias, 4th. ed; Hommel, 2nd. ed; and Budde 2nd. ed. About the middle of March Kittel published his *Der Babel-Bibel-Streit und die Offenbarungsfrage*. Though not specifically a reply to Delitzsch, Rothstein's *Geschichte und Offenbarung mit Bezug auf Israel's Religion* treats the same problem and flatly contradicts Delitzsch's position. Lassen published a pamphlet on *Offenbarung und Ausgrabungen*, in which he claims that archaeological finds have nothing whatever to do with religion, and that Israel's great advantage lay in the fact that God's name was revealed there. Volck makes a valuable contribution to the *literature* of the controversy in *Zum Kampf um Babel und Bibel*. Other important publications are as follows: Loehr, *Babel und die biblische Urgeschichte*; Giesebrecht, *Friede fuer Babel und Bibel*; Koeberle, *Babylonische Kultur und biblische Religion*; and Gunkel, *Israel und Babylonien* (very liberal).

The discussion, especially in its second stage, where it concerns revelation, touches the field of dogmatic theology, hence we hear from Thieme (Prof. of dog. theol. in Leipzig) concerning *Der Offenbarungsglaube im Streit ueber Babel und Bibel*. It is plain that the controversy has opened up problems that reach far beyond the field of Old Testament theology.

The result of the debate, up to the present, is, according to Kittel, much harm and some good to the Church, and an increased interest in this field of science. When the relation of parts of religious history to Babylonian civilization was the burning question of the day, there was offered to Christian Germany, especially to the highest church officials, a great opportunity to strengthen the cause of evangelical Christianity, by taking a firm and unequivocal stand against error, which to a very great extent, was allowed to pass unimproved. The Em-

peror and certain other church officials are guilty of gross neglect.

Kittel thinks that a great deal has been won in bringing to light two facts; first, that as one man all theologians that wrote against Delitzsch raised a protest against the attempt to separate attacks on the Old Testament from attacks on revelation. The two themes belong together. "They recognized at once the fact that if we are to hold fast at all to faith in God, revelation must be assumed as God's confirmation." Second, the fact that even the most conservative defenders of the Old Testament did not even hint at verbal inspiration, which had been charged repeatedly by Delitzsch and his friends.

In speaking of the tasks before the Church in Germany, which this discussion brought to light, Kittel remarks that Germany is, in many respects, not a bible land, as England and America; the Bible lovers are too exclusive, they must stand on more intimate terms with biblical science of to-day. He seems to think that the popularization of the sure results of biblical science would make the intelligent layman ready to meet all such attacks as this one by Delitzsch—biblical science to Kittel is a rather conservative type of modern higher criticism.

Though the Babel-Bible controversy has abated, only time can tell whether it will remain thus, for the two parties seem to be as pronounced in their convictions as ever. The same theme is bound to reappear from time to time, whether under another form or not, will be determined, in all probability, by the next focus points in theological discussion. Liberal theology does not change rapidly, it merely shifts its basis of attack.

ARTICLE VIII.

REVIEW OF RECENT LITERATURE.

BOARD OF PUBLICATION OF THE GENERAL COUNCIL OF THE EVANGELICAL LUTHERAN CHURCH, PHILADELPHIA.

Biblical Criticism. By John A. W. Haas, D.D., Pastor of St. Paul's Lutheran Church, New York City; author of Bible Literature, Annotations on Mark, &c., &c., with an Introduction by Henry E. Jacobs, D.D., LL.D. Pp. xxxi and 223. Price \$1.50.

Biblical Criticism, as carried on by the destructive critics, has gone mad. Its chief purpose at this day seems to be to discover how much of myth and legend and error can be read into the Bible. The result is what might have been expected. A few grains of wheat remain, while all the rest is chaff. And the remarkable thing, that which passes comprehension, is, that in the face of the alleged pious frauds, unauthorized interpretations, falsehoods and hopeless contradictions which the Bible contains, the claim is still put forth that the book is to be accepted and venerated as God's Word. This can be said: the influence which the critical theory may have excited in the past is on the wane and its advocates, by their disagreements and contradictions of each others' conclusions, are rapidly discrediting themselves. Happily for us, our Lutheran Church in America has been but little affected by these discussions. No inroads have been made upon her faith in God's Word. She has remained steadfast in her loyalty and devotion to the Book of Books. The work that lies before us is only another proof of this statement. We welcome it as we welcome and give ear to any voice that is lifted up in defense of the truth.

Our author is familiar with his subject. He has gone up and down through the length of it and is acquainted with all its intricacies and complications. The chapters on the Literary Argument and the Historical Proof are well written, and present in a very clear manner the defects in the conclusions based on style, vocabulary, &c. In the Appendix the author enumerates very fully the list of works on both sides of the question, with a brief comment on each one, thus giving the reader at a glance a knowledge of their contents. We cordially commend this book and are sure that it is a valuable contribution to Biblical Criticism. The Introduction, from the gifted pen of Dr. Jacobs, is itself worth the price of the book.

T. C. BILLHEIMER.

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The Quest of Happiness. By Newell Dwight Hillis.

This book, as indicated by a sub-title which appears on the first page, is a study of victory over life's troubles. It contains seventeen chapters. Each of these chapters is introduced by a "Foreword," which tells in serial form the story of the life of *King Comfortas*, thus illustrating the truths which the author teaches.

We can do nothing better to afford the reader a knowledge of the book and its contents than to give extracts from these captions: "Happiness in its relation to man's growth, success and usefulness; The education of Comfortas"; "That happiness is latent in every form of trouble; The story of the Angel of Sorrow who crowned Comfortas King"; "Happiness through the pursuit of money, with an inquiry why some are unhappy despite their gold, offices and honors; Foreword: The story of a man who coined his wife into money"; "Happiness through conversation and the cultivation of the social life; Foreword: The story of the man with the biting tongue."

Thus the story and the argument run on through seventeen chapters and five hundred and fifteen pages. It is five hundred and fifteen pages of good literature, well printed, with marginal illustrations and artistic binding. Advisedly we say that it is good literature, one might almost say fine writing, of the sort that falls from the pen of a preacher when he habitually writes what it will take him just thirty or forty minutes to repeat to a popular congregation for whom he must not think too fast nor too slow. The author has his thesis and he has thought well upon it, treating it at length and in detail. One's fancy that he has read much upon the subject is supported by a full list of "authorities" sustaining his work on the various chapters. One has guessed this list of authorities all through the book, and at the close, Lo, here it is! And then we are siezed with the feeling that when a man speaks of the ways of human happiness, he should have lived into its truth and should convince his reader of every word by reason of his own strength of utterance. He should utter himself, not studied sentiments. But in following Mr. Hillis through his "Quest," we meet too many of our own old friends of the library. We feel that we are in the company of a good observer, and that he is talking all the while of the other man. We long, then, to hear something of the intrepid person who drives the big white horses on to New York ferryboats, while he sits aloft on a mountain of "goods" and cracks a resounding whip. We should like to hear how this man and his fellows pursue their quest; but we hear more about Socrates, Sir Galahad, or Dante and Petrarch. To be sure the author does touch the third estate; but largely after they have distinguished themselves.

For ourselves, we would have the book shorter, and it may be its length that causes one to feel that its contents have not boiled in the

writer's blood and brewed in his brain, that it lacks the personal element, that it has not been lived and wrung out of anyone, that there is in it nothing of the conqueror, nothing of the one who has wrestled with his angel through the long, dark night of distress and despair and won the blessing. It is the work of the thinking scholar, and as such, we commend it. It is an excellent book to read in single chapters; yet we have closed it with the questions: When will our great preachers quit dreaming of their work, and work? When will they stoop among the actual roots and sources of human living and cease to teach from books, and the knowledge born of books? Where is the Great Prophet of twentieth century America? He ought to appear in Greater New York; but he is yet to come. M. E. RICHARD.

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The First Page of the Bible. By Fr. Bettex. Translated from the German by W. R.

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J. W. RICHARD.

ATLANTIC MONTHLY, BOSTON.

The October number of the *Atlantic Monthly* is an unusually fine one. All readers of choice literature will prize it. S. W. McCall contributes the opening paper, "The Power of the Senate." The papers of special interest are those on "Quixotism;" "The Fruits of Industrial Training;" "Some Remarks on the Study of English Verse;" "Of Walks and Walking Tours;" a splendid one on "College Rank and Distinction in Life;" "Some Early Impressions;" "Henry Ward Beecher" and "Pius X and his Task." The stories are strong and have the mark of originality in plot and construction which belongs to the fiction of the *Atlantic*. Three unusual poems, full of beauty, are found in this number and the Contributors' Club has four brilliant contributions. The book reviews of this number are particularly valuable.

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At the meeting of the General Synod held at Mansfield, Ohio, the following was unanimously adopted:

"Resolved, That we call the special attention of the ministers and people of our Church to the issue of a translation of Köstlin's Theology of Luther by the Lutheran Publication House; that we commend the issue of this work as of immense importance to our Church; that we express as the sense of this body that this work should be in the hands of all our ministers, theological students, and many of our laymen, both for the value of the work and as an encouragement to the future issue of works of this character."

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